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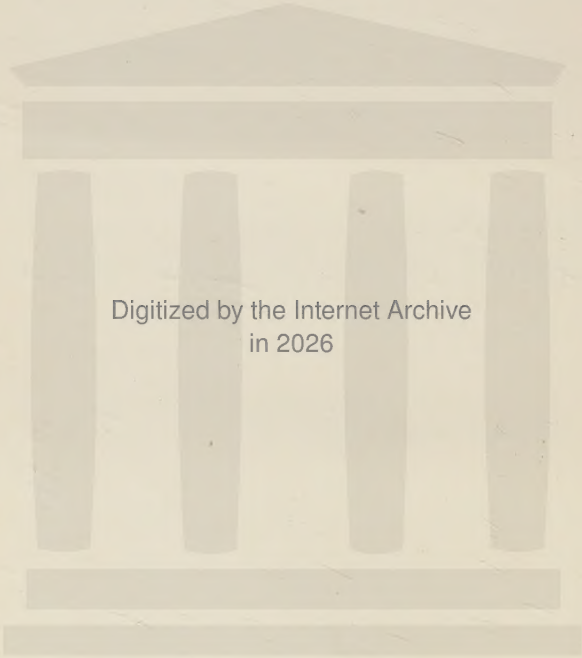

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HISTORY

OF THE

CHRISTIAN CHURCH

FROM THE APOSTOLIC AGE TO THE REFORMATION.
A.D. 64-1517.

BY JAMES C. ROBERTSON, M.A.,

CANON OF CANTERBURY,
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LIST OF POPES SOVEREIGNS, ETC.

Popes.

A.D.		A.D.	A.D.		A.D.
1303.	Benedict XI. . .	1304	1342.	Clement VI.	
1305.	Clement V. . .	1314	1352.	Innocent VI.	
1316.	John XXII.		1362.	Urban V.	
	[Nicolas V. *antip.* 1328-9.]		1370.	Gregory XI.	
1334.	Benedict XII.				

Line of Rome.			*Line of Avignon.*		
1378.	Urban VI.		1378.	Clement VII.	
1389.	Boniface IX.		1394.	Benedict XIII.	
1404.	Innocent VII.			deposed . . .	1417
1406.	Gregory XII.			died . . .	1424
	(resigned) . .	1415			

Line of the Council of Pisa.

1409.	Alexander V.	1410.	John XXIII. deposed . .	1415

Elected by the Council of Constance.

1417. Martin V. 1431

Eastern Emperors

1282.	Andronicus II.		1341.	John Cantacuzene (abdicated) . .	1355
1332.	Andronicus III.				
1341.	John I. Palæologus .	1391	1391.	Manuel . . .	1425

Emperors and Kings of the Romans.

Election.	Coronation as Emperor.		
1298.	A.D.	Albert I.	
1308.	1312.	Henry VII.	1313
1314.*	1328.†	Lewis IV.	1347
		Frederick of Austria [withdrew] . .	1325
1346.‡	1355.	Charles IV.	
		[Günther of Schwarzburg, 1349.]	
1378.		Wenceslaus [deposed]	
1400.		Rupert	
1410.	1433.	Sigismund	1437

* Rival Elections. † Crowned by an antipope.
‡ Elected during the lifetime of his predecessor, and in opposition to him.

Kings of France.

A.D.		A.D.		A.D.
1285.	Philip IV. (the Fair)	1328.	Philip VI. (of Valois)	
1314.	Lewis X. (Hutin)	1350.	John	
1316.	Philip V. (the Long)	1364.	Charles V. (the Wise)	
1322.	Charles IV.	1380.	Charles VI. . .	1422

Kings of England.

1272.	Edward I.	1377.	Richard II.	
1307.	Edward II.	1399.	Henry IV.	
1327.	Edward III.	1413.	Henry V. . .	1422

Kings of Scotland.

1306.	Robert I.	1371.	Robert II.	
1329.	David II.	1390.	Robert III. . .	1424
	[1331. Edward Baliol, 1342]			

Kings of Aragon.

1291.	James II.	1395.	Martin . . .	1410
1327.	Alfonso IV.	1412.	Ferdinand I.	
1336.	Peter IV.	1416.	Alfonso V. . .	1458
1387.	John I.			

Kings of Castile.

1295.	Ferdinand IV.	1379.	John I.	
1312.	Alfonso XI.	1390.	Henry III.	
1350.	Peter (the Cruel)	1406.	John II. . . .	1454
1368.	Henry II. (the Magnificent)			

Kings of Hungary.

1300.	Charobert	1382.	Mary	
1342.	Lewis I.	1392.	Sigismund . .	1437

Kings of Bohemia.

1278.	Wenceslaus IV.	1346.	Charles I. (Emperor Charles IV.)	
1305.	Wenceslaus V.	1378.	Wenceslaus VI. (emperor) . . .	1419
1306.	Henry			
1310.	John			

Kings of Naples.

1285.	Charles II.	1382.	Charles III.	
1309.	Robert	1387.	Ladislaus	
1343.	Joanna I.	1414.	Joanna II. . .	1455

Sultans of the Turks.

A.D.		A.D.	A.D.		A.D.
1299.	Othman		1402.	Solyman I.	
1326.	Orkan		1410.	Musa	
1360.	Amurath I.		1413.	Mahomet I.	
1389.	Bajazet I. (dethroned)				

Archbishops of Canterbury.

1294.	Robert Winchelsey		1366.	Simon Langham (resigned)	
1313.	Walter Reynolds .	1327	1368.	William Whittlesey .	1374
1328.	Simon Mepham		1375.	Simon Sudbury	
1333.	John Stratford . .	1348	1381.	William Courtenay .	1396
1349.	Thomas Bradwardine		1397.	Thomas Arundel	
1349.	Simon Islip		1414.	Henry Chicheley .	1443

Archbishops of Mentz.

1289.	Gerard II. of Eppenstein . . .	1305	1371.	John I., Count of Luxemburg	
1306.	Peter of Aichspalt .	1320	1373.	Lewis, Margrave of Meissen (translated)	
1321.	Matthias, Count of Bucheck		1381.	Adolphus I., Count of Nassau	
1328.	Henry III., Count of Virneburg (deposed)		1390.	Conrad II. of Weinsperg . . .	1396
[1328-37.	Baldwin, abp. of Treves, administrator.]		1397.	John II., Count of Nassau . .	1419
1346.	Gerlach, Count of Nassau				

HISTORY

OF

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BOOK VIII.

FROM THE DEATH OF POPE BONIFACE VIII. TO THE END OF THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE, A.D. 1303-1418.

CHAPTER I.

BENEDICT XI. AND CLEMENT V.

A.D. 1303-1313.

THE state of affairs at the death of Boniface VIII. was such as might well fill the chiefs of the Roman church with anxiety. The late pope had provoked the most powerful sovereign in Christendom, had uttered sentences of excommunication and deposition against him, and had fallen a victim to his enmity. Philip had been supported in the contest by the prelates and clergy, the nobles and the commonalty of the realm; and while such were the relations between the Roman see and France, Boniface had also seriously offended the rulers of some other countries. Was, then, his policy to be carried out

by his successor in defiance of all the fearful risks which beset such a course, or was the papacy to endure submissively the indignities which had been inflicted on it?

In the conclave which met at Perugia for the election of a pope, the influence of the Orsini family was predominant. On the 23rd of November—eleven days after the death of Boniface—the choice of the cardinals fell on Nicolas Bocassini, bishop of Ostia, who took the name of Benedict, and was at first reckoned as the tenth of that name, but was eventually styled the eleventh.[a] He was a native of Treviso, and was of very humble origin;[b] he had been general of the Dominican order; had been promoted to the cardinalate by Boniface, who employed him on important missions to England and other countries;[c] and he had been one of the few who stood faithfully by his patron throughout the outrages of Anagni. But if Benedict's principles agreed with those of Boniface, his character was mild and conciliatory, and his policy was sincerely directed to the work of reconciling the spiritual with the temporal power.[d]

In congratulating Benedict on his election, Philip the Fair expressed a hope that he would redress the wrongs which his predecessor had committed against France.[e] But it was needless to urge such a request; the pope, without waiting to be entreated, hastened to restore the "lost sheep" to the fold,[f] by releasing the king from his excommunication. He annulled all acts which might be

[a] Schröckh, xxxi. 6. Benedict X. (A.D. 1058) had been an antipope.

[b] G. Villani, viii. 66 (Murat. xiii.). It is related that when his mother (who is said to have got her living by washing and mending the *tunicellæ* of the Dominicans — Henr. Hervord. 221) visited him in a silk dress, he refused to acknowledge her until she put on the humbler attire in which he had been accustomed to see her. Antonin. iii. 263.

[c] Ferret. Vicent. in Murat. ix. 100.

[d] G. Villani, viii. 66.

[e] Dupuy, Preuves, 205-6.

[f] "Numquid igitur te, etiam si nolles, non cogemus intrare? numquid tantam ovem quanta tu es, sic nobilem, præcipuam et præclaram, relinquemus, quin impositam nostris humeris reducamus?" Dupuy, iii. 207 (April 2, 1304). Cf. Walsingh. i. 106; Manii in Raynald. iv. 376.

to the prejudice of the French crown or nation, and revoked all sentences which had been incurred by neglect of Boniface's citations to Rome, or by forbidding obedience to those citations.[g] He repealed or suspended various decrees of the late pope, on the ground that they had been made without the advice of the cardinals.[h] He restored to the French chapters their rights of election; to the universities their privileges of teaching and of conferring degrees; and he ratified all the appointments which had been made since the time of Boniface's inhibitions.[i] The bull *Clericis laicos* was so far mitigated as to allow the payment of all voluntary subsidies by the clergy to the sovereign, and the tithe of benefices was granted to Philip for two years.[k] The Colonnas were restored to their position, and to so much of their property as had not been bestowed on others, although the rebuilding of Palestrina was forbidden unless the pope's permission should be obtained; and the cardinals of the family were reinstated in their dignity, although they did not as yet recover the full exercise of its privileges.[l] Even the

[g] Dupuy, 208, 229-30 (Apr. 2; May 13). Baillet says that the letter in Dupuy, 209, goes far to confute the answer of the cardinals to the estates, in June 1302 (see vol. vi. p. 340), in which it is attempted to gloss over Boniface's assumption of the patronage of benefices. 244.

[h] Rayn. 1304. 12.

[i] Dupuy, Preuves, 209, 229 (Apr. 13-16).

[k] Ib. 208.

Ib. 227-9. Cf. Bern. Guidonis in Murat. III. ii. 673; Annal. Altah. 1304-5; Ad. Murimuth. 5. The view here given is much the same as that of Bp. Hefele, who points out some mistakes of text and interpretation by which the understanding of Benedict's decree has been affected (vi. 345-7). Baluze gives a letter (by whom written, does not appear) exhorting Benedict to deal severely with the Colonnas, especially Sciarra—"Breviter videtur mihi quod reponere Columpnenses in urbe et circumposita regione est ponere ignem et sanguinem inter fideles ecclesiæ et Columpnenses eosdem." (Acta No. vii.) The Colonnas, in a memoir to the king, deny that the pope is absolute. He cannot do all things "de plenitudine potestatis," but is limited by the law of God; and the cardinals are set to resist him in case of need, even as St. Paul withstood St. Peter to the face (Ib. 225-7). The Colonnas were not fully reinstated in their property until after Benedict's death; but the senate and people of Rome soon after restored all. (Baillet, 250-1.) It would seem that the two cardinals were not allowed to wear the purple, and consequently were excluded from ecclesiastical functions, so that they could not take part in the

actors in the outrage of Anagni were forgiven, with exception of those who had actually plundered the papal treasures, and of Nogaret, whose case was reserved for the pope's special judgment.[m]

But these concessions were insufficient to satisfy the enmity of Philip against the memory of his antagonist. With the royal sanction a libellous life of the late pope was circulated, describing him, under the name of *Male-face*, as a wicked sorcerer, whose end had been attended by terrible prodigies;[n] and a petition was contrived, in which the French people were made to entreat that the king would take measures for getting him declared a heretic, as having notoriously died in heresy and in mortal sin, without sign of repentance. By such means only (the petitioners were made to say) could the independence of the kingdom be asserted.[o] An emissary of the king, Peter of Peredo, prior of Chese, had been employed during the last days of Boniface's life in endeavouring to stir up the Roman clergy against him. With the same object he now put forth a long list of points in which he represented Boniface as having encroached on the rights of the clergy by acts which he contrasted with the alleged system of earlier popes;[p] and it was urged that a general council should be assembled at Lyons, or some other convenient and neutral place. To this proposal Benedict gave no answer.[q]

Rome was again distracted by the factions of its cardinals and nobles, which were complicated and embittered by the influence of the French king; and the pope, un-

next conclave (Hefele, vi. 347), and that this disability was removed by Clement V. at his first promotion of twelve cardinals. See below, p. 12.

[m] Bened. in Rayn. 1304. 9.

[n] Martin, iv. 452.

[o] Dupuy, Preuves, 214-19.

[p] Ib. 210-14; Baillet, 233-8. Under each head, after stating the older practice, he draws the contrast—"Bonifacius autem prædictus non sic, sed prorsus aliter." In many respects this was grossly unjust, as the assumptions and corruptions ascribed to Boniface were of much earlier origin.

[q] Dupuy, 211; Hefele, vi. 348.

supported by any family connexions,[r] found himself unable to hold his ground. It was believed that he intended to seek a refuge in Lombardy; but when, on the approach of the heats of summer, he announced an intention of going to Assisi, it was at first opposed by the cardinals, although through the influence of Matthew Orsini, the most important member of the college,[s] he was able to carry out his design, and reached Perugia.

In various directions Benedict found it necessary to assert his authority. He had rebuked Frederick of Trinacria for presuming to reckon the years of his reign from the time when he assumed the crown instead of dating from the papal acknowledgment of him as king.[t] He had endeavoured to pacify the exasperated factions of Florence, where about this time the great poet, who has invested the squabbles of Whites and Blacks with an interest not their own, attempted, with some fellow exiles, to surprise the city, and was condemned to banishment without hope of return.[u] But Benedict's legate was driven to flight, and the pope avenged the indignity by an anathema against the Florentines.[x]

It was, however, on the side of France that difficulties were most to be feared. The bitterness with which the persecution of Boniface's memory was urged on compelled Benedict, unless he would submit to the utter degradation of the papacy, to depart from that policy of conciliation which best accorded with his desires. He refused William of Nogaret's petition for provisional absolution,[y] and declined to treat with him as an

[r] Ferret. Vicent. 1012.

[s] Ib. This writer always speaks of Matthew as an artful man.

[t] Rayn. 1303. 49.

[u] A.D 1304, Murat. Annal. VIII. i. 22; Sismondi, iii. 177-8. But Balbo places the attempt in 1302 ('Vita di Dante,' i. 233-6, ed. Turin, 1839). See vol. vi. p. 305. See St. Antoninus on Dante's errors, especially as to the condition of heathen sages, etc., iii. 306.

[x] Sismondi, iii. 205.

[y] W. Nang. contin. 57; Baillet, 252. "L'absolution *ad cautelam* ou *ad majorem cautelam* est celle que l'on prend pour plus grande précaution, et sans reconnaître la validité de la censure, et seulement en attendant le jugement

ambassador from the king;[z] and on the 9th of June he issued a bull, by which, with much strength of denunciation, Nogaret, with fourteen others who had been especially concerned in the seizure of Boniface and the plunder of his treasures, together with all their abettors, was declared excommunicate, and was cited to appear for judgment on the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul.[a] But two days before that term Benedict died after a short illness, produced by eating largely of figs which had been brought to him as a present, and in which it was commonly suspected that poison had been administered by some enemy.[b]

For many months after the death of Benedict the cardinals were unable to agree in the choice of a successor.[c] The nineteen members of whom the college then consisted were divided between a French and an Italian party—the Italians headed by Matthew Orsini, who was supported by Francis Gaetani, a nephew of

définitif." André, 'Dict. de Droit canonique,' i. 60 (ed. Migne).

[z] Baillet, 252.

[a] Dupuy, Preuves, 232.

[b] The figs were brought to him as a present from the abbess of St. Petronilla at Perugia, and it is said that the bearer, who appeared to be a female servant of the convent, was a young man in disguise (G. Villani, viii. 80; Antonin. iii. 263; see Murat. Annal. VIII. i. 22). Villani says that some of the cardinals were suspected. Philip of France, Nogaret, the Colonnas, Musciatto dei Francesi, etc., are named by others. (See Ferret. Vicent. 1013, who, however, says nothing of the present from St. Petronilla's, but states that two of the pope's *pincernæ* were bribed; Sismondi, Hist. des Fr. ix. 147-8.) Ricobaldo says that Benedict was killed by a diamond hidden in one of the figs (Murat. ix. 254). Theodoric of Niem, a century later, tells us that the pope, at the instance of the Dominicans, had resolved to deprive the Augustinian eremites of their scapularies, as too much resembling the Dominican dress; and that, in consequence of the prayers of the Augustinians, he died in the same manner as Arius (Eccard. i. 1471). As to the charge against the Franciscan Bernard Deliciosi in connexion with the pope's death, see below, ch. ii. Miracles were believed to be done at the pope's grave (C. Zantfliet in Martene, Coll. Ampl. v. 149; Ciacon. ii. 347), and it is said that he was canonized by Benedict XIII. (Alb. Butler, July 7). The Bollandists, however, hold that his right to a place in the calendar cannot be proved. Jul. 7, p. 452; Jul. 15, p. 4.

[c] Although shut up in conclave, "sibi tamen fraudulenter ministrari victualia procurantes," they put off the election a year. Girard. de Fracheto contin. Bouq. xxi. 24.

Boniface VIII.; while the chiefs of the French party were Napoleon Orsini and Nicolas Ubertini, bishop of Ostia, but more commonly styled cardinal of Prato,[d] an able and subtle Dominican, who was the confidential agent of king Philip.[e] At length the citizens of Perugia became impatient of the delay, and threatened to force an election by shutting up the cardinals in conclave and stinting their allowance of provisions; but before this threat was carried into act, a compromise was settled on terms which the cardinal of Prato had proposed to Gaetani—that the Italians should name three candidates from beyond the Alps, and that from these three the French cardinals should select a pope.[f] This arrangement was accepted by the Italians in the belief that the power of limiting the election to three candidates would secure the triumph of their party; but the cardinal of Prato, according to the story which has been commonly believed, pursued a deeper policy. Knowing the men who were most likely to be put forward, he trusted that the French, by having the final choice in their hands, would be able to gain over the most formidable of their opponents.[g] Of the three who were nominated by the Italians, he fixed on Bertrand d'Agoust or Du Got,[h] archbishop of Bordeaux, a Gascon of noble family, who had been a thorough partisan of Boniface, had been indebted to that pope for the metropolitan see of Bor-

[d] "Della terra di Prato." (G. Villani, viii. 69. See Ciacon. ii. 348.) St. Antoninus, who belonged to the same order with Cardinal Nicolas, describes him as "vir sagax, scripturarum peritissimus, et in agibilibus mundi experientissimus, qui et noverat secreta tractata." Cf. Hefele, vi. 360.

[e] G. Villani, viii. 80; Antoninus, iii. 270; Schröckh, xxxi. 16. Philip had also employed Cardinal Peter Colonna as an agent in bribery. Ferret. Vicent. 1015.

[f] G. Vill. viii. 80; Antonin. l. c.

[g] Planck, v. 171.

[h] "*D'Agoust*, ou *De Goth*, selon la manière des Anglois, qui étoient alors les maîtres de la Guienne." (Baillet, 262.) On the other hand, M. Henri Martin says, "*Du Goth*, par corruption *D'Agout*" (iv. 459); and M. Rabanis calls him Du Got. The name was derived from Le Got, a village near Bordeaux. Reumont, ii. 720.

deaux, and had attended his synod of November 1302.[1] The archbishop was a subject of the king of England, and therefore owed no immediate allegiance to the French crown; he had made himself obnoxious to Philip, and had more especially offended the king's brother, Charles of Valois.[k] Yet this was the man in whom Nicolas of Prato, reckoning on his notorious vanity and ambition, saw a fit instrument for bringing the papacy into subserviency to France. Between the nomination of the three and the final choice of a pope there was to be an interval of forty days. Within eleven days a courier despatched by cardinal Nicolas arrived at Paris; and it is said that within six days more the king held a secret interview with the archbishop of Bordeaux in the forest of St. Jean d'Angely.[l] In consideration of receiving the papacy, the archbishop is reported to have submitted to six conditions, of which five were expressed at the time, while the sixth was to be reserved until the occasion should come for the performance of it. Each party swore to the other on the holy eucharist, and the future pope gave his brother and his two nephews as hostages for his good faith. He bound himself (1) to reconcile the king perfectly with the church; (2) Philip and his agents were to be readmitted to communion; (3) the king was to be allowed the tithe of the ecclesiastical income of France for five years, towards the expenses of the Flemish war; (4) the memory of pope Boniface was to be undone and annulled;[m] (5) the Colonnas were to be restored to the cardinalate, and certain friends of the king were to be promoted to the same dignity.[n] As to the sixth condition, attempts have been made to gather it by conjectures from the sequel of the history—that it

[1] G. Vill. l. c.; Bern. Guidonis, in Baluz. Vitæ Pap. Aven. i. 61; not. ib. 616.

[k] Antonin. l. c.

[l] G. Vill. l. c.; Antonin. l. c.

[m] "Disfare ed annullare." G. Vill. l. c.

[n] Ib; Antonin. iii. 269.

related to the empire,[o] to the order of the Templars,[p] or to the settlement of the papal court in France.[q]

But this story, which in itself appears suspicious from the fulness of detail with which transactions so mysterious are related, has of late been contradicted in almost every point;[r] and, more especially, a document has been discovered which proves that, at the time of the alleged interview in the forest of St. Jean d'Angely, the archbishop was engaged in a provincial visitation which must have prevented his meeting Philip there or elsewhere.[s] It would seem, therefore, that the negotiations between the king and the prelate were carried on through the agency of other persons; and the particular conditions which are said to have been imposed on Du Got may have been inferred from his later conduct.[t] That he had thoroughly bound himself to Philip's interest is, however, unquestionable. On the 5th of June 1305 the archbishop was elected to the papal chair, and each of the rival parties among the cardinals suppose him to be its own.[u]

[o] Baillet, 265.

[p] Milman, v. 127.

[q] Murat. Annal. VIII. i. 27; Planck, v. 176.

[r] See Rabanis, 'Clement V. et Philippe le Bel,' Paris, 1858. M. Rabanis maintains, for instance, that Bertrand du Got was never on bad terms with Philip; that the cardinal of Prato was not devoted to the king, etc. Bp. Hefele (vi. 360-4) and Mr. von Reumont (ii. 719) generally agree with this writer. Ferretto says that Bertrand was "Philippo gratissimus eo quod a juventute familiaris extitisset" (Murat. ix. 1015). On the other hand, H. Rebdorf states that the cardinals chose Bertrand because he had observed Boniface's processes against Philip strictly (Freher, i. 418); but he knows nothing of the alleged intrigues. Cf. Annal. Lubicenses, A.D. 1304, in Pertz, xvi.; Dino Compagni, 517.

[s] See M. Rabanis's book. He had before published the record of Bertrand's visitation (Bordeaux, 1850; see Martin, iv. 460). Villani's story had already been questioned, as by Mansi, in his notes on Rayn. iv. 390-1, and on Nat. Alex. xv. 83. Some of the old biographers speak of Clement as having been on a visitation when the tidings of his election reached him. Baluz. i. 1, 55.

[t] Planck, v. 175; Martin, l. c. Schwab points out that there are indications of a secret understanding in Baluz. i. 62, 63, 84. 'J. Gerson,' 5.

[u] G. Vill. l. c.; Antonin. l. c. For documents of the election, see Mansi, xxv. 123-8; Rayn. 1305. 6. M. Rabanis points out, in contradiction to Villani, that he was elected by scrutiny,

But soon after the election the Italian cardinals, who had requested the new pope to consult the interests of the church by repairing to Italy, were surprised at receiving from him a summons to attend his coronation, not at Rome, but at Lyons.[x] Matthew Orsini, the senior of the college, is said to have told the cardinal of Prato that, since he had succeeded in bringing the papal court beyond the mountains, it would be long before it would return; "for," he added, "I know the character of the Gascons."[y]

Nov. 11. On St. Martin's day the coronation of the new pope, who had taken the name of Clement V., was solemnized. The king of England had excused himself from the ceremony, on account of his war with the Scots; but Philip of France and king James of Majorca were present, and, as the pope rode from the church of St. Just towards his lodgings, the king of France held his horse's reins for part of the way. But as the procession was passing near an old and ruinous wall, on which many spectators were crowded together, the wall gave way. The pope was thrown from his horse, and his crown was rolled in the mud; the duke of Brittany, who was leading the horse, was killed; and many other persons, among whom was Clement's own brother, perished.[z] The accident was regarded as ominous of evil to come.

Another near relative of Clement was soon after slain in an affray which arose out of a disreputable amour, and, in consequence of the exasperated feeling of the citizens, the pope thought it well to withdraw from Lyons to Bordeaux. As an instance of the manner in which the

which gave him a majority of 15 against 10. On the motives which might have influenced the cardinals in his favour, see Hefele, vi. 364-7.

[x] G. Vill. viii. 81; Ferret. Vicent. 1015; Rayn. 1305. 7.

[y] G. Vill. l. c.; Antonin. iii. 269.

[z] Vita I. Clem. V. cc. 1-2; Vita VI. 97; Will. Nang. contin. 58; Ptol. Luc. in Baluz. c. 23; Gir. de Fracheto, cont. in Bouq. xvi. 26.

resources of cathedrals and monasteries were drained by the expense of entertaining him and his train on this journey, it is recorded that, after his departure from Bourges, the archbishop, Giles Colonna, found himself obliged to seek the means of subsistence in the daily payments which were allowed to members of his chapter for attendance at the offices of the cathedral.[a] During five years Clement sojourned in various parts of France, until at length he fixed his residence at Avignon, a city held under the imperial kingdom of Arles by the count of Provence, who, as king of Naples, was also a vassal of the papal see.[b] But, although nominally beyond the French territory, the popes at Avignon were under the influence of the kings of France; and the seventy years' captivity in Babylon (as it was styled by the Italians) greatly affected the character of the papacy. Among the popes of this time were some whose memory deserves to be held in very high respect; but the corruption of the court grew to a degree before unknown, its exactions raised the indignation of all western Christendom,[c] and its moral tone became grossly scandalous. Clement himself openly entertained as his mistress Brunisenda de Foix, the wife of Count Talleyrand of Perigord, and lavished on her insatiable rapacity the treasures which he wrung out from the subjects of his spiritual dominion.[d] Simony was practised without limit and without shame;[e] and some payments which had formerly been made to the bishops, such as the firstfruits of English benefices, were now seized by the popes themselves.[f] Ecclesiastical discipline was neglected, and the sight of the corruptions of Avignon swelled the numbers of the sectaries who

[a] W. Nang. contin. 59; Baluz. i. 578; Bouq. xxi. 645.

[b] The adjoining territory of the Venaissin had been ceded to the popes by Philip III. in 1273. See Gibbon, vi. 358; Reumont, ii. 725-9.

[c] Vita I. Clem. V. cc. 3, 5.

[d] G. Villani, ix. 58; Antonin. iii. 287.

[e] Ibid.

[f] Schröckh, xxi. 21.

regarded the church as apostate ;[g] while in the meantime the ancient capital of western Christendom was left to neglect and decay.[h] But, whereas the Italians denounce the corruption of the papal court as an effect of its settlement in France,[i] French writers represent the luxury and vices of Avignon as imported from Italy, to the destruction of the virtuous simplicity which they suppose to have formerly marked the character of their own countrymen.[k] In truth the state of things which had been bad at Rome became worse at Avignon ; but it is in vain that either nation would endeavour to throw the blame of this on the other.

From the very beginning of his pontificate Clement showed his subserviency to the author of his promotion. He granted to Philip the tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues of France for five years, under the pretext of a crusade ; he restored the king and all his abettors in the late struggle to the communion of the church ; at his request he reinstated the cardinals of the Colonna family in all the privileges of their office ;[l] he created ten new cardinals, who were all either Frenchmen or devoted to the French interest ;[m] he withdrew all that was offensive in Boniface's bulls, the *Clericis laicos* and the *Unam*

[g] Giannone, iv. 63. See the terrible invective of Dante, Inferno, xix. 82, seqq. Petrarch's testimony will be mentioned hereafter.

[h] In the beginning of this time, however, the Lateran church was rebuilt, after having been burnt in 1308. (Rayn. 1308. 10-11 ; Gregorov. vi. 12.) Such was the enthusiasm for the work that women dragged waggons (quadrigas) laden with stone for it, "non permittentes quod animalia eam violarent" (Ptol. Luc. 31 ; cf. Ricobald. in Murat. ix. 255). Clement contributed largely. Antonin. 276.

[i] See, *e.g.*, Flav. Blond. Hist. p. 339, and others quoted by Baluze, Præf. in VV. Pap. Aven.

[k] De Ruina Ecclesiæ (otherwise 'De Corrupto Eccl. Statu,' commonly ascribed to Nicolas de Clemangis), c. 42, ed. Von d. Hardt ; Baluz. præf. in Vit. Pap. Avenion. Baluze denies that the residence at Avignon was an exile, forasmuch as, wherever the pope is, there is the apostolic see. Consequently Avignon could not be as Babylon.

[l] Baluz. ii. 63 ; Bern. Guid. 56 ; Annal. Altah. A.D. 1305. See above, p. 4.

[m] Dec. 15, 1305. (Ptol. Luc. 24 ; Antonin. iii. 269.) Some of the older cardinals had returned to Rome. Hemingburgh, ii. 241.

sanctam.[n] At the same time he began to display his own character by using his new power for purposes of revenge on persons who had formerly offended him, and by scandalous promotions of his near relations to dignities for which they were notoriously unfit. "The whole court," says St. Antoninus of Florence, "was governed by Gascons and Frenchmen."[o]

During the vacancy of the papal chair, William of Nogaret had repeatedly presented himself before the official of the bishop of Paris, and had protested against the sentence which the late pope Benedict had uttered against him, as having been based on false grounds.[p] He claimed for himself the character of a champion of the church against the evil practices of Boniface; he declared that Boniface's misfortunes were the result of his obstinacy, and tendered a list of sixty articles against his memory. He charged him with the most abominable and monstrous crimes, with having obtained his office irregularly, with having been an enemy of the French church and kingdom;[q] and he quoted against him the saying as to his having entered like a fox, reigned like a lion, and died like a dog.[r] As to his own behaviour at Anagni, he asserted that he had been obliged to use force because the pope could not be dealt with by gentler means; that he had protected Boniface and the papal treasures, had saved his life and that of his nephew Peter Gaetani; that in consideration of his exertions, which had cost him much reproach, he had received the pope's thanks and absolution after Boniface had been set at liberty. And he professed a wish to be heard in his own justification before a council.[s]

Philip was not disposed to let the memory of Boniface

[n] Feb. 1, 1306. Dupuy, 287-8. See Baillet, 270.
[o] iii. 269. Cf. Bern. Guid. 58-9; Ptol. Luc. 39.
[p] Dupuy, 237-8, 269-73.
[q] Ib. 238, 251.
[r] Ib. 249. (See vol. vi. p. 354.)
[s] Dupuy, 246-8, 250-1, 259.

rest. Immediately after the coronation of Clement he had desired him to listen to charges against his predecessor; and, although the pope was able to defer the matter for a time, Philip persisted in his design.[t] In 1307 he invited Clement, who was then at Bordeaux, to Poitiers[u]—ostensibly with a view to a crusade under Charles of Valois, who, by marrying the heiress of the Courtenays, had acquired pretensions to the throne of Constantinople. It was said that the reigning Greek emperor, Andronicus, was too weak to hold his ground against the advancing Turkish arms; that it was therefore expedient to set him aside, and to oppose to the infidels a strong Christian power, with Charles as its head. The pope entered into this scheme, wrote letters in favour of it, granted ecclesiastical tenths, and in other ways showed himself willing to favour the interest of the French princes. Of a vast debt which Charles of Naples had contracted to the papal treasury, two-thirds were forgiven, and the remainder was to be transferred to the proposed crusade;[x] the crown of Hungary was awarded to the Neapolitan king's grandson, Charobert, and proceedings were begun for the canonization of his second son, Lewis, who had died in 1297 as archbishop of Toulouse.[y] All who had been Philip's instruments in his contest with Boniface were allowed to go unpunished; even William of Nogaret was absolved, on condition that he should join the next crusade to the Holy Land, and that in the meantime he should make pilgrimages to the shrine of St. James at Compostella, and to certain other places of devotion.[z]

[t] Dupuy, 298, 368; Hefele, vi. 370.

[u] The pope's stay at Poitiers is said to have lasted about sixteen months. Gir. de Fracheto, in Bouq. xxi. 28.

[x] See Ptol. Luc. in Baluz. i. 18, and note, p. 606; also i. 158; Rayn. 1306. 4; 1307. 2-6, 23-4, etc.; Milman, v. 132.

[y] For this younger St. Lewis of the royal family of France, see the Acta SS. Aug. 19, p. 775, seqq.; Jordan. in Murat. Antiq. Ital., iv. 1023-7. He was only in his 24th year at the time of his death—having obtained dispensations as to the age for ordination as priest and bishop. He was canonized by John XXII. in 1317.

[z] Rayn. 1307. 11; Milm. v. 133.

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But still Philip urged on the case against Boniface, requiring that he should be condemned as a heretic, and that his bones should be disinterred and burnt.[a] Clement felt that by such a course the credit of the papacy would be grievously impaired; that if Boniface had not been a rightful pope, his appointments to the cardinalate must be void, and consequently Clement's own election, by cardinals of whom a large proportion owed their dignity to Boniface, would be annulled; and, as was natural, the cardinals whose position was affected were allied with the pope in opposition to Philip's wishes.[b] Finding that, although treated with a great show of respect at Poitiers, he was virtually a prisoner, Clement attempted to escape in disguise, carrying with him a part of his treasures; but the attempt was unsuccessful.[c] At length, however, it was suggested by the cardinal of Prato that the question should be reserved for the consideration of a general council, which Clement intended to assemble at Vienne, a city beyond the bounds of the French king's territory. The pope eagerly caught at the suggestion; and Philip, who had often pressed for such a council, found himself now debarred from opposing it, however distasteful to him.[d]

But during the conferences at Poitiers another subject was brought forward, which held out at once to Clement a hope of rescuing the reputation of Boniface and the credit of his see, and to the king the prospect of replenishing his exhausted treasury. For, notwithstanding

There are many documents relating to Nogaret in Menard, Hist. de Nismes, Preuves, 126, seqq. From Philip's having named him as an executor in 1311, and having substituted another in 1314, it is inferred that he died in the interval. Hist. de Langued. iv. 118. See also note xi. in that volume.

[a] G. Vill. viii. 91. Raynaldus says that Boniface's body was by divine providence kept uncorrupt for three centuries (1307. 10).

[b] G. Vill. l. c.; Antonin. iii. 271.

[c] Vita, I. 5.

[d] G. Vill. iii. 91; Antonin. l. c. Bp. Hefele, however, seems to be right in saying (vi. 372) that the distinct scheme of the council was of somewhat later date.

the unexampled severity of his taxation, and the absence of all splendour in his court, Philip was continually in difficulties as to money, chiefly on account of his unsuccessful wars with the Flemings.[e] In order to supply his needs, he had more than once expelled the Jews and the Lombards from his dominions, and had confiscated their property; and he had practised a succession of infamous tricks on the coinage, so as to provoke his subjects to discontent, which in 1306 broke out into insurrection.[f] Philip, finding himself insecure in his own palace, took refuge in the house of the Templars at Paris, which was more strongly fortified; and having appeased the multitude which besieged him there by concessions, he afterwards hanged nearly thirty of their leaders.[g] The society to which he had then been indebted for shelter and deliverance was now to feel his enmity.[h]

The great military orders of the Temple and the Hospital, while they grew in importance and in power, had incurred much enmity by their assumptions, and

[e] Sism. ix. 156.

[f] G. Vill. viii. 66, seqq.; Vita I. Clem. col. 5; W. Nang. cont. 59; Bern. Guid. 83; Sism. ix. 177; Martin, iv. 464. See Raynouard, xxi. seqq.

> Là si vedrà il duol che sopra Senna
> Induce, falseggiando la moneta,
> Quei che morrà di colpo di cotenna."
> DANTE, *Parad.* xix, 118-120.

The insurgents are said to have been chiefly poor people, whose rents had been tripled in consequence of the king's operations on the coinage. Joh. a Sto. Victore, in Bouq. xxi. 647.

[g] W. Nang. cont. l. c.; Ptol. Luc. 26.

[h] Among the works on the suppression of the Templars may be named, the 'Procès des Templiers,' ed. Michelet (Docum. Inéd. sur l'Hist. de France), 2 vols. 4to, Paris, 1841-51; Dupuy, 'Hist. de l'Ordre milit. des Templiers,' Brussels, 1751; Raynouard, 'Monuments Historiques relatifs à la Condemnation des Chevaliers du Temple,' Paris, 1813; Maillard de Chambures, 'Règle et Statuts secrets des Templiers,' Paris, 1840; v. Hammer, 'Mysterium Baphometis revelatum' (in 'Fundgruben des Orients,' vi. 1-120), Vienna, 1818; v. Nell, 'Baphomet, Actenstücke zur Ehrenrettung eines christlichen Ordens.' Vienna, 1820; Ménard, 'Hist. de Nismes,' Paris, 1750, t. i. Preuves, No. 136; Havemann, 'Gesch. des Ausgangs des Tempelherrenordens,' Stuttg. 1846. Against the memory of the Templars have been arrayed in France, through the influence of their various interests, royalist, legist, and ecclesiastical writers. See Sismondi, ix. 904; Martin, iv. 469.

had not escaped serious imputations. Although the Templars at their outset had received no special exemptions (for to such privileges their great patron, Bernard of Clairvaux, was opposed),[i] they had gradually acquired much of this kind.[k] Their lands were free from tithes. They were untouched by interdicts uttered against any place where they might be. A bull of Alexander III., granted as a reward for their adhesion to him against the rival claimant of the papacy, A.D. 1173. had made them independent of all but the papal authority, and allowed them to have a body of clergy of their own.[l] But Alexander himself found it necessary, at the Lateran council of 1179,[m] to censure them, in common with the Hospitallers, for having greatly exceeded their privileges; and about thirty years later, Innocent III. reproved them as undutiful to the holy see, as insubordinate to all other ecclesiastical authority, as interfering with the discipline of the church, and as having fallen into many vices, so that they used the show of religion in order to blind the world to their voluptuousness.[n] At a later time, they had opposed Frederick II. in his expedition to the Holy Land, and it was said that they had offered to betray him to the Soldan—an offer which the more generous infidel made known to the object of the intended treachery.[o] Since the loss of Palestine, both orders had established themselves in the island of Cyprus, and many of the Templars had returned to settle on the estates which their order possessed in western Europe.[p]

The order of the Temple now consisted of about 15,000 members—the most formidable and renowned soldiery in

[i] Wilcke, ii. 184-5.

[k] See a summary in Dupuy, 104.

[l] See this bull, "Omne datum optimum," in Rymer, i. 27; or in Migne, Patrol. cc. 919.

[m] C. 9.

[n] Ep. x. 121 (Patrol. ccv.); cf. xii. 45 (ib. ccxvi. 56).

[o] See vol. v. p. 154.

[p] For their quarrels with the king of Cyprus, see letters of Boniface VIII. in Dupuy, 176-8.

the world; and the whole number of persons attached to it may probably have amounted to not less than 100,000. About half of them were Frenchmen, and the preponderance of that nation was shown by the fact that all the grand-masters of the order had been French.[q] They had vast wealth, which it was supposed that they held themselves bound to increase by unlawful as well as by lawful means;[r] and, strong and powerful as they already were, it may have been not unnatural to suspect them of intending, after the example already given by the Teutonic knights on the Baltic, to establish a sovereignty of their own.[s] They were animated by a spirit of exclusive devotion to the brotherhood, and of contempt for all men beyond it. When Clement had projected an union with the Hospitallers, the master of the Temple, James de Molay, had declined the proposal on grounds which although partly reasonable, showed a scornful assumption of superiority to the order which made the less rigid profession.[t] Towards the bishops, from whose authority they were exempt, towards the sovereigns of the countries within which their vast estates were situated, the behaviour of the Templars was disrespectful and defiant.[u] The unpopularity caused by their pride[x] was increased by the mystery and closeness which they affected in all that concerned the order; and out of this not unnaturally arose dark suspicions against them. During the latter part of their career in the Holy Land, they had become familiar with the infidels, whom they had at first opposed with unrelenting hatred;[y] and it was supposed that both their

[q] Sism. ix. 231.

[r] See Havemann, c. 3.

[s] Maillard de Chambures, 64; Michelet, iii. 137.

[t] Baluz. Vitæ Pap. ii. 180-5; Dupuy, 179, seqq. A like proposal had been made by the council of Salzburg in 1297. Hefele, vi. 235; Havem. 354.

[u] The grand-master admitted that they had been too rigid in asserting their privileges against bishops. Procès, i. 35.

[x] Their pride and oppressive character are owned by a member of the order. Ib. ii. 9.

[y] A Templar deposed that William of Beaujeu, when master, "habebat magnam amicitiam cum soldano et

religion and their morals had been infected by their oriental associations.[z] In their ordinary habits it is said that they were lax and luxurious, so that "to drink like a Templar" was a proverb.[a]

When Gregory IX., in 1238, had reproved the Hospitallers for having allied themselves with the Greek Vatatzes against the Latin emperor of Constantinople, he had taken occasion to speak of imputations of unchastity and heresy which were cast on them.[b] It was not until a later time that any accusations of heresy were brought against the Templars; but now strange and shocking reports of this kind were circulated, and, instead of the charge of familiarity with women, there were suspicions of unnatural vices, which were less abhorred in the east than in the west.[c] It would seem that the loss of the Holy Land had told unfavourably on their character. Having been deprived of their proper occupation, they may naturally have yielded to the temptations which arise out of idleness; perhaps, too, the spirit which commonly led the people of these days to judge by visible appearances may have inclined the Templars themselves to doubt the power of the God whose champions had been forced to give way to unbelievers, while it disposed the generality of men to accept tales and suspicions against the order, to whose sins it was natural to ascribe the loss of that sacred territory which it had been their especial

Sarracenis, quia aliter non potuissent ipse vel ordo terra ultra mare remansisse." (Proc. ii. 215.) See, too, the depositions of William Kilros, a chaplain of the order, in Wilkins, ii. 377.

[z] A Dominican witness says that a certain master, as a condition of deliverance from a soldan's prison, bound himself to introduce errors into the order. Proc. ii. 195-6.

[a] Havemann needlessly tries to explain this away (356). Raynouard says that the proverb is not found until after the destruction of the order. 8.

[b] Rayn. 1238. 32.

[c] One witness of the order expresses his disbelief that such things were practised, "quia poterant habere mulieres pulchras et bene comptas, et frequenter eas habebant, cum essent divites et potentes, etc." (Procès, i. 326). Many witnesses say that great scandals had arisen against the order; one, that he was ashamed when people pointed at him and said "Ecce Templarium!" Ib. 618.

duty to defend.[d] And it is probable that even before their withdrawal from Palestine they may have taken up oriental superstitions as to the virtue of charms and magical practices.[e]

Philip the Fair had at one time endeavoured to establish a connexion with the order, probably in the hope of becoming master of its treasures; but his suit had been rejected. In the contest with Boniface, the Templars, notwithstanding the allegiance which most of them owed to the crown of France, had inclined to side with the pope;[f] and when Benedict XI. had granted Philip the tenths of spiritual property in France, the Templars had firmly stood on their exemption.[g] The king had been largely in their debt for money advanced to pay the dowry of his sister, the queen of England;[h] and his acquaintance with their resources had been extended by his late sojourn in the head-quarters of the order at Paris —a large enclosure, covered with buildings sufficient to contain a vast number of dependents, and strong enough to hold out against a more formidable siege than that which he had there experienced.[i] And to the motives of cupidity and jealousy[k] may have been added the influence of a Dominican confessor over the king's mind; for the

[d] Michelet, iii. 131; Milm. v. 138.

[e] Milm. v. 137. Von Hammer, in his 'Mysterium Baphometis revelatum' (see p. 16), and in his 'Mémoire sur deux Coffrets Gnostiques' (Paris, 1832), produces evidence of gnostic abominations, etc., but entirely fails to bring them home to the Templars. The *coffrets*, formerly in the Blacas collection, may now be seen in the British Museum; and I am informed by a high authority that they are certainly not older than the 15th century (*i. e.* that they date from after the ruin of the order). See Wilcke, ii. 290-301, against v. Hammer.

[f] Chron. Ast. in Murat. xi. 193; Milm. v. 140.

[g] Havem. 186.

[h] Th. de la Moor, Vit. Edw. II., in Camden, 'Anglica, Normannica,' etc., 593, where it is said that Philip hated the master on account of his importunity in demanding repayment.

[i] See Géraud's 'Paris sous Philippe le Bel,' with the maps (Doc. Inéd. sur l'Hist. de France, 1837). Henry III. of England, when visiting St. Lewis in 1254, preferred the Temple to the king's palace as a lodging, on account of the greater room which it afforded for his train. Matth. Paris, 899.

[k] "Totum tamen dicitur falso confictum ex avaritia." Antonin. iii. 274; cf. G. Vill. VIII. 92.

Dominicans, who had at one time been closely allied with the Templars, had since become their bitterest enemies.[l]

The circumstances which led Philip to attack the Templars are variously reported. The story most generally received is, that one Squin of Floyrac or Florian, a native of Beziers, who had been prior of Montfaucon, having been imprisoned at Paris[m] for heresy and vicious life, became acquainted in prison with a Florentine named Noffo Dei,[n] an apostate from the order; and that these wretches conspired to seek their deliverance by giving information of enormities alleged to be committed by the Templars.[o] Squin of Florian refused to tell the important secrets of which he professed to be master to any one but the king; and Philip heard the tale with eager delight.[p] It appears that he spoke of the matter to the pope as early as the time of Clement's coronation at Lyons;[q] but nothing was done until later.

The pope summoned the masters and other chief dignitaries of the two great military orders from Cyprus, in order to a consultation as to the best means of carrying out an intended crusade.[r] The master of the Hospitallers, Fulk de Villaret, was able to excuse himself, on the ground that he and his brethren were engaged in the siege of Rhodes;[s] but the master of the Templars, James de Molay, a knight of Franche-Comté, who had been

[l] Michelet, iii. 140-1. The Asti chronicler says that Nogaret was "auctor pro posse ruinæ ordinis," because the Templars had caused his father to be burnt as a heretic. 193.

[m] See the Hist. Langued. iv. 138; Procès, i. 36; Hefele, vi. 377.

[n] "Noffo Dei nostri Fiorentino." (G. Villani, viii. 92.) One of these men was afterwards hanged, and the other came to a violent end. Ib.

[o] Vita VI. Clem., p. 99; G. Vill. l. c.; Antonin. iii. 272; Havem. 193; Wilcke, ii. 261.

[p] Vita VI. Clem., p. 100.

[q] See the bulls "Faciens misericordiam" and "Regnans in cœlis." Procès, i. 2; Mansi, xxv. 370; Baluz. ii. 75.

[r] There is a letter of J. de Molay on this subject in Dupuy, 182-5; and Rinaldi gives many letters relating to the crusade.

[s] W. Nang. cont. 60; Vita I. Clem., p. 6. Rhodes fell into their hands on the festival of the Assumption, 1310. Bern. Guid. 72

forty-two years in the order,[t] obeyed the summons, and appeared in France with such a display of pomp and of wealth as naturally tended to increase the envy and the mistrust with which his brotherhood was already regarded.[u] By Philip, to one of whose sons he had been godfather some years before,[x] he was received with great honour, and the pope, in accordance with the invitation which had been given, consulted him as to the proposed crusade.[y] But the Templars soon became aware that rumours of an unfriendly kind were current, and themselves requested the pope to investigate the truth of the suspicions which had been cast on them. The result of this inquiry was favourable to the order;[z] but Philip held firmly to his purpose. On September the 14th, 1307 (the festival of the Exaltation of the Cross), orders were issued to his officers in all quarters, desiring them to prepare a force sufficient for the execution of certain instructions which were not to be opened until the 12th of October; and by these instructions they were charged to arrest all the Templars at one and the same time—a measure similar to those which the king had already employed towards the Jews and the foreign merchants. At the dawn of the following day[a] the orders were carried out without any difficulty; for the Templars, unsuspecting and unprepared, made no attempt at resistance. So closely was Philip's secret concealed, that, on the 12th of October, James de Molay had, at his request, been one of those who carried the wife of the king's brother Charles to the grave;[b] and within a few hours the master and his brethren were arrested, and conveyed to prison by a force under the command of

Oct. 13.

[t] Proc. ii. 305; Maillard, 89.

[u] Raynouard, 17.

[x] This was against the statutes of the Templars. See Wilcke, i. 229, 277.

[y] Vertot, i. 477.

[z] Clement, letter of May 24, 1307, in Baluz. ii. 75; Giesel. VI. iii. 5; Havem. 200.

[a] W. Nang. cont. 60

[b] Gir. de Frach. in Bouq. xxi. 29.

William of Nogaret. The king took possession of the Temple, and throughout the kingdom the property of the order was placed under seal by his officers.[c]

Philip lost no time in following up the arrest of the Templars. Next day the canons of the cathedral and the masters of the theological faculty in the university were assembled in the chapter-house of Nôtre Dame. The question was proposed to them whether the king might of his own authority proceed against a religious order;[d] and, although the answer was not immediately given, it was foreseen and acted on—that the secular judge was not entitled to take cognisance of heresy, unless in cases remitted to him by the church; but that he might properly arrest suspected persons, and might keep them for ecclesiastical judgment.[e] On the following day, which was Sunday, the pulpits were filled with friars, who were charged to denounce the alleged crimes of the Templars; and some of the king's ministers addressed assembled crowds on the same subject.[f] Within a week from the time of the arrest, Philip set on foot an inquiry under his confessor, William Imbert, who also held the office of grand inquisitor,[g] and, as a Dominican, was hostile to the Templars. The master and others of the order were examined, and it is said that De Molay admitted the truth of almost all the charges.[h] In other parts of France also the investigation was carried on at the same time under the general superintendence of Imbert.[i] Oct. 19.

By taking it on himself to direct an inquiry into such charges against a body which was especially connected with the Roman see, the king gave great umbrage to the

[c] W. Nang. cont. 60; Antonin. 362 3.
[d] Vita I. Clem. 9. [e] Ib. 12.
[f] Ib. 9-10; W. Nang. cont. 60. Raynouard remarks on the democratic tendency of attempting to gain the popular mind by such means instead of bringing the matter before a lawful assembly. xxxv.
[g] See the Procès, ii. 277, seqq.; Dupuy, Append. li., lii.
[h] Proc. ii. 305-6; W. Nang. cont. 60; Joh. S. Victor. 22. [i] Martin, iv. 474.

pope, who wrote to him in strong terms of remonstrance, desiring that the prisoners should be made over to two cardinals and reserved for his own judgment, suspending the powers of inquisitors and of bishops over them, and ordering that their property should be kept inviolate for the benefit of the Holy Land. At the same time the pope declared his willingness to co-operate with Philip by desiring other sovereigns to arrest the Templars within their dominions.[k] To these demands Philip, after some delay, professed to yield; and by this concession he was able to overcome Clement's opposition.[l]

As in the case of Boniface, the king resolved to get up a national demonstration of concurrence in his policy; and with this view the estates of the realm were convoked at Tours in May 1308. From such an assembly the Templars could expect no favour. They were (for reasons which have been already explained) hated by the nobles and by the clergy; and the commons were prepossessed against them by the tales which had lately been circulated. To deal with the assembled estates was an easy task for the subtlety of Nogaret (to whom the eight chief barons of Languedoc had entrusted their proxies) and of Plasian; and the meeting resulted in a memorial by which the king was entreated to go on with the process against the Templars, even although the ecclesiastical power should refuse to support him.[m]

While the French estates were sitting at Tours, the murder of Albert of Austria, by causing a vacancy in the empire, suggested to Philip a new object of ambition, for the attainment of which he desired to secure the pope's assistance, and found it necessary to deal tenderly with him.[n] Repairing from

May 1, 1368.

[k] Dupuy, ii. 97-100; Vita I. Clem. 10; Baluz. ii. 75-6; Ptol. Luc. in Murat. xi. 1229; Boutaric, 132.

[l] Baluz. i. 12-13; Hefele, vi. 380.

[m] Vita I. Clem., p. 12; Raynouard, 41-2; Hefele, vi. 381.

[n] See hereafter.

Tours to Poitiers, he laid before Clement the memorial of the estates, and offered to produce convincing evidence as to the guilt of the Templars. Seventy-two members of the order, carefully selected under the king's directions, were examined in the pope's presence, where they confessed the truth of the charges against them; and some days later they heard their confessions read, and expressed their adhesion to them as true.[o]

The master and other dignitaries of the order were on their way to Poitiers, when it was found that they were too ill to travel beyond Chinon;[p] and there they were examined by three cardinals. It is said that De Molay confessed the charge of denying the Saviour in the ceremony of reception, and that he then referred the cardinals for further evidence to a serving brother of the order who attended on him.[q] The avowals of his companions reached still further;[r] but, in consideration of their professions of penitence, the cardinals were authorized by the pope to absolve them from the sins which they had acknowledged, and they commended them to the king's mercy.[s]

The pope professed to be convinced by the evidence which had been produced, and issued a number of documents in accordance with Philip's wishes. The powers of the bishops were restored, so that each might take cognisance of the matter within his own diocese; and, until the meeting of the intended general council, the king was to retain the custody of the accused, in the name of the church, and was to maintain them out of their property, which was allowed to remain in his hands.[t]

[o] Proc. i. 4; Ptol. Luc. c. 30; Vita I. Clem. 13; Havem. 218.

[p] This seems to have been merely an excuse for keeping them out of the pope's presence. Raynouard, 47; Hefele, vi. 389.

[q] Baluz. Vit. Pap. Aven. ii. 121-2; Clem. in Proc. i. 4; Havem. 219, 342.

[r] Clem. in Proc. i. 5.

[s] Ib.; cf. Baluz. ii. 134.

[t] Vita I. Clem. 6, 13; Ptol. Luc. c. 31; W. Nang. cont. 61; Dupuy, Append. lvi.; Hefele, vi. 384-6.

On the 12th of August appeared a bull, which begins with the words *Faciens misericordiam.* In this the pope, after having mentioned the reports which were current against the order, with the avowals which had been made by some members of it, both in his own presence and elsewhere, and having declared that King Philip acted in the matter not from rapacity, but from zeal for the orthodox faith—appoints commissioners to inquire into the case of the Templars in each province of France, and authorizes them to call in, if necessary, the aid of the secular arm.[u] By another document of the same date[x] he orders that all property belonging to the Templars shall be given up, and threatens severe penalties against all persons, however eminent, who should venture to detain any part of it.[y]

Another bull, which is known by the title of *Regnans in cœlis*,[z] bears the same date with the *Faciens misericordiam*, and has much in common with it. By this bull the archbishop of Narbonne, the bishop of Mende (William Durantis, nephew and successor of the famous canonist and ritualist whose name he bore), the bishops of Bayeux and Limoges, and other ecclesiastics, were commissioned to investigate the matter of the Templars, with a view to the intended general council; and a list of 127 questions was annexed, embodying the charges already mentioned, with others of a like odious character. The inquiries of the commissioners were to concern themselves with the order generally, while the cases of individuals were left to the ordinary judges of such offences.[a] Their first sitting was on the 7th of August 1300. The confessions formerly made were put in evidence, but an opportunity of disclaiming them was allowed; and, although the archbishop

[u] Mansi, xxv. 404. The copy sent to England is in Rymer, ii. 55.

[x] "Ad omnium fere notitiam." Mansi, xxv. 406.

[y] See other documents on this part of the subject in Baluz. ii. 97, seqq.

[z] Mansi, xxv. 369, seqq.

[a] Proc. i. 25; Giesel. II. iii. 14.

of Narbonne and other members of the commission often absented themselves, as if ashamed of their work, the examination was in general conducted with mildness.[b]

On the 26th of November, the master, De Molay, was brought before the commissioners, and was asked whether he would defend the order. He answered that it was confirmed and privileged by the apostolic see, and contrasted the hasty character of the proceedings against it with the long delay of thirty-two years which had taken place before the deposition of the emperor Frederick II. For himself, he professed that he had neither the wisdom nor the skill necessary for the defence of the order; but that he must deserve contempt and infamy if he should fail to do what he could for a body to which he owed so much. He spoke of himself as a prisoner, with but four *deniers* in the world, but said that he wished to have assistance and counsel, so that the truth might be known with regard to the order.[c] The commissioners offered him time and other facilities, but told him that in cases of heresy the proceedings must be simple and straightforward, and that the arts of advocates were inadmissible.[d] They then read to him the pope's bull, in which his own confession before the cardinals at Chinon was mentioned. On hearing this he crossed himself twice, and made other demonstrations of the utmost astonishment and indignation. "If," he said, "the commissioners were persons of another sort, they would hear something of a different kind from him." To this they replied that they were not to be challenged to the ordeal of battle; whereupon the old knight rejoined that he had not thought of such things, but only wished that in this case the same rule might be observed which was observed by the Turks and Saracens—that false accusers should have their heads cut off or should be cleft down the middle

[b] Havem. 345. [c] Proc. i. 33. [d] Ib.

of their bodies.[e] He then, observing William of Plasian, who had attended the session uninvited, desired leave to speak with him. The old man's confidence was won by Plasian's professing to love him as a brother knight, and affecting to caution him against imprudence in the management of his cause;[f] and the examination was adjourned until the next day but one. When the master was again brought forward, the effects of Plasian's insidious counsels were evident. He declared that, as an unlearned and poor man, he would not undertake the defence of the order; but, as it appeared from the bull that Clement had reserved to himself the judgment of the chief officers, he desired that he might be carried before the pope with as little delay as might be.[g] On being told by the commissioners that their business was to deal with the order, and not with individuals, he asked leave to state three facts in favour of the brotherhood—that he knew of no order in which the divine services were better performed or with greater splendour of ornaments; none in which almsgiving was more liberal; no religious order, and no kind of persons, who more readily shed their blood for the Christian faith, or were more dreaded by its enemies.[h]

The commissioners remarked that unless the foundation of faith were sound, all these things were unavailing; to which De Molay assented, and, in proof of his own orthodoxy, stated his belief in the chief articles of the Christian creed.[i] Nogaret, who was present, asked some questions as to the stories which were current against the order, but the master replied that he had never heard of them. He begged Nogaret and the commissioners that he might be allowed to enjoy the offices of religion

[e] Proc. i. 34. Havemann remarks that the grand-master's anger was evidently real; that either the cardinals had wrung out by torture something which was untrue, or his confession had been tampered with. 347.

[f] Proc. i. 34-5; Havem. 231.

[g] Proc. i. 42-3. [h] Ib. 45. [i] Ib. 44.

with the services of his chaplains, and they promised to see to the matter.[k]

Of the other knights who were examined, some said that they would defend the order;[l] some, that they were willing to do so, if they might have their liberty and their property restored to them, but that in their captive and destitute condition the question was a mockery;[m] some, apparently in the belief that the order was doomed, and tempted by the hope of making good terms for themselves, declined to stand up for it;[n] one expressed a belief that, by administering the holy eucharist to those who gave evidence on opposite sides, a Divine judgment might be obtained for the manifestation of the truth.[o]

On the 28th of March 1310, about 550 knights from all parts of France, who had professed themselves willing to undertake the defence of the order, were assembled in the orchard[p] of the bishop's palace at Paris.[q] The charges were read over in Latin by a notary, but when he was proceeding to re-state them in French, a cry arose that this was needless, that they did not care to hear in the vulgar tongue such a mass of charges, too vile and abominable to be mentioned.[r] When asked whether they would defend the order, they said that they were ready to do so if permitted by their superiors.[s] They were desired to name six, eight, or ten persons as proxies; and Peter of Boulogne, a priest, was appointed, with three others, although they said that they could not act without the master's sanction.

After the meeting in the bishop's orchard, the commis-

[k] Proc. i. 45.

[l] Ib. 57, 61, etc. Some in a Romance document make exception of the *ostal* of the king and the pope. Ib. 141.

[m] Ib. 81-2.

[n] Ib. 58, etc.; Milm. v. 202. Thus one says, "Quod nolebat litigare cum dominis papa et rege Francorum;" and adheres to his evidence in all points except as to sodomy, which he says he had confessed through fear of further torture. Proc. i. 41.

[o] Ib. 69.

[p] "Viridarium."

[q] Proc. i. 99.

[r] Ib. 100. Compare their strong denunciations of the charges, ib. 115.

[s] Ib. 101.

sioners visited the various houses in which the Templars were confined. In the course of these visits it became evident that a great part of the confessions to the disadvantage of the order had been wrung out by torture, by hunger, or by the other hardships of their long imprisonment.[t] The torments which had been applied are described by some of the sufferers, and, among them, by one who had been racked by the original accuser, Squin of Florian.[u] He professes himself willing to endure death in any form, but unable to withstand the protracted agony of the torture—by which some of the knights declare that they might have been wrought to confess anything whatever, even the guilt of having put the Saviour to death.[x] They entreat that no layman, or other person who might be likely to disturb them, may be allowed to be present at the examinations, and protest that, when their terrors and temptations are considered, it was not wonderful that some should lie, but rather that any should venture to speak the truth.[y] They complain bitterly of the rigorous treatment which they met with; that they were miserably lodged, loaded with chains, and scantily fed; that they were deprived of the ministrations of religion; that their brethren who had died in prison had been excluded from the last sacraments and from Christian burial; that they themselves, in addition to other heavy charges, were even compelled to pay, out of the wretched pittance which was allowed them, a fee for unloosing and refastening their chains, and a toll for their passage across the Seine,[z] on every day of their examination. They represent that they cannot act in behalf of the order without the master's leave; they urgently entreat that, as being nearly all unlearned men, they may be allowed the assistance of advocates, and that so much of the order's

[t] Proc. *passim*; W. Nang. cont. 60.
[u] Proc. i. 36.
[x] Ib. 36, 40-1, 75; Ménard, Preuves, 183.
[y] Proc. i. 166. See Sism. ix. 206
[z] Proc. i. 151.

property may be granted to them as would suffice for the costs of their defence.[a]

In the meantime Philip had set another engine in motion for the accomplishment of his purpose. By exerting a strong pressure on the pope, he had contrived that Philip de Marigny, a young brother of his favourite counsellor, Enguerrand de Marigny, should be promoted to the archbishoprick of Sens.[b] The new archbishop received his pall at Easter 1310, and on the 10th of May he opened at Paris a provincial council, before which a number of Templars, who had retracted their confessions, were brought to trial as relapsed heretics. Some of them yielded, and were allowed to escape altogether, or with slight punishment; others were put to penance, or were sentenced to imprisonment for life; but those who adhered to their retractation were condemned to be made over to the secular arm—such of them as belonged to the clerical order being previously degraded.[c] A.D. 1310.

While the commissioners were engaged in their investigations, they were informed of the summary processes by which the archbishop of Sens was sentencing men to death, and the four chosen defenders of the order put in an appeal to them, lest the knights who had offered to defend it should be dealt with in like manner; but they answered that they had no power to interfere, as the archbishop was independent of them by virtue of the pope's late decree, which had restored to the French

[a] Proc. i. 100, 126-7, etc.

[b] Raynouard, 92; Michelet, iii. 176.

[c] W. Nang. cont. 63. Burning had been threatened in the pope's name as the punishment of any who should be obstinate. There is some mystery as to the letter of Philip Vouet and John de Janville in which the threat is conveyed. (Procès, i. 71-2.) The fate of the Templars is thus described by John of St. Victor, one of Clement's biographers: (1) Some put off the habit, were absolved, and set free; (2 those who retracted their confession were burnt; (3) those who refused to confess were kept in prison; (4) penitents who confessed were forgiven and set free. Bouq. xxi. 655, 658; Baluz Vitæ Pap. Aven. i. 22.

prelates their ordinary jurisdiction in such matters. They sent, however, a message to the council, requesting that it would delay its proceedings, as the report of these had so terrified the witnesses before the commission as to render them incapable of giving evidence calmly; but their envoys were not allowed to see the archbishop, and they made no further attempt to interpose.[d]

On the 12th of May fifty-four Templars were, by the sentence of the council, conveyed to a field near the convent of St. Antony, where a stake had been prepared for each.[e] It was announced that any one who would confess should be set at liberty, and the unhappy knights were beset by the importunities of their kindred and friends, entreating them to save themselves by accepting this offer. But although deeply affected by the feelings which are natural in such a case, not one of the whole number flinched. They endured the slow kindling of the faggots, and the gradual progress of the flames which were to consume their bodies; and with their last breath they attested their orthodoxy by invoking the Saviour, the blessed Virgin, and the saints.[f] The courage and constancy of these brave men impressed the popular mind deeply and widely;[g] but it soon became manifest that their fate had struck terror into the hearts of many among their brethren. On the following day, a Templar named Aimeri de Villars was brought before the commissioners, and appeared as if beside himself from terror and excitement. With vehement gestures, beating his breast, tossing his arms in the air, and imprecating on

[d] Proc. i. 259, 274.

[e] Raynouard gives the names of forty-six (110-11), and shows that the treatment of these men as relapsed heretics was condemned by high authorities at the time. 106-7.

[f] Vita I. Clem. 17; G. Vill. viii. 92; Antonin. 274; Cornel. Zantfliet, in Martene, Coll. Ampl. v. 159-60. The continuer of William of Nangis makes the number of these sufferers fifty-nine. p. 68.

[g] W. Nang. contin. 63; Gir. Frach. contin. 34.

himself the most frightful curses unless his words were true, he declared that the charges against the order were all false, although under extremity of torture he had before admitted some of them; but that the sight of the victims, as they were dragged in carts to the place of execution on the preceding day, had so terrified him that, rather than endure the fire, he was ready to own whatever might be imputed to him, even if it were said that he had slain the Saviour.[h]

The commissioners, in disgust at the cruelties which had been committed, and in despair of obtaining trustworthy evidence so long as the impression of the terror should be fresh, adjourned their sittings from the 19th to the 30th of May, and afterwards for a longer time; and when they met again, in the middle of October, the effect of the late proceedings was plainly shown. Many knights, who had professed their readiness to defend the order, now renounced the defence, lest they should make themselves liable to the doom of relapsed heretics from the archbishop of Sens and his suffragans.[i] Of the four chosen representatives, Peter of Boulogne had disappeared; another had become disqualified through having been degraded from his orders by the council; and the remaining two declared that, after the loss of their colleagues, they were no longer equal to the task.[k] From this time the evidence before the commissioners was more in accordance with the wishes of the prosecutors than before; it seemed as if the fate of the order were hopeless, and as if its members were bent only on trying, by whatever means, to secure their individual safety.[l] Between August 1309

[h] Proc. i. 275-6.

[i] Ib. 282; Havem. 351.

[k] Proc. i. 286-7.

[l] Milm. v. 181. M. Michelet, in his preface to vol. ii. of the 'Procès,' says that the denials are "almost all identical," and that the confessions are "all different, varied by special circumstances which give them a peculiar character of veracity." On the other hand, Dean Milman says, "I confess that my impression of the fact is different; though I am unwilling to set my opinion on this point against

and the end of May 1311, two hundred and thirty-one witnesses were examined; and at length the commissioners sent off the report of the evidence to the pope without pronouncing any judgment of their own on it.[m] In the meantime both councils and commissioners in other parts of France had been engaged on the affair of the Templars. The only council of which a record has been preserved is one of the province of Reims, which met at Senlis; and by its sentence the body of a dead Templar was dug up and burnt, while nine members of the order perished at the stake, steadfastly declaring their innocence of the crimes imputed to them.[n]

We may now proceed to examine the charges which were brought against the order of the Temple, with the evidence which was drawn forth by the inquiry.

The ceremonies of initiation are described with an amount of variety which proves that they must have differed according to places, times, and other circumstances; but the avowals of those who confessed may be thus summed up as to their general substance.[o] The candidate, on bended knees, requested that he might be admitted into the society of the order, and might be allowed to share in its bread and water and clothing. He was told, by way of answer, that what he asked was a great thing. He was warned that he must prepare himself to endure hardships; that he must not judge of the order by the splendid appearance and equipments of the knights; but that he might have to walk

that of the writer.' (v. 185; cf. Havem. 343.) Having read the evidence with the knowledge that it had been thus variously appreciated, I have no hesitation in siding with the dean of St. Paul's. It is remarkable that when any new circumstance appears in the evidence of a witness, it is forthwith commonly repeated by a number of others.

[m] Proc. ii. 270-4.

[n] Bern. Guidon. 72; W. Nang. cont. 63. For the proceedings of the Nismes commissioners, see Ménard, i. Preuves 167, seqq.

[o] For the order prescribed by the statutes, see Maillard de Chambures, 332, seqq., 488; comp. Havem. 106.

instead of riding, to be hungry when he might wish to eat, to thirst when he might wish to drink, to go when he might wish to stay, to watch when he might wish to sleep, to give up his liberty for absolute obedience and servitude. If he still persevered in the desire to be admitted, he was then questioned as to his freedom from impediments, such as debts or secret ailments; he was required to profess his Christian faith, and in some cases to kiss the cross;[p] he took the monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, and swore to observe the statutes of the order; after which an instruction in his duties as a member of it was addressed to him. Then, according to the confessions of many Templars, the new knight was led into some small chapel or other secret place; a cross, either plain or with an image of the Saviour on it, was produced; and he was required (in some cases thrice)[q] to deny God and to spit on the cross—perhaps also to trample on it. He was next required to kiss the receiver on various parts of his body—sometimes in the most obscene and degrading manner. In some instances, it was said, the new member was told that unnatural lust was permitted in the order: sometimes an idol was produced, a cord was passed round its head, and this (or, at least, a cord which was supposed to bear some mysterious meaning) was very commonly worn by the Templars. In some instances these offensive ceremonies were not required until some days after the more legitimate form of reception.[r]

As to the alleged abominations of the initiation, there is first the question of fact; and with regard to such of the circumstances as may be accepted for facts, there remains the question how they are to be understood. A late writer supposes the whole to be symbolical—that the

[p] *E.g.*, Proc. i. 567. [q] *E.g.*, Ib. 205. [r] Ib. 444 5. One witness speaks of an interval of about two months (ii. 205).

applicant for admission was represented as sunk in the depths of sin and apostasy, and that from this state the order was supposed to raise him.[s] But of this ingenious theory there is no proof, nor has the supposed symbolism any real analogy to the Festival of Fools and other such things, with which the writer in question would compare it. Rather we may perhaps suppose that the ceremonies were imposed—injudiciously and blamably indeed, but without necessarily involving any evil meaning—as a test of the obedience which had just been professed ;[t] in order to typify, by the denial of that which had been acknowledged as holiest,[u] by compliance with degrading and disgusting requirements, the entire and unreserved submission which the new member of the order had become bound to yield to the commands of his superiors.[x] That this intention was not explained, would seem to have been of the very essence of the system: the Templars were left to interpret it for themselves ; they were for-

[s] Michelet, iii. 127-8, 203-5.

[t] Thus one deposes that it was said to him, "Tu jurasti obedire omnibus præceptoribus tuis et præceptis quæ tibi fierent; ego volo probare si servabis quod jurasti ; unde præcipio tibi quod abneges Deum." And, on his expressing horror, it was added that many things were said with the mouth to which the heart did not consent. Proc. ii. 200 ; cf. 260.

[u] See Proc. i. 342. The denial of the Saviour seems to be established, according to Gieseler, who, however, thinks that it may have been derived from some Saracen spell, and that the Templars submitted to this in the hope of making all right with the Church afterwards. II. iii. 14-17.

[x] One witness supposes that these things were required, "ad hoc, ut esset eis magis subjectus, et in majorem confusionem suam, si vellet erigere se contra superiorem suum." (Proc. i. 361 ; cf. ib. 516.) One was required on the first day to kiss a crucifix and a picture of the crucifixion; but a week after, two servitors made him spit on these and deny God. On his threatening to tell the receiver, they say that if he do they will kill him. (Ib. i. 561.) Another says that he believed it to be a sin to spit on the cross, but that he did it because of his oath. (i. 215 ; cf. i. 622 ; ii. 5.) In England, John of Stoke, a chaplain, deposed that he was received without any improprieties, but that some time after a master questioned him as to the circumstances, and then said, "We shall soon see whether you are obedient ;" whereupon a crucifix was brought, and the master said that he who was there represented was not God, but was put to death for claiming to be the Son of God :—"Ego ipse fui in locu ubi natus fuit et crucifixus." John was then compelled by threats to deny the Saviour. Wilkins, ii. 387-8.

bidden to communicate with each other as to the mode of reception, and many of them may have failed to understand a meaning which may nevertheless have been really intended. In many cases no such ceremonies were enforced at all;[y] many Templars asserted that they had never heard of them until after the arrest of the order;[z] and men who deposed that they themselves had been obliged to submit to them deposed also that in later receptions, which they had witnessed or in which they had themselves acted the part of receivers, the offensive forms were not required.[a] The witnesses all declared that they had been horrified at hearing these proposed—that they would rather have been on their way to the galleys, in the depths of the earth, even in purgatory itself, than be put to such a trial,[b] and that they had earnestly endeavoured to escape it. In some cases resistance had been successful in obtaining an exemption from the ceremonies either wholly or in part;[c] but more commonly the novices were told that they were bound to submit, in virtue of the obedience which they had sworn, and because these were points established in the order;[d] while, for the satisfaction of their scruples, they were assured that the denial of the Saviour was merely a form, a jest, an imitation of St. Peter's denials; that it was to be made with the mouth only, not with the heart, and was not contrary to Chris-

[y] *E.g.*, Proc. ii. 83.

[z] See ib. 88. These seem to have been from Saitonge, Perigord, and that district.

[a] See Proc. i. 268, 292, 379 416-17. Wilcke supposes that there were various degrees in the order, each having an initiation of its own (i. 349). But of this there seems to be no proof.

[b] *E.g.*, i. 324, 332, 334; ii. 179. One declares that he would rather have been at Rome (ib. 330). Another says, "et orripilavit, id est. eriguere pilli sui." Ib. 242.

[c] *E.g.*, i. 250, 386, 404, 417, 426, 576, 579, 587; ii. 257-8.

[d] Ib. i. 302, 312, 334, 358, 501, etc. It is deposed that one receiver wept at the necessity of enforcing the denial; and that afterwards, on being asked why such things were done, he said that he knew no other ground than custom (568-9). The denials, etc., were commonly said to have been introduced by a master who had been a captive among the Saracens—five hundred (!) years ago, as one witness had been told (ib. 258).

tian religion, or dangerous to the soul.[e] All declared that their denials had been made with the mouth alone, and some professed to have uttered a like declaration at the time when they were received. All declared that their spitting had not been on the crucifix or cross, but near it,[f] and some had been told by their receivers that the mere pretence of spitting was enough.[g] Although they were usually told they must make no confession except to the clergy of the order,[h] they had invariably carried their tale of the initiation to some other confessor, who had listened to it with astonishment and horror, and had enjoined some penances by way of expiation.[i] Some-

[e] Dupuy, 211-12; Proc. i. 321, 325, 462, 464, 496-7, 504, 510; ii. 110, 260, 355-6, 362, 576. Godfrey de Thoton was told that, if he would comply with what was required, it should afterwards be explained to him, but in case of refusal, he would be placed "in alli loco quod non videret pedes suos." Ib. i. 222-3; cf. 307.

[f] In some cases they were merely required to spit on the ground, there being no cross there. Ib. i. 609, 615, 912; ii. 232.

[g] *E.g.*, Ib. i. 253, 366, 480, 483, 519. One deposes that, after he had complied, the receiver "incepit subridere, quasi dispiciendo ipsum testem, ut sibi visum fuit." (Ib. 53.) To another the receiver said, "Vade fatue, confitearis." (Ib 590.) To one witness a plain cross was shown, and he was asked whether he believed "quod in dicta cruce erat propheta." He answered, "No, because there is no image," and was then required to spit. (ii. 549.) Another was told that he ought not to believe in Him who was represented by the crucifix, "sed in Deum qui erat in paradiso." (Ib. 332.) This might have grown out of a caution against the vulgar excess of regard for images, as another Templar was told that the crucifix was but "frustum ligni, et Deus noster erat in cœlis" (ib. 215); but another witness goes further, and states that he was told that he should not believe on Him who was represented by the crucifix, "qui fuerat falsus propheta, et quod negaret eum." (Ib. 552; cf. ii. 51.) One knight, on being required to deny "lo propheta," said he did not know who was meant, but that, if it were the devil, he denied him with all his works (i. 417). Another says that, being asked to deny "lo propheta," he did not understand who was meant, and, being young, complied; but that he felt remorse because he was told that the Jews styled the Saviour so (ii. 168): another, that, the name used being *Jesus*, he was told that it was a prophet named Joshua, but that he must not ask (ii. 230). One professes to have been told by his uncle, who had witnessed his reception, that Christ was not crucified for our sins, but for His own (ii. 242). One was told that he ought not to believe in Christ, because He was a false prophet, but only "in Deum superiorem" (ii. 384). John of Stoke, a chaplain of the order, who was examined in England, made a like declaration. Wilkins, ii. 387-8.

[h] *E.g.*, Proc. i. 295.

[i] *E.g.*, Ib. 210.

times the receivers themselves, while requiring submission, told the candidates that they might confess to whomsoever they would.[k] In one case the confessor suggested that the denial of the Saviour had been required in order to test the novice's spirit, and that, if he had steadfastly refused, he would have been considered fit to be sent earlier to the Holy Land, and to encounter the dangers of intercourse and captivity among the infidels.[l] All the witnesses agreed in testifying that after their admission no attempt had been made to confirm them in apostasy;[m] that the order adored the cross on Good Friday and on the festivals of its Invention and Exaltation;[n] and that they considered their brethren in general to be true Christian believers, although some of them suspected that those who had enforced such ceremonies at the reception could not be sound in the faith.[o]

With regard to the kissing which was said to be a part of the rite of admission to the order, and to have been the subject of much ridicule from their rivals of the Hospital,[p] it appears that the clerical members were usually excused from it; that a formal appearance of kissing the receiver between the shoulders, or in some such place, was considered to be enough; and that when objections were taken to any further kissing, it was never enforced.[q]

The most revolting of the accusations against the order might be supposed to have grown out of a charge which was given to the new members that each should share his bed with a brother, if required[r]—a charge of

[k] *E. g.*, 525, 555. [l] Ib. 590; cf. 405.
[m] Ib. 208, 584.
[n] Ib. 555; ii. 463, 467.
[o] Ib. i. 309, 313, 318, 340. [p] Ib. ii. 153.
[q] *E. g.*, i. 298, 306, 342, 358, 485, 622; ii. 45, 79. Some witnesses swore that, instead of kissing the receiver, they had been kissed by him "in fine spinæ dorsi" (i. 552; ii. 37); or that the receiver gave them the choice (i. 456). Ralph de Gisi is said, while admitting new members, to have shown in his countenance his disgust at the objectionable ceremonies. i. 569.
[r] Ib. i. 568; ii. 317, 332, 346, 389; Havem. 369.

which the true sense was, that they should be ready to give up their own convenience for that of others.[s] Some witnesses, indeed, deposed that they were expressly authorized to indulge in unnatural lusts.[t] But, even if this were true, the real intention might have been, not to sanction such abominations, but (as has been already suggested with regard to the denials) to try the spirit of the new members by the shock of an apparent contrast with the vows of religion and purity which had just been taken;[u] and it is certain that acts of the kind in question were denounced in the institutes of the Templars as deadly sins,[x] that they were regarded with abhorrence, and that, in the very rare instances which were detected,[y] they were visited with severe punishment, such as lifelong imprisonment in chains, or expulsion from the order.[z]

The tales as to the use of idols are very indistinct and perplexing. Some witnesses deposed that an idol had been produced at their reception, but could give no satisfactory account of it. They said that they had been too much disturbed in mind to look at it; one stated that at the sight of it he had run away in terror.[a] And the descriptions of its appearance were very various: that it had one head, and that it had three;[b] that it had two feet in front and two behind;[c] that it was a bare human skull,

[s] The Rule directed that they should sleep separately, "nisi permagna causa vel necessitas evenerit." c. 71 (Patrol. clxvi. 872).

[t] Menard, i. 174-5; Proc. i. 249, 287, 372, 375, 544, 627, etc.

[u] Thus many say (*e.g.*, i. 396), that the charge was given to them, but that they did not believe it to be seriously meant, or to be acted on.

[x] "Lequel est si ort et si puant, et si orrible, que il ne doist estre nomes." Règle, c. 122, in Maillard, 390; cf. 456; Proc. i. 196, 382; ii. 215, 460. One witness, at his reception, sixty-two years before the trial, had been warned against such things. Proc. i. 7.

[y] As to this, the confessions are utterly contradictory to what Von Hammer says as to frequency. Myster. Baphom. 70.

[z] Maillard, 456; Proc. ii. 223; Havem. 139.

[a] Proc. i. 399, 400; ii. 193, 367.

[b] Menard, i. 171, where the Templars are said to have relied on the idol for wealth, and for the fruitfulness of the earth.

[c] Proc. ii. 210.

that it was black, that it was gilt and silvered, that it had a long white beard, and that its eyes were glowing carbuncles ;[d] that it was the head of St. Peter or of St. Blaise,[e] of one of St. Ursula's virgin companions,[f] of a master who had apostatized to Islam and had introduced the guilty customs into the order,[g]—or of a cat.[h] Some declared that they had often seen an idol—to which the name of Baphomet[i] (a corruption of Mahomet)[k] was given—produced for adoration at chapters of the order at Montpellier,[l] and even at Paris.[m] But there is no evidence as to actual use elsewhere, nor, although the suddenness of the arrest would have put it out of the power of the Templars to conceal their idols, if they had possessed any, was any such object discovered in any of their houses.[n] Perhaps, therefore, the charge of idolatry may have had no other foundation than the use of reliquaries made (as was very common) in the

[d] Dupuy, Append., 207, etc. See Havem. 360.

[e] Proc. ii. 240. [f] Ib. i. 502.

[g] Chron. de Melsa, ii. 249.

[h] V. Hammer's remark on this may be taken as a specimen of his argument:—"Sub *cato* de quo mentio fit, *canem* ideo intelligendum esse credimus, quia nullibi catus, sed ubique canis conspicitur." (Myster. Baphom. 71.) John de Pollencourt had heard, but not until after his arrest, that a cat appeared at the chapters (Proc. i. 378). Another had heard that a cat appeared in battles beyond the sea, but he did not believe it. Ib. 251.

[i] Dupuy, 216.

[k] The name appears thus in Provençal literature. Ramond of Agiles calls Mahomet *Bahumeth*, and a mosque *bafumeria* (Hist. Hierosol. cc. 6, 26, etc., Patrol. clv.; Herder, Philos. u. Gesch. xv. 293, ed. Stuttg. 1829 : see Ducange, s. v. *Bafumeria*). It was stated that in a chapter at Florence one Templar said to the others, "Istud caput vester Deus est et vester Mahumet." (Raynouard, 295 : see von Nell, 81 ; Giesel. II. iii. 6, 13). Nicolai supposed the word to have a gnostic sense, meaning *baptism of wisdom*, βαφή μήτιδος (or, as he wrote it, μήτους) ; and in this has been followed by Hammer and by Wilcke (i. 153). M. Michelet also inclines to the same fancy (iii. 148). Against Nicolai, see Herder, l. c. 287, seqq. Against Hammer, see Raynouard, in Michaud, v., Append. v.

[l] Proc. ii. 210, 279, 363. (This witness says that he adored it "ore et fingendo.") Cf. i. 597 ; ii. 190 ; Menard, 211-12 ; Dupuy, 220. The fullest testimony is that of Bernard de Selgues, at Nismes, who was evidently disposed to go all lengths. Menard, 211.

[m] Proc. i. 299, 300.

[n] See ib. 218 ; Havem. 360 ; Milm. v. 183. Von Hammer's attempt to controvert this (74) is unavailing. See Nell, 80.

form of a human head, to which credulity annexed the wild stories[o] which were current.[p]

The practice of wearing a cord round the body was established by the evidence; but the object of it was very variously explained.[q] Although some witnesses deposed that the cord, which was given to them at their initiation, had been previously applied to an idol,[r] the greater number knew nothing of such a contact, and stated that the cord had not been delivered to them on the part of the order, but that they were allowed to procure it for themselves.[s]

On the question at what time and on what occasion the offensive rites had been introduced into the order, no satisfactory or consistent testimony was to be obtained. There were stories of their having been instituted by a master who had been captive to a soldan;[t] it was said by some that they had been used under the last four masters only;[u] but other witnesses declared that nothing was known on the subject.[x]

[o] See the tale about a lord of Sidon. Proc. i. 645; ii. 140, 223.

[p] One witness said that the idol which had been used at his reception was publicly displayed with the relics on solemn days. (Proc. i. 502.) James of Troyes knew nothing of idols belonging to the order, but had heard that brother Ralph of Gisi had a demon of his own, by whose help he grew wise and rich. (Ib. 257.) For Ralph of Gisi's own testimony, see *ib.* ii. 394.

[q] One says that it was by St. Bernard's direction—*i.e.*, according to the statutes, which really prescribed no such thing (Ib. 228); another, that it was "in signum castitatis" (Ib. 231). Gieseler thinks that it may have been originally an oriental charm (II. iii. 23). A witness at Elne refers to our Lord's words, "Let your loins be girded about," etc. (Proc. ii. 431.) Robert de Hamilton, "usum cinguli fatetur propter honestatem, et nominat eum cingulum de Nasareth, tactum ad quandam columnam." Wilkins, ii. 366.

[r] Menard, 927; Proc. i. 191, 193, 206-9. But in this last case there is nothing about worshipping the head.

[s] Ib. 219, 292, 400. One said that he had thrown away his cord on being told that it had touched a head "ultra mare." ii. 249.

[t] Ib. 398-400. [u] Ib. 246.

[x] Ib. i. 392-4. Wilcke supposes the secret doctrines of the order to have been adopted after the time when the bull "Omne datum optimum," A.D. 1162, had allowed it to have its own clergy (i. 344). A witness states that the ancients of the order had a saying, "quod ex quo litterati fuerunt inter eos, ordo non fecerat profectum suum." (Ib. 389.) One who had been forty years a precep-

The mystery in which the proceedings of the order were shrouded gave occasion for much popular suspicion against it.[y] The receptions and the chapters were held with closed doors, sometimes by night or in the faint light of dawn,[z] and the members were forbidden to talk even among themselves of what took place on these occasions.[a] A witness who did not belong to the order was told by one of the high officers that, at the proceedings of the chapters, there was one point so wonderful and so secret that, if the king of France himself were by chance to witness it, those who held the chapter would be compelled to secure his silence by putting him to death. The same officer had also declared that, in addition to the ordinary book of statutes, the Templars had another, so mysterious that he would not for the whole world allow it to be seen;[b] and other witnesses deposed that the members in general were not allowed to see the rules or the statutes, except by special permission.[c] The suspicion of guilty secrets was supported by the charge that the Templars were bound to confess to no one but the chaplains of their own order. But it

tor, being examined on his deathbed, admitted the ceremony of the denials, but knew nothing of kisses, except on the mouth, of mutilating the canon, or of the lay absolution. Ib. 178-9.

[y] *E.g.*, Proc. i. 180, 196-7, 208, 219, 251, 257, 268, 295, 478, 493, 644; ii. 440, 451, etc.

[z] Ib. i. 187, 205, 537; Matth. Paris, 899, ed. 1641.

[a] Menard, i. 172, 180; Règle et Stat. c. 81; Proc. i. 246. Yet some witnesses say that no such secrecy was enforced, or that those who had been present on any occasion were at liberty to speak to each other, although not to others. (Menard, 172, 181; Proc. i. 613; ii. 232, 448.) One at Nismes said at first that he had kept the secrets, but had never been charged to do so; next, "quasi trepidando," that he had been so charged under pain of excommunication; and immediately afterwards, "quasi balbutiendo et verba intricate proferendo," that he had never been charged. (Menard, 187.) John of Stoke, a chaplain, suggests as points for reform "quod haberet annum probationis, et quod publice fiat receptio." (Wilkins, ii. 330.) See the evidence of Ralph de Barton, ib. [b] Proc. i. 175.

[c] Ib. 181, 388; ii. 139, 145. Havemann says that the French statutes were drawn up as they were needed, between 1247 and 1266; that there was no reason why each Templar should be acquainted with them, except in so far as they related to his own duties, and that they were for the heads of the order only. 103-4, 376-7.

appears that, although such an injunction was laid on them,[d] it was not strictly observed, and that an exception was made as to cases of necessity;[e] and if such exceptions were allowed, the rule cannot fairly be blamed as unreasonable, or as really warranting the suspicions which were not unnaturally founded on it. Another accusation was, that the master and other lay officers took it on themselves to grant absolution. As to this, it is clear from the evidence that the only offences for which absolution was really given by laymen were breaches of the rules of the order;[f] but the testimony of some witnesses appears to show that this distinction was not always rightly apprehended, and that some Templars may have shared in the popular opinion which supposed it to supersede the necessity of absolution from a priest.[g] With regard to the charge that the priests of the order, in reciting the canon of the mass, omitted the four words on which the consecration of the host was supposed to depend, the greater part of the witnesses declared that they knew nothing of it; and those who

[d] Proc. i. 268.

[e] Règle et Stat., p. 364.

[f] See, *e. g.*, Proc. i. 210, 390-1, 398, 427, 569, 629; ii. 10, 27, 73. One witness had heard that, before the order had its own clergy, the lay preceptors absolved the brethren by papal authority, but says that this had been altered. (Proc. ii. 215.) Thomas Tocci, of Thoroldeby, said that when any one asked forgiveness in the chapter, inquiry was made whether it were for *peccatum* or for *defalta*. If the latter, penance was imposed by the president; if the former, by a priest, except in cases reserved for the pope. He himself had never believed that a layman could absolve. (Wilkins, ii. 385.) In another examination, he says that the master absolves from greater sins, and the priest from lesser (386).

[g] Some say that they had found among the simpler brethren a notion that, after the lay absolution, that of a priest was not necessary; and that they had reasoned against this. (Proc. ii. 129, 135.) In some cases, according to English witnesses, the lay officer gave remission of sins, "quantum in me est," and then enjoined a priest to give his absolution, or charged the penitent to apply to a priest. (Wilkins, ii. 367-8-9, etc.) One says, "Quod magnus præceptor, miles, vel visitator possunt fratres absolvere a septem peccatis mortalibus, si petant misericordiam in capitulo, et pœnitentia eisdem injungitur per dictum præceptorem et conventum, et de his de quibus absolutus est non oportet ut ulterius confiteatur sacerdoti, nisi per præceptorem remittatur ad sacerdotem." (Ib. 372.) The witnesses in Ireland deny that the master can absolve. (Ib. 376-7.)

admitted that they had heard of it, denied that they had observed any such omission in the performance of the office.[h] The practice of the order as to almsgiving was among the subjects of inquiry; and the result of the answers appears to be that, notwithstanding the grand-master's claim in behalf of his brethren as to this point,[i] the Templars did not enjoy the reputation of liberality; that they exercised hospitality towards persons of wealth and condition rather than charitable bounty to the poor; and that in many places their alms had of late years become less than before.[k]

The charges that they were enjoined to gain acquisitions for the order by wrongful as well as by rightful means, appeared by the evidence to have no other foundation than vague reports.[l] One member deposed that at his reception he was told to practise such arts without scruple, but only against the Saracens;[m] and others declared that they had been charged to avoid all ways of unfair gain.[n]

The circumstance that there was no noviciate, although explained on the ground that the members ought, immediately on their admission, to be ready to proceed to the holy war,[o] excited much suspicion—as if the rites of initiation were such that no one who had witnessed them

[h] Proc. i. 299, 305, 342, 516, 606, 645. A witness at Aigues Mortes said that he knew nothing as to tampering with the canon, but that some Templars had told him that in communicating they intended to receive "hostiam aliam, non consecratam"; and one of those whom he named avows this as to himself. Menard, 202, 211.

[i] See p. 28. At an earlier time, when answering the proposal of union with the Hospitallars, he had said that the Templars gave alms to all who would receive it thrice a-week; that they continually gave the poor one-tenth of all their bread (according to the direction of their Rule,—c. 15, Patrol. clxvi.), and that every two had an allowance of meat which would leave enough to feed two poor men. Baluz. Vitæ Pap. Aven. ii. 182.

[k] Proc. i. 253, 305, 315, 572, 641, etc.

[l] *E. g.*, Ib. 220, 227, 253.

[m] Ib. ii. 239.

[n] Ib. i. 373. One witness says that at the time of entrance he had been in debt, and had given the order all that he had, probably worth 1000 *livres Tournois*, but that they did not pay his creditors. Ib. ii. 239.

[o] Ib. i. 332, 528, 607; ii. 10, etc.

should have an opportunity of leaving the order;[p] and terrible stories were told of persons who, after having gone through those rites, never smiled again.[q] It was said that one expressed his grief by causing a signet-ring to be made with an inscription which described him as lost, and that within a year and a half after his reception he pined away.[r] An English witness related that a Templar spoke of himself as having lost his soul by joining the brotherhood.[s] Another said that his grandfather entered the order in full health and in high spirits,[t] taking his hawks and dogs with him; and that three days later he was a dead man.[u] Another knight, who had before been rallied by his friends as to the popular stories of the manner of reception, came out from the ceremony pale and overwhelmed with sorrow; and on being urged to relate the details, as he had promised, he sternly forbade all questioning on the subject.[x] Some professed to have forsaken the order on account of the abominations which were connected with it; others said that they had wished to leave it, but that they and many others were kept in it by fear;[y] but these witnesses appear to have been men of low character, and little entitled to belief. It is indeed impossible to decide as to the value of much of the evidence. The witnesses make confessions to the discredit of the order; they avow that they had done this from a wish to save themselves at its expense, retract their confessions, and yet afterwards retract their retractations.[z] Many of them declare that they had yielded

[p] Some were sworn to continue in it, but others were not. Ib. i. 613, 623.

[q] Ib. i. 176. [r] Ib. 184.

[s] Wilkins, ii. 362.

[t] "Vadens [valens?] sanus, et hilaris."

[u] Wilkins, ii. 360. There are stories of this kind in the fragment of Spanish evidence published by Benavides, 'Fernando IV.' i. 636.

[x] Proc. i. 454. There is a similar story by the same witness, a Franciscan, ib. 457-8.

[y] Ib. 200, 216, 258, 316, 379, 387.

[z] See, *e.g.*, John de Pollencourt, Proc. i. 369, 378. Raynouard exhibits some of the contradictions in the evidence by printing them in parallel columns, 223-8.

to force or to the fear of tortures, and that by the same means they might have been wrought to confess anything, however false or monstrous.[a] Many had been won by the blandishments which were practised on them, and by the hopes of royal favour which were held out, to give testimony agreeable to Philip's designs;[b] and many—especially in the south of France—when they were pressed with the avowals which had been extracted from the grand-master and others, declared that there was no truth in them.[c]

In other countries, also, inquiries as to the Templars had been carried on, and with results less doubtful than in France.

With England, Clement, notwithstanding his subserviency to the French king, had studied to be on friendly terms. As archbishop of Bordeaux, he had been subject to the English sovereign. As pope, he had released Edward I. from his oath to observe the charters,[d] and had allowed him to levy ecclesiastical tenths throughout the British islands for two years; and in consideration of this he had himself been permitted to extort large sums from the English church, notwithstanding strong remonstrances of the parliament.[e] He had countenanced the attempts to subdue Scotland, had suspended the Scottish bishops who were obnoxious to Edward, and had excommunicated Robert Bruce, who, after the execution of Wallace in August 1305, had become the champion of the national freedom.[f] He had suspended the English primate, Robert Winchilsey, who had offended Edward by acts which have been in part already mentioned;[g] and by these and other compliances

[a] Proc. i. 514, 521; ii. 19, 172, 210; Havem. 343-4.

[b] Raynouard, 45.

[c] Proc. ii. 441, 444, 447, 455-6. See the Elne depositions especially.

[d] Rymer, i. 978-9; Walsingh. i. 110; Pauli, iv. 167.

[e] Rymer, i. 991-3; Pauli, l. c.

[f] Rymer, i. 987; Pauli, iv. 171.

[g] Vol. vi. p. 318; Rymer, i. 983, 985, 989; Walsingh. i. 110; Pauli, iv. 168.

he had established a friendly understanding, although he had declined the king's request that Bishop Grossetête of Lincoln, whom the court of Rome could not but regard as an enemy, should receive the honour of canonization.[h] At the time when the process against the Templars was begun in France, Edward II., who had just succeeded to the English crown, was about to marry a daughter of Philip, who wrote to bespeak his co-operation against the order:[i] and Clement, by a bull dated on the 22nd of November 1307, after reciting the confessions which were alleged to have been made by the master and other members, desired him to imprison the Templars of his dominions, and to commit their property to the custody of independent persons until the charges against them should be investigated.[k]

In compliance with these letters—although Edward had before regarded the Templars with great favour, and was still so little inclined to believe the charges, that even at this time he wrote to the kings of Spain, Portugal, and Sicily, desiring that they would not too readily take part against the order[l]—all the Templars in the British islands (for Scotland was then under the English dominion) were arrested in January 1308, with the same suddenness which had before been used against their brethren in France.[m] Councils of the two provinces were held at London and at York respectively, and showed themselves disposed to treat the accused with fairness.[n]

Rymer, i. 1015-16; Pauli, iv. 188. For Grossetête, see vol vi. p. 203.

[i] See Edward's answer in Rymer, ii. 10.

[k] Rymer, ii. 16. Cf. Edward's letter, ib. 65.

[l] Dupuy, Append. 60, 61; Rymer, ii. 19. The answer to Philip (Rym. ii. 10) is written in a tone of hesitation, and Bp. Hefele refers to Benavides, Mem. de Fernando IV. (Madrid, 1860), for two letters in which Edward begs the king of Portugal and the pope to help the Templars (vi. 379). He expresses to the pope his unwillingness to give credit to the charges, Dec. 10. Rymer, ii. 20.

[m] Ib. 18, 23; Eulog. Histor. iii. 194. Dean Hook suggests that the affair may have been pushed on in consequence of Abp. Winchilsey's return from exile. iii. 446.

[n] Rymer, ii. 88, 90, 91, etc. The York council (June and July, 1311) is

The pope had ordered that the witnesses should be examined by torture,—a novelty in English procedure; and the York council ask, with visible repugnance, what should be done if no one capable of applying it should be found in England—whether torturers should be brought from abroad? to which no other answer was given than that it must not be so applied as to maim the victims for life.[o]

Forty knights were examined before the bishop of London,[p] and after these followed a number of other witnesses, who did not belong to the order. The interrogations, which were furnished by the pope, were eighty-seven in number,[q] and to these twenty-four were afterwards added. The evidence (of which some portions have been quoted already) presents the same features with which we have become familiar in that of the French Templars. There are stories of denying the Saviour, of spitting on the cross, of obscene ceremonies and abominable licenses,[r] as connected with the reception. One witness, Stephen of Staplebridge, who is described as a fugitive and apostate from the order, and professed much contrition for his sins, states that there were two ceremonies of reception—a good and a bad—and that he himself had gone through both;[s] he believed that any

in Wilkins, ii. 395, seqq. Cf. Hemingb. ii. 286, seqq. There are many documents relating to the safe keeping of the Templars in Rymer, ii. 90, 91, 100, 105, etc.

[o] Hemingb. ii. 287; Hallam, ii. 286; Pauli, iv. 232. This is not within the scope of Mr. Jardine's 'Reading on the Use of Torture in the Criminal Law of England' (Lond., 1837), where it is shown (pp. 8-9), that torture is against Art. 29 of Magna Charta, and against other English laws. It does not appear whether the torture was actually used in the case before us. The pope rebuked Edward for his lenity towards the Templars. Raynouard, 132; Pauli, iv. 233.

[p] Wilkins, ii. 334.

[q] Ib. 331-2.

[r] Ib. 384.

[s] Ib. 383. Compare John of Stoke, ib. 387-8. It will be seen that this is inconsistent with much of the other evidence. The evidence of Thomas Tocci (386-7) is also remarkable. He says, among other things, that shortly after his entrance into the order, a member of it said to him, "Si sederes super campanile S. Pauli Londoniensis, non posses videre majora infortunia quam tibi contingent antequam moriaris."

who should refuse compliance with the objectionable rites were put to death in foreign countries, but was not aware of any such case in England.[t] There is much about idols, brazen heads with either one face or two,[u] a cat,[x] a calf,[y] a black monster with glowing eyes;[z] and one witness, a Franciscan friar, had been told by a "veteran," who had left the order, that there were four principal idols in England.[a] Yet on this point there was no clear testimony from personal knowledge, and it was commonly stated that, with very few exceptions, the faith of the members was sound.[b] There were tales of the mystery in which the order delighted,[c] and of the terrible effects which an initiation into its secrets had in some cases produced.[d]

The councils both of London and of York were inclined to greater lenity than the French tribunals. Many of the accused were persuaded to forswear all heresy, on which they were absolved, and placed in monasteries for penance until the expected general council should decide the fate of the order.[e] But for those who persisted in a denial of guilt, severer measures were used. Thus one was shut up for the time "in a most vile prison, being bound with double irons;"[f] and the grand preceptor, William de la More, was reserved for the pope's judgment, and died in prison.[g]

In Scotland,[h] only two knights—both of English birth—were arrested. They admitted that the great officers

[t] Wilkins, ii. 384. [u] Ib. 358.
[x] Ib. 359. [y] Ib. 358-9. [z] Ib. 362.
[a] Ib. 363. [b] Ib. 358.
[c] Ib. 359. A Templar is reported to have said to a priest that there were three articles which would never be known, except to God, the devil, and one member of the order. Ib. 361.
[d] See p. 46; also Wilkins, ii. 359.
[e] Ib. 314, 390-2; Letters from the Northern Registers (Chron. and Mem.), 208, 269; Hemingb. ii. 292; Ad. Murimuth, 14. See Pauli, iv. 232-3.
[f] Wilkins, ii. 393.
[g] After having been confined in Canterbury castle, he was made over to Antony Beck, bishop of Durham and patriarch of Jerusalem, for custody, and he died in the Tower of London, 1313. Rymer, ii. 46, 198.
[h] The commission for Scotland and Ireland is in Rymer, ii. 93 4.

were accustomed to give absolution as if by authority from God, St. Peter, and the pope. One of them said that at his reception he was charged to accept no service from a woman—not so much as water to wash his hands.[i] Many witnesses not belonging to the order were examined, but nothing beyond mere suspicions could be drawn out from them. The abbot of Dunfermline stated that he had never heard of any reception as having taken place in Scotland.[k]

In Ireland, after some Templars had been examined without admitting any of the charges, the evidence came chiefly from Franciscans, who were bitter enemies of the order.[l] One who had been a servitor in it had heard that many Templars had been put into sacks and thrown into the sea; but when questioned as to the story that one was lost at every general chapter, he said that he had himself disproved it by counting them as they went in and as they came out.[m] Another deposed that at the elevation of the host Templars had been known to look down to the ground; and that from this and other circumstances he believed them all and each to be conscious of some guilty secret.[n]

In Italy, although the usual avowals to the discredit of the order were extorted in the papal states and in the southern kingdom, which was under the influence of France, the result of inquiries elsewhere was favourable. The archbishop of Ravenna, as inquisitor for Tuscany and northern Italy, held two synods for the consideration of the subject, where it was resolved that the guilty members should be punished and that the innocent should be absolved; that those who retracted confessions made under torture should be reckoned as innocent; and that, as the innocent out- A.D. 1310.

[i] Wilkins, ii. 381.
[k] Ib. 382.
[l] Ib. 373-8.
[m] Ib. 379.
[n] Ib.

numbered the guilty, the order should be allowed to retain its property.[o]

In the Spanish kingdoms the affair took a peculiar course. The Templars of Castile and Aragon, warned by the sudden arrest of their brethren in France, shut themselves up in their castles, and offered to do battle for the defence of the order.[p] Some of their fortresses were reduced by the king of Aragon, and were made over by him to papal commissioners. The case of the Aragonese Templars was considered by synods at Tarragona in 1310 and 1312—between which times some of them had been put to torture, but without making any confession. At the second synod they were declared to be innocent of heresy; but as the pope had already dissolved the order, it was decreed that, until he should determine further, they should be allowed to hold houses and income within the dioceses where their property lay, and to live under the inspection of the bishops.[q]

For the kingdoms of Castile and Leon, the inquiry was carried on by a commission which sat at Medina del Campo, and afterwards by a synod at Salamanca, in 1310. The prelates who were present expressed great satisfaction that no crime had been established against the Templars, but referred the decision of the case to the pope, on the ground that an acquittal by him would carry greater weight than one pronounced by an inferior tribunal; but eventually the Templars of Castile were involved in the general fate of the order.[r]

In Germany, the Templars of Mentz, Toul, and Verdun denied all the charges.[s] The case of the order was brought before a council at Mentz in 1410, when, to the

[o] Mansi, xxv. 293-6; Milm. v. 194-5; Hefele, vi. 387, 448.

[p] Mariana, xv. 10 (t. i. 883, ed. 1780); Mansi, xxv. 297.

[q] Ib. 515; Hefele, vi. 421

[r] Benavides Mem. de Fernando IV. i. 630, seqq. There is some evidence, pp. 635-7. Cf. Hefele, vi. 420.

[s] Dupuy, 213.

astonishment of the assembled prelates, Hugh, count of the Rhine and waldgrave,[t] the provincial head of the Templars, appeared with twenty companions, in the full armour and habit of the Temple. On being asked by the archbishop of Mentz, Peter Aichspalter, to explain their business, the count said that he and his brethren protested against the charges of "enormous and more than heathen crimes," which had been brought against them; that the innocence of those who had been burnt elsewhere had been proved by a miracle, their white cloaks and red crosses having been unconsumed by the fire; and he appealed to a future pope and to a general council. The archbishop answered that he would refer the matter to the pope; and in the following year a second council was held, by which it was declared that the Templars were innocent.[u] Yet at Mentz the property of the order was confiscated; and in other parts of Germany there were serious commotions, and some of its members perished at the stake.[x]

The pope wrote to the king of Cyprus and to the Latin patriarch of Constantinople, urging inquiry into the case of the Templars, and enjoining the use of torture. In reply, Amaury of Cyprus reported that he had not been able to arrest the knights, as they had been warned against a surprise; but that they had waited on him, asserting their innocence, and offering to submit to the papal judgment.[y]

Within a few months after the beginning of Philip's proceedings against the Templars, the empire had been left without a head by the death of Albert of Austria, who, while on his way to suppress an insurrection of the Swiss,[z]

[t] "Comes silvestris et Rheni."

[u] Mansi, xxv. 298-9. The council of 1310 passed a canon against Templars and Hospitallers for their defiance of ecclesiastical sentences. Ib. 316.

[x] Wilcke, ii. 41.

[y] Dupuy, 192-5; Baluz. Vitæ Pap. Aven. ii. 104.

[z] This expedition has been commonly connected with the story of

was murdered by his nephew John, within sight of the castle of Hapsburg, the original seat of their family.[a] His eldest son, Frederick, became a candidate for the vacant dignity, but found that his hope of gaining the electors was destroyed by their remembrance of Albert's harshness, and of the policy by which he had strengthened the crown.[b] Philip now conceived the scheme of gaining the empire for a member of his own family—which, in addition to France and Navarre, already possessed the thrones of Naples and Hungary, and through agents at Florence and at Rome swayed the affairs of central Italy;[c] and (as we

May 1, 1308.

William Tell, which appears to have vanished at the touch of modern criticism. See 'Edinb. Rev.', Jan. 1869, Art. v.

[a] W. Nang. contin. 62; Ptol. Luc. xxiv. 37; Ferret. Vicent. 1048-50; Mart. Polon. cont. in Eccard. i. 1435; Böhmer, Reg. 251-2. Albert had refused to give John, who was only nineteen years old, possession of his father's territories, on account of his youth, and John was induced to commit his crime by the fear of being utterly disinherited. He and all his accomplices were outlawed by Henry VII. (Pertz, Leges, ii. 497), and all were, with their connexions—nearly 1,000 in number—either put to death or driven to end their days in obscurity and misery. (Joh. Vitodur. in Eccard, i. 1770.) One of them, Walter of Eschbach, lived thirty-five years as a shepherd in Würtemberg. (Mailáth, i. 96.) John himself sought absolution from the pope, who granted it, but made him over to the new emperor, by whom he was consigned to a convent near Pisa. There is, however, some doubt as to the circumstances of his last days. (See Joh. Victor. in Böhmer. i. 372; Ferret. Vicent. 1093; Matth. Neoburg. in Urstis. ii. 114-15; Mailáth, i. 92-7; Barthold, i. 152-3; Coxe, i. 44.) Albert's daughter Agnes, the widowed queen of Hungary, and her stepmother, the empress Elizabeth, built and endowed a Franciscan convent for men and one for women at Königsfelden, near the scene of the murder, with the forfeited property of those who had been concerned in it. (Joh. Victor. 357; Ptol. Luc. xxiv. 37; M. Neoburg. 105.) The spirit of Agnes was shown by her exclamation on seeing sixty-three of the supposed criminals led out to execution—"Now I bathe in May dew!" (a phrase borrowed from St. Elizabeth of Hungary); and it is said that the union of this vindictiveness with the profession and practice of a strictly ascetic religion drew on her the reproach of an aged hermit,—"Lady, God is not served by shedding innocent blood, and by building convents from the plunder of families, but by compassion and forgiveness of injuries!" J. v. Müller, Gesch. der Schweiz, i. 24-5; Coxe, i. 98.

[b] Schmidt, iv. 464; Coxe, i. 99. A Mentz annalist (A.D. 1308, in Pertz, xvii.) says of Albert, "De cujus morte nec planctus nec dolor habitus, pro eo quod clerum odivit, nec in eo virtus vel justitia inventa est aliqualis."

[c] G. Vill. viii. 101; Schmidt, iv. 434.

have seen)[d] he lost no time in visiting Clement at Poitiers, with a view to secure the pope's interest for his brother, Charles of Valois. It has, indeed, been supposed by some writers that this interest was the object of the secret article which Philip was said to have exacted from Clement before his election.[e] But the pope had reason to dread the vast aggrandisement of French influence which was designed; and although, in compliance with Philip's wishes, he wrote in favour of Charles to the electors, he at the same time took measures underhand to defeat the king's policy.[f] In consideration of his apparent subserviency, not only as to the Templars but as to the empire, he was allowed to leave Poitiers, and Philip was about to visit him at Avignon, in order to press his suit with greater advantage at the head of 6,000 cavalry. But Clement, having been informed of this design by a member of the king's council, employed Cardinal Nicolas of Prato (who had been alienated from Philip by his bitterness against the memory of Boniface) to urge the electors that they should choose speedily, and to recommend to them, as the fittest candidate, Duke Henry of Luxemburg, who had lately visited the papal court.[g] The important see of Mentz was at this time occupied by Peter of Achtzpalt[h] (Aichspalt or Aspelt), who having been sent to solicit it for Henry's brother Baldwin, and having recommended himself to the pope by his medical skill,[i] had himself been promoted from the see of Basel to the German primacy, A.D. 1306.

[d] P. 24.

[e] G. Vill. viii. 101; Martin, iv. 482.

[f] D. Compagni in Murat. ix. 524; Antonin. iii. 274-5. There is a letter from a cardinal, recommending Charles to the archbishop of Cologne, and dated at Poitiers, July 1308, in Baluz. Vit. Pap. Aven. ii. 119.

[g] G. Vill. viii. 101. Bishop Hefele seems to throw doubt on this story, except in so far that the pope was not zealous for the French interest (vi. 383-4). For the parties among the electors, see ib. p. 23.

[h] See for the name, Hefele, vi. 383.

[i] He had formerly been physician to Rudolf of Hapsburg, but had since quarrelled with the Austrian family. Herzog, art. *Aichspalt.*

for which Baldwin was considered to be too young;[k] and within two years he had been able to console Baldwin by procuring for him the archbishoprick of Treves.[l] Through the exertions of Peter Aichspalter, aided by Baldwin, it was now contrived that the election should fall on Henry—a petty prince who had not at first been thought of as a candidate, but who had been distinguished by the justice and the vigour of his administration within his own small territory, and was renowned as the most accomplished knight in Europe.[m] The archbishop of Mentz and the other electors took, as was usual, the opportunity to secure large privileges or other advantages for themselves and their successors;[n] and the pope, in ratifying the election, exacted from Henry an engagement that he would confirm the grants of former emperors to the church, that he would exterminate heresies and heretics, that he would never intermarry or ally himself with Saracens, heathens, or schismatics, and that he would secure to the Roman church the lands which had been mentioned in former compacts.[o]

Nov. 27.

Philip—whether or not he knew or suspected that the pope's duplicity had been the cause of his failure as to the empire,—was rendered eager to console himself for the disappointment by pursuing his suit against the memory of Boniface; and, although it had been intended that the

[k] Trithem. Chron. Hirsaug. A.D. 1305, 1307; Barthold, i. 290; Herzog, l. c.

[l] When elected to Trèves, Baldwin was only twenty-two. He held the see forty-six years, during which he played an important part in ecclesiastical and political affairs. See Gesta Trevir. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. iv. 377; or Baluz. Miscell. i. 311, seqq.

[m] "Operibus quam opibus memorabilioribus," says one of Clement's biographers. (Baluz. i. 86.) Cf. Gesta Balduini, in Martene, Coll. Ampl. iv. 387; Albert. Mussat. in Murat. x. 125, 209: Olensl. 22-6; Barthold, i. 285; Böhmer, Reg. 252-7. For the family, see Barth. i. 277.

[n] Schmidt, iv. 486-7. See Böhmer, 376.

[o] Pertz, Leges, ii. 494; Rayn. 1310. 3-7; Clementin. l. ii. tit. 9; Ptol. Luc. 34. For documents connected with the election, see Olensl. Urkunden, vi.-x.; Pertz, Leges, ii. 490, seqq.; Baluz. ii. 265, seqq., 272: for the coronation, Rayn. 1309. 9.

matter should be reserved for the general council, which had been summoned to meet in October 1310, Clement was urged to a more speedy trial.[p] He announced an intention of hearing the case in Lent 1310, and summoned Philip and his sons, with Nogaret and Plasian, to appear as accusers.[q] The king and the princes, however, declined to undertake that character in a question of heresy;[r] and thus the task was thrown on Plasian and Nogaret, who had staked their all on the process.

Witnesses were on their way from Italy, under Reginald of Supino, who had been concerned in the attack on the palace of Anagni, when, within three leagues of Avignon, they were assailed by some of Boniface's partisans, who had been lying in wait for their arrival. Some of the Italians were killed; the rest were scattered, and returned across the Alps; and their leader hints, in a protest which he made at Nismes, that the scheme for thus getting rid of their evidence had not been unknown to pope Clement.[s] The power and wealth of Boniface's family had provided him with able advocates, when, on the 16th of March, 1310, the question came before the pope in his consistory.[t] The French king's civilians were confronted by men learned in the ecclesiastical law, among whom the most conspicuous was Baldred Bisset, a canon of Glasgow,[u] whose name has already come before us in connexion with the question as to the Scottish crown.[x] By each party an attempt was made to deprive its opponents of a standing in the court. On the one side, it was said that a man who was

April 25, 1309.

[p] See Letters in Dupuy, 290, 292, 296, etc.

[q] Ib. 36. There is a story that Clement destroyed a bull which Boniface's party had drawn up with the intention of getting the pope to declare his predecessor blameless. W. Nang. cont. 63.

[r] Dupuy, 300-2.

[s] Ib. 288-90. See Milm. v. 206. The pope had beforehand decreed the penalty of anathema against any who should molest witnesses. Rayn. 1310 18.

[t] Dupuy, 367, seqq.

[u] Ib. 370.

[x] Vol. vi. p. 333.

dead, and who was charged with heresy, was not entitled to counsel:[y] on the other, that a dead man ought not to be brought to trial, since he had been cited before a higher tribunal; that a pope could not be judged by any man—not even by his own successor, forasmuch as an equal has no power over an equal; or, at least, that he could not be judged by any authority less than a general council.[z] To this it was rejoined that Boniface, being dead, was no longer pope; that the pope represented the whole church, so as to render a general council superfluous;[a] while Clement himself disclaimed the right to try his predecessor. Nogaret objected to some of the cardinals, as unfit to be judges on account of their partiality;[b] while the opposite party asserted that Nogaret himself ought not to be heard on account of his notorious enmity against Boniface, of his acts against that pope, and of the excommunication which he had incurred.[c] Against Plasian, too, disqualifying circumstances were alleged.[d] Nogaret and his advocate, Bertrand of Roccanegata, replied that he had not incurred excommunication; that, since he had spoken with Boniface before the pope's death, he could not be in an excommunicate state; but the pope said that, although this opinion was held by some lawyers, it could not be admitted.[e] Both Plasian and Nogaret asserted those doctrines of royal, as opposed to ecclesiastical, power which were characteristic of their class—maintaining, among other things, the right of the sovereign to prevent his subjects from going out of the realm, and to take the property of the clergy without their consent.[f] The trial went on for many months.

[y] Dupuy, 392-3.
[z] Ib. 394-5; Ptol. Luc. 37.
[a] Dupuy, 413. [b] Ib. 388.
[c] Ib. 396, 399-402.
[d] Ib. 397, 399; Ptol. Luc. 37.
[e] Dupuy, 409; Baillet, 296. In the Clementines it is laid down that the pope does not absolve an excommunicate person by intercourse with him, unless it be declared that such is his intention. V. tit. x. c. 4.
[f] Dupuy, 317, 322-3, etc.; Baillet, 292-8.

Evidence, partly obtained by a commission sent to Italy, partly given by witnesses who appeared in person, was brought to prove a long list of accusations.[g] It was said that Boniface had been a blasphemer from his youth upwards;[h] that he had not only disbelieved the chief articles of the Christian faith, but had openly and habitually scoffed at them;[i] that he had neglected the outward duties of religion, and had not confessed for thirty years;[k] that he had been a gamester and a profligate; that even in extreme old age he had indulged in the most odious and abominable forms of dissoluteness; that he had declared the sins of the flesh to be as much a matter of indifference as the act of washing the hands;[l] that he had been seen by night performing pagan sacrifices and incantations, while voices of demons had been heard in the air;[m] that he had worshipped a devil enclosed in a ring, and an idol given to him by a famous sorcerer.[n] And, together with these and other such monstrous tales, was brought up the old history of the irregularities connected with the resignation of Celestine and his own promotion, and of the cruelties which he was said to have exercised on his predecessor, of whose death he was even alleged to have been guilty.[o]

Clement found himself in a great perplexity. Was he to give up the reputation of Boniface, and with it the credit of the papacy, the validity of Benedict's election and of his own? or was he to tax Philip with falsehood, fraud, and subornation of perjury in the persecution of the deceased pope? He had already requested the intervention of Charles of Valois, whose hopes of the empire

[g] Dupuy, 526, seqq. There are several papers of charges, *e.g.*, Dupuy, 305, 327, seqq., 347, seqq., 350, seqq.—this last extending to 94 articles. See Hefele's remarks on the charges, vi. 411-15.

[h] Dupuy, 214-15.

[i] Ib. 504, 532, 564, 568, 571-5.

[k] Ib. 329.

[l] Ib. 568-9.

[m] Ib. 537.

[n] Ib. 355, 536, 538.

[o] Ib. 344-5, 528.

he had lately frustrated.[p] The kings of Castile and of Aragon also remonstrated with Philip against his proceedings;[q] and at length a compromise was agreed on, to which Philip was the more readily brought to consent, because the new emperor's successes in Italy suggested the fear that in him the pope might find another protector.[r] In consideration of being allowed to carry out his designs against the Templars—with whom an attempt had been made to connect Boniface by a story that he was aware of their heresy, but had been bribed to connive at it[s]—the king agreed to forego the fulness of his triumph over the memory of his old antagonist, to leave the judgment of Boniface's case to the pope and cardinals, and never to question their decision.[t] A special bull was issued, by which it was declared that all Boniface's acts against the king and kingdom of France were annulled; they were to be erased from the papal registers, and it was forbidden under penalties that any one should keep a copy of them.[u] The bulls known as *Unam sanctam* and *Rem non novam* only were excepted, and these were to be understood in a qualified and inoffensive sense. At the same time Philip, after a number of cardinals and others had, at the pope's request, testified to the purity of his zeal, was pronounced to be free from all blame in his proceedings against Boniface,—to be innocent as to the attack on the pope, and as to the plunder of his treasures;[x] and it was declared that neither the existing pope nor his successors should molest the king on account of Boniface. All who had been concerned in the contest with Boniface were forgiven, except the authors of the outrage at Anagni, and even for these some other way of release was to be used.[y] Nogaret

April 27, 1311.

[p] Dupuy, 290. [q] Schröckh, xxxi. 34.
[r] Sism. ix. 251. [s] Dupuy, 528-9.
[t] Ib. 597; Antonin. 27.
[u] Raynaldus prints many erased documents, 1311. 22, seqq.
[x] Dupuy, 592-602, 603; W. Nang. contin. 64; Hefele, vi. 404-8.
[y] Dupuy, 604-6. Nogaret professed

himself was absolved *ad cautelam*,[z] on condition that he should perform pilgrimages to Compostella and certain other places, and that in the next crusade—an expedition which was never to be made—he should serve until the pope should authorize his return.[a]

The council of Vienne, after having been deferred from time to time, met on the 16th of October 1311.[b] The number of bishops and mitred abbots is given by one writer as 114; by others as upwards of 300.[c] The pope, in his discourse at the opening of the proceedings, announced three subjects for consideration—the case of the Templars, a crusade, and the reform of the church;[d] and, in addition to these, the question as to Boniface was discussed. Three advocates—a civilian, a decretalist, and a theologian—appeared in his behalf, and it is said that two Catalan knights offered to do battle for the deceased pope's memory, but that no one took up their challenge.[e] The question both as to Boniface's character and acts, and as to the French king's opposition to him, was settled on the footing of the compromise which has been already mentioned.[f]

On the subject of reform in the church, the bishops gave in written statements of their views; one of these memoirs, by Durantis, bishop of Mende, displays so much of knowledge and understanding, that it has led some

that he had gone to Anagni merely in order to inform Boniface of the charges against him, and with a view to obtaining a general council; that Sciarra Colonna was there without any concert with him! Ib. 528.

[z] This he himself had requested, while denying that he was excommunicate. Ib. 411. See p. 5.

[a] Dupuy, 601-2.

[b] Mansi (xxv. 369), 413-14, 423; Hefele, vi. 460.

[c] Mansi (xxvi. 36) thinks 114 the more likely number, as being given by a contemporary, the continuer of William of Nangis (65). Others suppose the lesser number to be that of the French bishops only. Bp. Hefele gives no opinion. vi. 461.

[d] W. Nang. contin. 65.

[e] G. Villani, ix. 22. M. Martin says that the challenge is "plus que douteux." (iv. 499.) Some writers have denied that the affair of Boniface came before the council at all; but see, for the contrary, Hefele, vi. 471.

[f] See p. 60; Dupuy, Hist. des Templiers, 286, 359, seqq., 365; Rayn. 1312. 15-16; Hefele, vi. 471-3.

writers to draw from it a presumption in favour of the judgment which he formed as a commissioner in the affair of the Templars.[g]

In this tract the bishop, with a great display of canonical learning, treats the principal subjects which appeared to him to require the council's attention. He urges a thorough reform of the church, from the head downwards.[h] He would have the character of the Roman primacy exactly defined; that the pope should not, in contradiction to the prohibition of Gregory the Great, be styled universal bishop, and that in various ways his pretensions should be limited.[i] If the papacy should be vacant more than three months, the right of election ought to pass from the cardinals to certain other representatives of the church.[k] He proposes that a general council should be assembled once in ten years, and that the power of making general laws should belong to such councils alone.[l] He urges the restoration of the rights of the episcopate in cases where they had been invaded from various quarters, as by the undue preference of cardinals and members of the pope's household above the bishops,[m] and by those grants of dispensations and exemptions to monastic communities which had been found ruinous to discipline, and had often led even the inferior members of such communities to fancy themselves equal to bishops and archbishops.[n] He denounces simony,[o] pluralities,[p]

[g] See Martin, iv. 494; Milman, v. 222. The tract 'De Modo Generalis Concilii celebrandi' was published, with other pieces of a reforming tendency, at Paris, 1671, and has been since reprinted. The editor makes the mistake of ascribing it to the author of the 'Speculum Juris' and of the 'Rationale Divinorum Officiorum,' whereas it was really written by his nephew, who had succeeded him in the see of Mende. See vol. vi. p. 454.

[h] P. iii. init. [i] Ib. c. 28, p. 282. [k] Ib. [l] Ib. c. 27, p. 281. [m] P. ii. c. 7.

[n] P. i. tit. 5; cf. ii. 28; iii. 33. The bishop seems to have inherited something of his uncle's talent for etymology (see vol. vi. p. 454). *E.g.*, "Agnoscat [monachus] nomen suum. *Monos* enim Græce, Latine dicitur *unus; achos* Græce, Latine *tristis:* unde *monachus*, id est *unus et tristis*, interpretatur, ut tristis sedeat et officio suo vacet." P. ii. 33. p. 168. [o] P. ii. tit. 20.

[p] Ib. tit. 2, 21.

the system of granting monastic and other benefices to cardinals *in commendam*,[q] the employment of bishops and clergy in secular affairs,[r] improper promotions,[s] the pride, luxury, and ignorance of the clergy,[t] the want of decent ornaments and vestures in churches,[u] defects in the performance of the services,[x] and the profanation of Sundays and holy-days by giving them up to unseemly merriment.[y] He urges reform among the bishops and clergy,[z] and, while maintaining the immunity of the clergy from secular courts,[a] he would guard against the abuse of this privilege as a protection to unworthy persons. He proposes[b] that the decretal *De clericis conjugatis*,[c] should be revoked, as having been made by pope Boniface without the concurrence of a general council; that the western discipline as to the marriage of the clergy should be conformed to that of the eastern church;[d] and he suggests the revival of those canons by which the offspring of the amours of the clergy were condemned to servitude.[e] But although the question of reform had been thus fully brought forward, the council did little to effect a reformation in the points which had been indicated as faulty.

The subject of a crusade was discussed, but languidly. A grant of tenths for six years was voted for the purpose;[f] money and jewels were contributed, and some knights, among whom were Philip of France, Edward II. of England, and Lewis of Navarre, son of the French king,[g] took the cross with a view to the expedition. But nothing came of these acts, and, although attempts were made to aid the cause by a report that the books of the Mussulmans themselves foretold a speedy extinction of the false

[q] P. ii. c. 21, p. 111.
[r] Ib. t. 1. [s] Ib. t. 18; iii. 27.
[t] P. iii. 34-6, 39, seqq. [u] Ib. 58.
[x] P. ii. t. 19; iii. 52. [y] P. iii. 53.
[z] Ib. 28-29.
[a] P. ii. 3, 70.
[b] P. iii. 29.
[c] VI. Decret. l. iii. tit. 2, c. 1.
[d] P. ii. 4, 46. (This has been already quoted, vol. v. p. 381.)
[e] P. iii. t. 7.
[f] See the pope's letters for collectio in England, etc. Wilkins, ii. 431
[g] Rayn. 1313. 1-6.

religion,[h] it was more manifest than ever that the period of crusading enthusiasm was over.[i] A chronicler relates that, when some thousands of crusaders, in obedience to the pope's summons, made their appearance at Avignon, Clement absolved them from their vow, and desired them to return to their homes; "and thus," says the writer, "their labours and very great expenses became like a mockery and had no effect."[k]

While the council was engaged in hearing and considering the evidence which had been collected as to the case of the Templars, seven knights presented themselves at one of the sessions; and at a later meeting, two more appeared in like manner, offering to defend the order, and stating that from 1500 to 2000 of their brethren, concealed at Lyons and in its neighbourhood, were ready to support them; but the pope in alarm ordered them to be arrested and imprisoned.[l] In February 1312, Philip, impatient at the slowness of the council, appeared before the gates of Vienne at the head of a large force, declaring an intention to "make the cause of Christ triumphant," and demanding the abolition of the order, on the ground that it had been convicted of heresies and crimes. A vast majority of the council, however—all but one Italian bishop and the archbishops of Sens, Rouen, and Reims, who had been concerned in the burnings of the French Templars—desired that the accused should be heard;[m] and Clement in perplexity caught at a suggestion which had been made by the bishop of Mende, that the order should be abolished, not on grounds of law, but as a measure of expediency for the good of the church. On the 22nd of March, he

[h] Letter of Edward II. to the king of the Tartars, in Rymer, ii. 18 (A.D. 1307).

[i] Baluz. Vitæ Pap. Aven. i. 20, 86.

[k] Annal. Altah. A.D. 1311.

[l] Clem. in Raynouard, 177 (Nov. 11, 1311).

[m] Ptol. Luc. in Baluz. Vitæ. Pap. Aven. i. 43.

brought the question before his secret consistory, when no objection was raised against the course which he proposed;[n] for the members of the council had been gradually subdued to the papal influence.[o] And at the second general session, on the 3rd of April, when king Philip and three of his sons were present, the dissolution of the order was proclaimed, "not," as the pope avowed, "by way of definitive sentence, forasmuch as, according to the inquisitions and processes which have been held, we cannot of right pass such a sentence, but by the way of provision or apostolical ordination."[p] Thus the very instrument by which the abolition of the order was determined left the question of its guilt or innocence open, and has left it to perplex later ages, without even such assistance towards the solution of it as might have been derived from a papal judgment. A writer who lived near the time, and who professes to have special authority for his statement, reports Clement as having said that the order could not be destroyed in the way of justice, but that it must be destroyed by the way of expediency, "lest our dear son the king of France should be offended."[q]

[n] Baluz. Vit. Pap. Aven. i. 75, 108; Hefele, vi. 466.

[o] Hemingburgh complains that the council does not deserve to be so styled, because the pope carried everything "ex capite proprio," without allowing discussion. ii. 293.

[p] Clem. in Benavides, ii. 841; Mansi, xxv. 389. The continuer of William of Nangis says, "cum ordo ut ordo non esset adhuc convictus" (65); cf. Walsingh. i. 128; Hemingb. ii. 293; Rayn. 1312. 4. The bull of March 22, "Vox in excelso audita est" (in Benavides, ii. 835, seqq.), was unknown until discovered in Spain in the end of the 18th century. Another bull, of May 2, which relates chiefly to the property of the order, had been wrongly supposed to be the act of dissolution. See Hefele, vi. 466-8.

[q] Albert. de Rosate, Dictionarium Juris, Venet. 1573, s. v. *Templarii*, quoted by Baluze, Vitæ Pap. Aven. i. 590. An annalist of the time says, "Quorum divitiæ et potentia in oculis regis suspectæ magis præsumuntur causasse ordinis condemnationem quam malitia personis objecta." (Annal. Lubic. in Pertz, xvi. 423.) St. Antoninus of Florence is also for the innocence of the order. (iii. 273.) See in behalf of it Dean Milman, v. 199, seqq., and Havemann. Mr. Hallam is unable to make up his mind. Suppl. Notes, 43-5.

The members of the order individually were left to the judgment of provincial synods. For those who should seek and receive absolution, a maintenance was to be provided; and the property of the order in France was made over, for the benefit of the Holy Land, to the Hospitallers,[r] who had achieved the conquest of Rhodes[s] at the very time when the great rival society was in the agonies of ruin. Many members of the dissolved order were received into that of the Hospital,[t] while others sank into humbler conditions of life.[u] But such was the rapacity of Philip, and so effectually did he use the means of extortion which he possessed, that his exactions for the temporary custody of the property, and under other pretexts, are said to have left the Hospitallers for a time rather losers than gainers by the great possessions which were thus transferred to them.[x] The property of the

[r] Mansi, xxv. 391; Dupuy, 449. For Philip's consent, see Ib. 450; for the act of the parliament of Paris, Ib. 462.

[s] See p. 21, n. [8].

[t] Murat. ix. 1017; Wilcke, ii. 54. John XXII., in 1519, complains that many ex-Templars dress as laymen, and even marry. He directs that they shall join some one of the approved religious orders. (Dupuy, 511-13.) On the other hand, one Peter Auger, being afraid that the length of his hair may cause him to be taken for a wandering Templar, gets a certificate from Edward II. that he is a "valettus cameræ nostræ," and that he lets his hair grow in consequence of a vow. Rymer, ii. 128.

[u] "Projecto religionis suæ habitu, ministeriis plebeiis ignoti aut artibus illiberalibus se dederunt." (Ferret. Vicent. 1617.) We should hardly have expected to find such authority for the well-known passage in 'The Rovers': "No waiter, but a knight Templar. Returning from the crusade, he found his order dissolved, and his person proscribed. He dissembled his rank, and embraced the profession of a waiter." 'Poetry of the Antijacobin,' p. 196, ed. 1828.

[x] G. Vill. ix. 22; Bern. Guidonis, in Baluz. Vit. Pap. Aven. i. 76; W. Nang. contin. 65; Antonin. iii. 275, 284. See documents in Dupuy, 466, 471, 475. Yet Clement could say in his bull of abolition that Philip did not intend to claim any part of the Temple property, "imo ea in regno suo totaliter dimisit, manum suam exinde totaliter amovendo." (Benavides, ii. 836.) Philip pretended that the Templars had embezzled 200,000 livres of his, which had been deposited in the Temple; and the Hospitallers got nothing until the next reign. (Boutaric, 'Philip le Bel,' ii. 45-6; Hefele, vi. 469.) Adam of Murimuth says that Philip had hoped to get one of his sons made king of Jerusalem, with all the endowments of the Templars (15). Clement also made the Hospitallers pay him largely. (Chron. Ast. 194; Gregorov. vi. 99.)

Templars was also bestowed on the knights of the Hospital in Germany,[y] England,[z] and other countries;[a] but a different arrangement was made as to Spain, where the lands of the dissolved society were assigned to the sovereigns, with a view to the continual war against the Moors; while some smaller brotherhoods, devoted to the prosecution of that war, grew out of its ruins, and were in part composed of persons who had been among its members.[b]

The grand-master, James de Molay, and three other great dignitaries of the order, had spent six years and a half in prison when it was at length resolved to bring their case to a final decision. They were produced for trial before a commission, of which the archbishop of Sens was president,[c] were condemned on their old confessions to imprisonment for life, and on March 11th 1314 were brought forward in the presence of two cardinals on a platform which had been erected in the parvis of the cathedral. The cardinal of Albano began to read out their confessions; but suddenly this was interrupted by the grand-master, who denied and repudiated the avowals

Clement had projected a new crusading order (Dupuy, 416-17) and ordered that the property of the Hospitallers, both old and new, should be valued, and that a proportionate number of knights and soldiers should be kept up for the recovery of the Holy Land. Rayn. 1312. 8.

[y] Olensl. 74.

[z] See Rymer, ii. 150, 153, 167-9, 171, 174, 235-6, 487, etc.; Stat. 17 Edw. II. c. 2; Pauli, iv. 236. A cardinal, who had come to England on the business of the Temple property, was resisted by the nobles, who wished to resume the lands given by their ancestors. (A. Murimuth, 15-16.) Abp. Reynolds, in 1314, and again in 1320, rebukes the Hospitallers for omitting to pay duly the stipends of the ex-Templars. (Wilkins, ii. 447, 500.) That some of these enjoyed the proverbial longevity of annuitants, see Raine, Lives of Abps. of York, i. 375-6.

[a] Bern. Guid. in Baluz. i. 76; Wilcke, ii. c. 10.

[b] See Dupuy, 375-8, 481-7; Baluz. i. 659; Mariana, l. xv. 10, p. 884. Such of the Spanish Templars as should return to obedience to the church were to be maintained in monasteries out of the property which had belonged to the order. Bull of Clement, in Benavides, ii. 856.

[c] With other great officers of the order, they had been originally reserved for the pope's own judgment; but Clement afterwards made them over to the commission. Hefele, vi. 469, 490.

imputed to him, declaring himself to deserve death for having, from fear of torture and in flattery of the king, made a false confession.[d] The master of Normandy adhered to him in his protest; but the other two brethren, worn out and dispirited by their long imprisonment, had not the courage to join them. The cardinals, at a loss how to act on this unexpected emergency, adjourned the further proceedings until the morrow; but Philip, on being informed of the scene which had taken place, at once, and without consulting the cardinals or any other clerical advisers,[e] gave orders for the execution of the two who had retracted their confessions. On the same day De Molay and the master of Normandy were led forth to death on a little island of the Seine, below the island of the City, to which it has since been joined. Molay requested that his hands might be unbound, and that in his last moment the image of the blessed Virgin might be held before his eyes; and, as the flames gradually rose around him and his companion,[f] they firmly protested their orthodoxy and the innocence of their order. Philip watched from the bank the death of his victims,[g] whose constancy in suffering produced a deep impression on the people, so that their ashes were carefully collected and were treasured up as relics, while their fate was generally ascribed to the king's insatiable rapacity.[h] It was afterwards currently believed that Molay at the stake summoned the pope and the king, as the authors of his death, to appear before the judgment-seat of Christ within forty days and a year respectively, and that each of them died within the time assigned.[i] This story, however, does not appear at all in contemporary writings; and the earliest versions of it are without those coincidences of

[d] G. Villani, viii. 92; Antonin. 272; W. Nang. contin. 67.

[e] Bern. Guid. l. c. 78; Gir. de Fracheto, 40.

[f] G. Vill. vii. 92.

[g] Antonin. 273.

[h] G. Vill. viii. 92; Antonin. l. c.; W. Nang. cont. 67.

[i] See Raynouard, 211.

time which would at once give it a prophetic character, and furnish a strong presumption of its falsehood.[k] The two knights who had hung back from taking part with the master in the parvis of Notre-Dame ended their days in prison.[l]

In Italy the enmities of the Guelf and Ghibelline factions had continued with unabated bitterness. The head of the Guelf party was Robert of Naples, who, on the death of his father, Charles II., had been preferred by the pope, on account of his maturer age and of his abilities, to the son of his elder brother, Charles of Hungary. Robert had received the crown from the pope's hands at Avignon, which was within his own territory of Provence; and at the same time he had been excused the payment of a very large debt which his grandfather and father had incurred to the Roman see on account of their Sicilian wars.[m]

Since the deposition of Frederick II. at the council of Lyons in 1245, no king of the Romans had received the imperial crown; and Albert as well as Rudolf had been severely rebuked in Dante's enduring verse for neglecting Rome and Italy.[n] Yet while the empire was thus in a state of abeyance or weakness, the idea of the emperor's power, as an absolute monarch and supreme arbiter, had been raised higher than before through the exertions of the lawyers, who grounded their theories on the old legislation of Justinian, and had never been in greater authority than at this time.[o] For Henry of Luxemburg his want of territorial power and family connexions made

[k] Schröckh, xxxiii. 254; Milm. v. 236; Murat. Ann. VIII. i. 104. Ferretti tells of an unnamed Templar who, after having been brought from Naples to Avignon, and placed before Clement, cited him and Philip in a similar manner. 1018.

[l] Antonin. l. c.

[m] Ptol. Luc. 33-4; G. Vill. viii. 112; Rayn. 1309. 18, seqq.; Giannone, iv. 1. This debt has been already mentioned, p. 14.

[n] Purgat. vi. 97, seqq. As to Rudolf, see vol. vi. p. 293.

[o] Sism. iii. 248-50.

it important that he should be invested with the imperial crown ;[p] and in August 1309 he announced to an assembly at Spires[q] his intention of proceeding into Italy for this purpose.[r] At Lausanne, where many representatives of Italian princes and parties waited on him, in October 1310, he renewed the oath which his envoys had already taken to the pope ;[s] and towards the end of the same month he crossed the Mont Cenis,[t] with a force which did not in all exceed 5000 men. On the Epiphany 1311 —the second anniversary of his coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle—he was crowned at Milan as king of Italy by the archbishop of that city.[u] From a throne erected in a public place at Milan he proclaimed that he desired to know nothing of party, but everywhere to establish

[p] Gregorov. vi. 16.

[q] This visit to Spires was also signalized by the solemn burial of the emperors Adolphus and Albert in the imperial vault. Böhmer, 268.

[r] Böhmer, 267. Various dates are, however, given, and it would seem that there were various announcements. The old feudal custom required that the *Römerzug* should be proclaimed a year, six months, and three days beforehand. Olensl. 40.

[s] Pertz, Leges, ii. 501 ; Alb. Mussat. 329, seqq. [t] Böhmer, 283.

[u] Alb. Mussat, 338, seqq. ; Nic. Botrontinus (bishop of Butrinto in Epirus, probably a German by birth), 'Relatio de Itin. Ital. Henrici VII.', in Murat. ix. 884-5 ; Pertz, Leges, ii. 504, seqq. ; W. Nang. contin. 64 ; Gualv. Flamma, c. 350 (Murat. xi.). The crown used was a new one—the famous iron crown having been pawned by the Torre family, and so being unattainable until it was redeemed in 1319 by Matthew Visconti. (Gesta Trevir. in Martene, Coll. Ampl. iv. 393 ; G. Vill. ix. 9 ; Muratori de Cor. Ferrea, cc. 10, 13, in Grævius, Antiq. iv. ; Fontanini, c. 5, ibid. ; Böhmer, 285 ; Gregorovius, vi. 35.) Monza put in a claim to be the place of coronation ; but on inquiry it appeared that coronations had been performed there only when the rebellious disposition of the Milanese, or some other circumstance, made it impossible that they should be celebrated at Milan. (Nic. Botront. 894 ; Murat. Ann. VIII. i. 72 ; Barthold, 'Der Römerzug Heinrichs v. Lützelburg,' i. 447, 453, Augsburg, 1830.) Dino Campagni says that Monza was the usual place, but that Henry "per amore de' Milanesi, e per non tornare dietro," was crowned at Milan (525). Yet a tale was spread that Henry was crowned at Monza (Ferret. Vicent. 1060 ; Herm Corner in Eccard, ii. 976) ; and in the history of Pistoja (Murat. xi. 400) it is said that at Monza he received a crown of straw, "com' è d' usanza," and afterwards the iron crown at Milan (cf. Murat. de Cor. Ferr. c. 13). For the Monza view as to the right of coronation, see the Chron. Modoet., in Murat. xii. 1077-8, 1080-1, where it is said that Henry's coronation at Milan was without prejudice to the rights of Monza (1098) ; see also a note, ib. x. 537.

peace and justice,[x] and to restore the exiled citizens; and the people wept for joy at the announcement.[y] The factions of the Milanese, which were headed respectively by the families of Visconti and Della Torre, were not, however, to be at once appeased; and the exactions to which Henry was driven by his necessities produced a commotion, in consequence of which he was led to expel the Della Torres, who, from having been the first to welcome him, had afterwards turned against him.[z] In faithful adherence to his declaration that he had not come into Lombardy for the benefit of a party, but of all,[a] Henry proceeded from city to city, everywhere restoring the exiles, whether Ghibellines who had been banished by Guelfs, or Guelfs who had been banished by Ghibellines.[b] But some of the Lombard cities rose against him on account of this impartial procedure,[c] and it was not without much labour that he was able to reduce them; while the detention thus caused (as at Brescia, which did not capitulate until after having been reduced to extreme distress by a siege of four months,[d]) involved the loss of opportunities which might have enabled him to make himself master of central and southern Italy.[e] At Genoa, where

Feb. 12.

May 19 to Sept. 18.

[x] "Cujus simplex animus totaliter aspirabat dare pacem mundo," says Joh. de Cermenate, ap. Murat. ix. 1236; cf. Ferr. Vicent. 1059, who says that he was deceived by the intriguing Italians.

[y] Nic. Botr. 894. This writer, however, professes to have foreseen that Henry would not deal impartially with great men. 891.

[z] Ptol. Luc. xxiv. 40; Ferr. Vic. 1061; Vita V. Clem. V. ap. Baluz. i. 88; Chron. Est. in Murat. xv. 372; G. Vill. ix. 11; Sism. iii. 256-8; Jordan in Murat. Antiq. iv. 1028-9; Barthold, i. 463, seqq.; Böhmer, 283. John de Cermenate (1242, seqq.) is full on this. He says that Guy's welcome at first was reluctant and insincere (1236); that he ironically proposed a sum of 100,000 florins for Henry, and was held to his words, as if he had spoken seriously. 1239-40.

[a] Nic. Botr. 889.

[b] Ib. 890, 892, 894-5; Vita V. Clem. in Baluz. i. 87; Ptol. Luc. 38.

[c] Ricobald. in Eccard, i. 1294.

[d] Alb. Muss. 364, 373, 383, 394; Ferr. Vic. l. iii.; Chron. Ast. in Murat. ix. 233; Henr. Hervord. 228; Böhmer, 290-4.

[e] W. Nang. contin., 64; Chron. Astense, 233, seqq.; Barthold, i. 498, seqq.; ii. 3, seqq.; Gregorov. vi. 36-8. When Brescia held out, Henry asked

he spent four months—partly on account of the illness and death of his queen[f]—he received ambassadors from Robert of Naples, proposing terms of friendship and alliance;[g] but on proceeding southward, he found that Robert was exerting all his influeuce against him, and that the king's brother, John, prince of Achaia, was in possession of the approach to Rome by the Ponte Molle, and of some strong places within the city.[h] After some negotiation he compelled John to withdraw from the bridge (although the prince professed to do so for strategical reasons); and he gradually got possession of the Capitol, the Colosseum, the Pantheon, and other strongholds on the left bank of the river.[i] But the Capitol was recovered by the Neapolitan party, through the influence of money.[k] The Vatican quarter and the Trastevere, with that part of the Campus Martius which is nearest to the river, were in the hands of John and of his allies, the Orsini; bloody encounters were frequent in the streets;[l] and after repeated attempts to gain possession of St. Peter's, by force or by treaty, with a view to his imperial coronation,[m] Henry was obliged to submit to receive the crown on St. Peter's day in the half-ruinous church of St. John Lateran, which had lately been in great part destroyed by fire.[n] For this there was a precedent in the case of Lothair III., who had been

Oct. 21, 1311, to Feb. 16, 1312.

May, 7, 1312.

a cardinal to excommunicate the inhabitants; whereupon the cardinal told him that the Italians did not care for such sentences, and gave instances in proof of this. Sism. iii. 260.

[f] Nic. Botr. 912; Alb. Muss. 404. The queen died on Dec. 13, of a pestilential ailment caught at Brescia. Böhmer, 296.

[g] Alb. Muss. 407.

[h] Nic. Botr. 890, 906; J. Cerm. 1263; G. Vill. ix. 39. For the state of Rome see Alb. Muss. 407, 449; Barthold, ii. 173-5.

[i] Nic. Botr. 916-18; Ptol. Luc. 44-5; Alb. Muss. 455, seqq.; Ferr. Vic. 1099-1100; Matth. Neob. in Urstis. ii. 117. This part of the story is very fully related by Gregorovius and von Reumont. See, too, Böhmer's summary, Regesta, 300-1.

[k] G. Vill. ix. 42.

[l] Ib. 38; Ptol. Luc. 47-8; Istor. Pistoles. in Murat. xi. 40-2; Gregorov. vi. 48.

[m] Alb. Muss. 459.

[n] See p. 12.

crowned in the Lateran because St. Peter's was occupied by the antipope Anacletus,[o] and it was sanctioned by a decree of the Roman senate and people;[p] but the three cardinals who had been commissioned by the pope to officiate, did not consent to such a deviation from the usual practice until after much difficulty and under protest;[q] and the ceremony, shorn of its usual splendour, was performed in the midst of danger and alarm.[r]

Immediately after the coronation, the duke of Bavaria and others of Henry's supporters left Rome with their troops, in fear of the heats which had so often been fatal to the Germans;[s] and the emperor himself, who had been reduced to great straits by the diminution of his force, finally took his departure on the 20th of August.[t] It was in vain that Clement desired Henry and Robert, as sons of the church, to make peace;[u] for Henry, having been advised by his legal counsellors that the pope was not entitled to interfere thus between him and his vassal,[x] was determined to assert the fulness of his imperial rights.

After some previous formalities, he uttered at Pisa the ban of the empire, by which Robert, on account of treasons and other offences which were recited, was declared to have forfeited both his southern kingdom and the county of Provence. His subjects were absolved from their allegiance, and, as an outlaw, he was threatened, if he should fall into the em- April 25, 1313.

[o] See vol. v. p. 87. [p] Alb. Muss. 384.

[q] Nicolas of Prato was one of these cardinals. There is a difference of statement as to the amount of discretion allowed them by the pope. See Matth. Neoburg. in Urstis. ii. 117; Chron. Ast. 236; Alb. Muss. 462-3.

[r] Pertz, Leges, ii. 529-32; Ferr. Vicent. 1101; Alb. Muss. 462; Nic. Botr. 918-19; G. Vill. ix. 42; Ptol. Luc. 42-8; W. Nang. cont. (See a letter of Henry to Edward of England and the answer, Rymer, ii. 170, 210.) Some wrongly date the coronation on the festival of St. Peter's chains, Aug. 1 (Barth. ii. 212-15; Gregorov. vi. 60-2), and Pius II. supposes it to have been performed in the church of St. Peter ad Vincula. Hist. Frid. in Kollar, ii. 782.

[s] Nic. Botr. 920; Ferr. Vic. 1108.

[t] Gregorov. vi. 65-7, 72.

[u] Clementin. II. tit. ix.; Böhmer, 303.

[x] Nic. Botr. 921; Barth. ii. 272-3.

peror's hands, with the same death which his own grandfather, the founder of the Angevine dynasty, had inflicted on the unfortunate Conradin.[y] The pope declared this sentence to be null, and reminded Henry of his oaths to the apostolic see; to which Henry replied that he had taken no oath of fealty to any one; and, having made this declaration solemnly before witnesses, he caused it to be formally recorded.[z]

Henry's army had been greatly reduced by defections, war, and sickness, and he was obliged to wait for reinforcements from Germany. Yet the firmness with which he held to his purpose, and the other great qualities which he displayed, were such as even to extort the admiration of those who were opposed to him.[a] Being as yet unable to attack Robert directly, he laid siege to Florence, which now for the first time began to take a prominent part in the general politics of Italy;[b] but the strength of the defence and a sickness among his troops obliged him to relinquish the attempt. The pope, greatly incensed, threatened excommunication and interdict against any one who should invade the Neapolitan kingdom, as being a fief of the church;[c] but

Sept. 19 to Oct. 3, 1312.

[y] Pertz, Leges, ii. 545; Nic. Botr. 924, 932-4; G. Vill. ix. 49; Alb. Muss. 524-31; Clementin. II. tit. xi. c. 2; Matth. Neoburg. 118; Barth. ii. 385-6. "Vita per capitis mutilationem privandum in his scriptis sententialiter condemnamus." Pertz, 546. See Olenslager, 65.

[z] W. Nang. contin. 66; Gir. Frachet. contin. 39; Clementin. II. tit. ix.; cf. xi. 2. See Schmidt, iii. 499; Schröckh, xxxi. 45; Hallam, ii. 32. The pope afterwards declared that the oath was to be construed as one of fealty. (Clementin. l. c. col. 121.) John of Cermenate has a story (which looks apocryphal) that the pope was terrified by Philip into siding with Robert, whereas his inclination was opposite. 1277.

[a] Murat. Ann. VIII. i. 96. For instance, the Guelf John Villani, ix. 1. The bishop of Butrinto seems to have considered him too self-willed. "Dominus imperator proprii capitis et proprii sensus in hoc et in multis aliis, qui non se regebat semper per consilium alicujus nisi per suum, sicut omnes qui in suis consiliis magis secretis fuerunt, frequenter sunt experti." 923.

[b] G. Vill. ix. 44; Chron. di S. Miniato, in Baluz. Miscell. i. 459, seqq. Henry had before cited and banned Florence, Nov. 20 and Dec. 24, 1311. (Pertz, Leges, ii. 519, seqq.) The like as to other Tuscan cities, April, 1312, and Feb. 1313. Ib. 524, 537.

[c] Although the popes had assumed the suzerainty of the kingdom, the

Henry replied to his legate, "If God be for us, neither the pope nor the church will destroy us, so long as we do not offend God."[d] The pope, instigated by Philip's influence in behalf of his Neapolitan kinsmen, pronounced his curses;[e] but before the publication of them, Henry had died at Buonconvento, on the 24th of August 1313, at a time when his power was greater and when his prospects appeared brighter than they had ever before been.[f] His death appears to have been really occasioned by natural causes; but its suddenness gave countenance to the suspicion of poison, which was said to have been administered in the eucharistic cup by his confessor, a Dominican named Bernard of Montepulciano, who had been bribed (according to various theories) by Robert of Naples, by Philip of France, by the Florentines, or by the pope.[g]

emperors had never relinquished their claim to it. See vol. v. pp. 92-3.

[d] Nic. Botr. 933.

[e] Ptol. Luc. 53; Barth. ii. 410.

[f] It was noted that Henry died on the anniversary of Conradin's defeat at Tagliacozzo, and the Guelfs celebrated St. Bartholomew's day accordingly, as being fatal to their enemies. (Alb. Muss. 568, 573-4; Chron. Regiense in Murat. xviii. 26; Gregorov. 92.) Fauriel is severe on Henry VII., and on the result of his expedition to Italy. ('Dante,' i. 222.) In favour of Henry, see Reumont, ii. 769.

[g] The death of Henry is referred to natural causes by G. Villani (ix. 51), the fifth biographer of Pope Clement (Baluz. i. 94), Albertino Mussato (568), John of Cermenate (1282), and Jordan in Muratori, Antiq. Ital. iii. 1031. The story of the poisoning is mentioned by some writers with incredulity or doubt, while others strongly affirm it. (See Annal. Lubic. in Pertz, xvi. 423; Chron. di Pisa in Baluz. Miscell. i. 453; Ptol. Luc. 53; Matth. Neoburg. 118; Ist. Pistolesi, 404; Chron. Modoet. 1110; Trithem. Chron. Hirsaug. A.D. 1313; W. Nang. contin. 67; Ferret. Vicent. 115-17; Chron. di S. Miniato in Baluz. Miscell. i. 461; Annal. Altah. A.D. 1113; Chron. de Melsa, ii. 320; Gesta Balduini, in Mart. Coll. Ampl. iv. 402; Zantfliet, 163; H. Rebdorf, etc.) John of St. Victor refers the death to an imposthume, but says that the Germans and the imperialist Pisans charged the Dominicans with having poisoned the emperor, although the contrary had been proved by medical witnesses. (Bouq. xxi. 657.) The Franciscan John of Winterthur tells the story very circumstantially, but affects to conceal the order to which the poisoner belonged; and he adds that the crime was rewarded with a bishoprick. (Eccard. i. 177-81.) On the other hand, the Dominican Herman Corner is very indignant at the charge, alleges witnesses to clear his order, and recriminates on the Franciscans as to members of their order having been burnt for heresy (ib. ii. 983). No less is the indignation of another Dominican, Henry of Hervorden (230). The Dominicans

With Henry's attempt to restore the dignity of the empire Dante's famous treatise 'Of Monarchy' is connected by its subject, although it was probably composed somewhat earlier.[h] From one of the poet's letters it is inferred that he waited on the emperor at his appearance in Italy;[i] and his interest in Henry personally appears from a well-known passage of the 'Paradise.'[k] The treatise 'Of Monarchy' may be regarded as a remarkable instance of the manner in which the advance of the papal claims provoked the development of a rival theory, which invested the emperor with a majesty partly derived from the remembrance of the ancient Roman greatness, and partly borrowed from the theocratic idea

finding themselves much defamed and persecuted on account of the alleged crime, so that they were even charged with it in popular rhymes (Ptol. Luc. xxiv. 40; Chron. Anon. in Bouq. xxi. 151; Ferr. Vicent. 117; Cron. di Bologna in Murat. xviii. 326), tried to vindicate themselves by producing testimonials of their innocence, especially one from Henry's son, king John of Bohemia, dated 1346 (in Baluz. Miscell. i. 326); but these are said to be of doubtful genuineness (see Giesel. II. iii. 21-4). Modern writers in general acquit them (*e.g.*, Murat. Ann. VIII. i. 96; Sism. R. I. iii. 280-1; Barthold, ii. Beil. i.; Böhmer, 311-12). Raynaldus charitably says of Henry, "Siquid præter communem ordinem triste acciderit, cur non in divinas iras causa referri possit, cum censuras pontificias sperneret?" (1313. 24-5.) But Olenslager believes the poisoning (67), while Gieseler (II. iii. 23) and Palacky (II. ii. 104) think the question doubtful. It was said that Henry, feeling himself poisoned, advised the confessor to escape before his crime should be discovered; and that, on being urged to save his life by taking an emetic, he replied that he would rather die than dishonour the Saviour's body. Gesta Balduini, l. c.; Joh. Victor. in Böhmer, Fontes, i. 376, 402; Mart. Polon. contin. in Eccard, i. 1440; Annal. Lubic. l. c.; Joh. Vitodur. l. c. etc.

[h] Gregorov. vi. 21-2. For the date, see Lechler, i. 101, who places it about 1310. The Florentines, both whites and blacks, were Guelfs; but the whites (Dante's party) when expelled, allied themselves with the Ghibellines of various towns. Dante's avowal of absolute Ghibellinism dates from Henry's approach to Italy. Fauriel, 'Dante,' etc., i. 211-12.

"Benignissimum vidi et clementissimum te audiviquum pedes tuos manus meæ tractarunt et labia mea debitum persolverunt" (Opere, vi. 738, seqq., ed. Firenze, 1830-41). In this letter (dated April 16, 1311, while Henry was besieging Cremona), Dante is vehement in denunciation of his Florentine countrymen (742), and it is said to have led to a renewal with increased severity of the decree for his banishment. See Barthold, i. 415, 535; Fauriel, 'Dante,' i. 215.

[k] xxx. 133-8. It has been supposed that Dante also celebrated Henry in other poems. See Fauriel, i. 223; Reumont, ii. 767, 1205.

of the papacy. The author proposes to himself three questions:—whether monarchy be necessary for the well-being of the world; whether the Romans acquired their empire rightfully; and whether the monarch's authority be derived from God immediately, or through some other power;—and all these questions he decides in favour of the imperial pretensions.[l] He argues that in every society there must be a head, and in the great human society this head must be a monarch. He regards this monarchy as absolute and universal, and declares that such a government is the only means of establishing universal peace, which never existed except under the empire of Augustus Cæsar.[m] The Romans, he says, were the noblest of peoples, and therefore were worthy of universal empire. They got their empire rightfully; for they got it by war, and war is a recourse to the Divine arbitration.[n] In proof of this, he alleges stories of miracles from Livy and from Virgil;[o] and he argues that, if the empire were not of right, the Saviour, by being born under it, would have sanctioned wrong.[p] In the third book, Dante discusses the question of the emperor's deriving his authority from God immediately or mediately. He admits that the secular power is under certain obligations to the spiritual power; but he denies that the phrase of the "two swords" showed St. Peter to be possessed of temporal as well as spiritual government.[q] He combats such deductions from the "two great lights" and from other scriptural language as would make the temporal power inferior to the spiritual;[r] and, without questioning the genuineness of the donation ascribed to Constantine, he denies the inferences from it as to the emperor's having

[l] Opere, vi. 1, i. p. 520; l. iii. p. 684.
[m] P. 561.
[n] Pp. 564, 604, 612.
[o] Pp. 575-8.
[p] Pp. 614-18. "Vere potuit dicere vir Romanus quod Apostolus ad Timotheum, 'Reposita est mihi corona justitiæ'—reposita scilicet in Dei providentia æterna." P. 612.
[q] P. 650.
[r] Pp. 638, 640, seqq.

made over his power to the pope.[s] As the empire existed in its fulness before the church, it could not be derived from the church;[t] the emperor has his power immediately from God, and he is chosen by God alone, while the so-styled electors are merely the instruments for declaring the Divine will.[u] The whole treatise—and nothing in it more signally than the wild inconsequence of some of the arguments—may be regarded as evidence of the fascination which the idea of the imperial grandeur and the traditional dignity of Rome as its seat could exercise over a mind lofty, solitary, perhaps unequalled in some elements of greatness, but ill fitted for the practical work of human politics.[x]

The pope had been embroiled with the Venetians as to Ferrara, where, on the death of Azzo III., in 1308, the succession was disputed between his brother Francis, and his illegitimate son Frisco.[y] Frisco, finding himself odious to the Ferrarese, called in the aid of the Venetians, to whom he afterwards sold his interest;[z] while his uncle threw himself on the protection of the pope.[a] The Venetians, who had always been inclined to hold themselves independent of Rome in ecclesiastical matters, persisted in keeping their questionable acquisition; while Clement advanced an apocryphal claim to Ferrara as a dependency of the Roman see.[b] A papal nuncio was insulted, and even stoned, at Venice;[c] and on Maundy Thursday 1309, the pope issued a bull so monstrous that even the papal annalist Rinaldi[d] is ashamed to transcribe it at full

[s] Pp. 656, seqq.

[t] P. 668.

[u] Pp. 676-82.

[x] Antoninus is severe on Dante's theory as to the superiority of the empire over the church, iii. 307.

[y] Ferret. Vicent. 1037; Cron. di Bologna, in Murat. xviii. 315; Murat. Ann. VIII. i. 1-49; Sismondi, R. I. iii. 243. *Frisco* is another form of *Francis*.

[z] Ricobald. in Murat. ix. 255-6; Ferret. Vicent. ib. 1039.

[a] Cron. Est. in Murat. xv. 364; Cron. di Bologna, 318.

[b] Annal. Parm. in Pertz, xviii. 758; Daru, i. 474.

[c] Ferret. Vicent. 1043; Daru, i. 479.

[d] 1309. 7.

length.[e] Clement declared by it that, unless the Venetians would submit, they should be excluded from religious offices, from civil intercourse, and from all benefit of laws; their magistrates were to be branded as infamous, their doge was to be stripped of the ensigns of office, their whole property was to be subject to confiscation, they were to be liable to slavery, and their goods were to be at the mercy of any who might care to plunder them. Princes were invited to carry out these outrageous denunciations, and a crusade was proclaimed against the republic, with the usual promise of indulgences. The clergy and monks withdrew from Venice in obedience to the pope's order, and multitudes were readily found to catch at the license to plunder which was held out in the name of religion. In England and in France the property of Venetian traders was violently seized; at Genoa and in the ports of the Romagna, of Tuscany, and of Calabria, many of them, in addition to the loss of their effects, were reduced to slavery, or even were slain. Cardinal Arnold of Pelagrue,[f] whom the pope had commissioned as legate for Tuscany and northern Italy, marched an army to Ferrara, which he took with great slaughter by the aid of the party opposed to Frisco; and he exercised cruel vengeance on the Venetians who fell into his hand.[g] The interdict on Venice continued in force until the year 1313, when Francis Dandolo (afterwards doge) was sent to the papal court at Avignon, and, by the adroitness of his submission, was able to obtain the absolution of his countrymen.[h]

Feeling his health declining, Clement in 1314 resolved

[e] Ptol. Luc. 32; Bern. Guid. 69; Ferr. Vic. 1044; Giesel. II. iii. 19. Muratori calls it "la più terribil ed ingiusta bolla che se sia mai udita." Ann. VIII. i. 1-54.

[f] Ferr. Vic. 1044; Daru, i. 484.

[g] G. Vill. viii. 115; Ferret. Vic. 1046-7; Ptol. Luc. 32-5; Annal. Parm. 751; Bern. Guid. in Baluz. Vit. Pap. Aven. i. 69.

[h] Rayn. 1313. 31-4; Daru, i. 515.

to seek a restoration of it by a visit to his native province; but he had proceeded no further than Roquemaure, on the western bank of the Rhone, when death came on him on the 20th of April.[1] His body was removed to Carpentras for burial; and it was said that, having been left unattended in a church, it was partly burnt in a conflagration occasioned by the candles which were placed around it.[k] Notwithstanding the expenses of his court and the rapacity of his mistress, he left vast wealth to his nephews.[l]

Ignominious as Clement's subserviency to the king of France appears, he had yet been able by his policy to gain some points which would have been certainly lost if he had attempted to carry on the lofty manner of Boniface. His underhand dealings had frustrated Philip's attempt to gain the imperial crown for the reigning family of France; he had succeeded in rescuing the memory of his predecessor from reprobation, and by so doing had rescued the credit of the papacy itself.[m]

The last years of Philip the Fair were not happy, and many saw in the troubles which befel him the punishment of his outrages against pope Boniface or of his injustice to the Templars.[n] He was dishonoured in his family by the infidelity of his queen[o] and of the wives of his three

[1] Ptol. Luc. 54-6; Hist. de Langued. iv. 158. Ptolemy says that "sicut audivi a suo confessore fide digno," Clement was never well after he had issued certain constitutions unfavourable to the mendicants (the *Exivi de Paradiso*, Clementin. V. xi. 1). Cf. Baluz. note, p. 615; Bern. Guid. 77.

[k] G. Vill. ix. 58; Vita I. p. 22; F. Pipin. in Murat. ix. 751.

[l] G. Vill. ix. 58. Dante refers to Clement's love of money:—

'Ben puoi tu dire, Io ho fermo il disiro
Si a colui che volle viver solo,
E che per salti fu tratto a martiro,
Ch'io non conosco il Pescator ne Polo,"
(*Parad.* xviii. *fin.*);

the Florentine coins being stamped with the figure of St. John the Baptist. The pope's subserviency to Philip is denounced in the 'Inferno,' xix. 82, seqq.

[m] Milman, v. 238. For Clement's contributions to ecclesiastical law, see hereafter, Ch. XI. i. 3.

[n] Antonin. iii. 288; Anon. Cadomensis, in Bouq. xxii. 25.

[o] W. Nang. cont. 68. With the name of this queen, Jane of Navarre, is connected the legend of the Tour de Nesle. See Bayle, art. *Buridan*; Michelet, iii. 212-15.

sons.[p] The falsification of the coinage, and his other oppressive means of raising money,[q] although they failed to enrich him, provoked discontents which sometimes found a vent in insurrection and compelled him to withdraw his offensive measures.[r] But in the meantime his piety and his cruelty were shown at once in the punishment of religious error, as in the case of Margaret Porrette, a native of Hainault, who in 1310 was burnt for having produced a book on the Love of God, written in a strain of mystical fervour which seems to have bordered on the errors of the sect of the Free Spirit.[s] So noted was Philip's zeal for orthodoxy, that Arnold of Villeneuve, a Provençal physician, and professor in the university of Paris, after having published a book against the prevailing religious system, thought it well to secure his safety by seeking a refuge in Sicily.[t]

After a reign of twenty-nine years, Philip, although he had reached only the age of forty-six, was prematurely broken and worn out. An accident which befel him while hunting in the forest of Fontainebleau produced an illness, which he is said to have borne with great patience; and on the 29th of November 1314 he died, leaving the memory of a rule more despotic and oppressive than any that had been known in France.[u]

[p] G. Vill. ii. 69; W. Nang. contin. l. c.; Martin, iv. 506.

[q] Antoninus says that he was too fond of pleasures—especially of hunting—and so left the management of affairs to officers who managed ill.

W. Nang. contin. 67, 69. The chronicler Joinville, at the age of 100, was one of those who signed a remonstrance against Philip's oppressive measures. Martin, iv. 509-11.

[r] The continuer of William of Nangis (p. 63) says that she taught "quod anima adnihilata in amore conditoris sine reprehensione conscientiæ vel remorsu potest et debet naturæ quidquid appetit et desiderat concedere." See Mosheim de Beghardis, 236.

[s] Bulæus, iv. 121. J. Villani says only that Arnold's book was a speculation on the coming of Antichrist (ix. 3); and in this he is followed by Antoninus, iii. 284. For the errors imputed to Arnold, and for a list of his books, see Eymeric, 265, 316.

[t] Chron. de Flandre, in Bouq. xxii. 401. The continuer of William of Nangis says that the cause of the king's illness was unknown (69). Philip is not without eulogists among the writers of the time, such as William the Scot, who ascribes all his objectionable mea-

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE DEATH OF POPE CLEMENT V. TO THAT OF THE EMPEROR LEWIS IV.

A.D. 1314-1347.

THE cardinals met at Carpentras, the place of Clement V.'s burial, for the election of a successor to him.[a] Of twenty-three who composed the college, six only were Italians, and the feeling of these is shown in a letter which was addressed by one of them, Napoleon Orsini, to king Philip. The cardinal expresses his deep dissatisfaction with the result of the last election. Rome and Italy had suffered by Clement's withdrawal, and had fallen a prey to confusion. The patronage of bishopricks and other ecclesiastical dignities had been prostituted to money or to family interest. The Italian cardinals had been slighted in all possible ways; the pope had shown his intention to confine the church to a corner of Gascony: and the letter concludes by praying that Philip would concur towards the election of a pope who may be as unlike his predecessor as the good of the church required that he should be.[b]

The Italians urged a return to Rome, and maintained that, in order to preserve the ascendency of the pope over the hearts of men, the chair of St. Peter must be

sures to his counsellors, and extols his piety very greatly. Among other things this writer tells us that the king on his death-bed called his eldest son to him, and, in the presence of his confessor alone, instructed him in the manner of touching the sick, and in the form of words to be used for the purpose (Bouquet, xxi. 207). An anonymous chronicler says, "Fuit autem conversatione humilis et modestus, generosus, largus, magnificus, liberalis et pius." Ib. xxii. 17.

[a] Ptol. Luc. i. 4. Clement's body was afterwards removed to Uzeste, in Gascony. See Ciacon. ii. 360, 389. His splendid tomb there was demolished by the Huguenots in 1568. Bul. iv. 169.

[b] Baluz. V. Pap. Aven. ii. 289, seqq.

fixed in the apostle's own city.[c] To this course they were strongly urged by the great poet of the age, who addressed a letter to them, in which he represented the faults which were commonly imputed to their order, lamented the condition of Rome, "now deprived of both lights" (the empire and the papacy), "sitting solitary and a widow"; and he exhorted them to make the disgrace of the Gascons, who greedily attempted to usurp the glory of the Latins, a warning to future ages.[d] The French cardinals, although nearly thrice as many as the Italians, hesitated to force an election by outvoting them; but while the conclave was sitting, two of Clement's nephews, under pretence of accompanying his body, entered the town at the head of a party of Gascons, who, with shouts of "Death to the Italians!"—"We will have the pope!" attacked the houses of the Italian cardinals, killed many of their dependents, and began to plunder and to burn in several quarters. The palace in which the cardinals were assembled was set on fire, and they were compelled to make their escape by breaking through the back wall of the building.[e] The cardinals were scattered "like frightened partridges";[f] and although Philip urged them to meet at Lyons for an election,[g] the matter was unsettled at the time of his death.

His son and successor, Lewis X., who from his noisy and disorderly habits acquired the name of *Hutin*,[h] was

[c] Vita I. Joh. XXII., ib. 113; W. Nang. contin. 68.

[d] Dante, Ep. 4 (Opere, vi. Florence, 1841); G. Villani, ix. 134; Gregorov. III. 100. The editor supposes the letter to have been written in the earlier part of the vacancy, before the impotence of the Italian cardinals had become manifest. 753.

[e] Letter of Italian cardinals in Wilkins, ii. 449; Baluz. V. Pap. Aven. i. 687; ii. 287-8; John XXII.'s bull against those concerned in the outrage, ib. 388.

[f] W. Nang. contin. 68.

[g] Baluz. ii. 293. There are letters from Edward II. of England, urging an election. (Rymer, ii. 249, 277.) Philip had in 1310 acquired Lyons, which until then had not been even feudally subject to the French crown. See Bern. Guid. in Baluz. V. Pap. Aven. i. 77; Hallam, M. A. i. 41.

[h] Sismondi, iv. 193, seqq. The chro-

a frivolous, prodigal, childish prince,[1] and while he gave himself up to the amusements of the tilt-yard and to other enjoyments, the real conduct of affairs was in the hands of his uncle, Charles of Valois. The late king's ministers and instruments were disgraced: Enguerrand de Marigny and others of them were put to death;[k] and in the course of the proceedings against them were discovered the arts of some sorcerers, who, in complicity (as was said) with Marigny, his wife, and his sister, were supposed to practise against the lives of the king, of his uncle Charles, and of others, by placing waxen images of them before a slow fire, when, as the figure gradually melted away, a corresponding decrease took place in the fleshly substance of the person who was represented.[1]

The spirit of party was strong among the cardinals. The Gascons would have no one but a Gascon for pope, while those who had been discontented under Clement were not inclined to elect one of his countrymen. In consequence of these differences the papacy had already been vacant two years,[m] when Lewis, by promising that the rule for closing the conclave should not be enforced, persuaded the members of the college to assemble at Lyons for an election, and deputed his brother Philip, count of Poitiers, to superintend it. But before any decision had taken place, Philip was informed that Lewis

nicle ascribed to John Desnouelles, however, says that he was so called, "pour ce que moult estoit desiranz de combattre as Flamens." Bouq. xxi. 196.

i "Largus erat et prodigus et admodum puerilis." Joh. S. Vict. in Bouq. xxi. 661.

k W. Nang. contin. 69; B. Guidon. 82. It is said that when Charles of Valois was paralyzed in 1325, he gave alms, that the poor might pray for Enguerrand and himself, putting Marigny first, in token of remorse for his death. Ib. 84.

l W. Nang. contin. 69, 70; Joh. S. Vict. in Bouq. xxi. 660. See Eymeric, 347. This practice was called *invultuation* (*vultus* being sometimes used to signify a whole figure). Pins or needles were sometimes stuck into the images, in order to produce pain in the corresponding part of the victim's body. See Ducange, s. v. *Invultare;* Maitland on False Worship, 291-9 (Lond. 1856).

m G. Vill. ix. 79.

had suddenly died, on the fifth of July 1316;[n] and, being advised by some counsellors that the engagement as to the conclave was illegal, and therefore invalid,[o] he ordered that the Dominican convent, in which the cardinals were assembled, should be walled up and guarded, while he himself set off to secure his own interests in the new circumstances of the kingdom.[p] A son whom the widowed queen bore after her husband's death lived only a few days;[q] and as the only other child of Lewis, a daughter, was set aside on account of her sex, Philip "the Long" himself became king,[r] although not without a protest in the name of the excluded princess.

The cardinals were at length brought, through the management of Napoleon Orsini, to elect James d'Euse, or Duèse,[s] cardinal of Porto, who took the name of John XXII.[t] John was a native of Cahors, and appears to have been the son of a respectable citizen of that place,[u] although some represent him as descended from a knightly family, while others make his father a tavern-keeper or a cobbler.[x] He was a man of small stature, of simple personal habits, and of vehement and bitter temper; he was distinguished for his acuteness, his eloquence, and learn-

[n] His age was only twenty-seven. Some groundlessly ascribed his death to poison—as J. Desnouelles, in Bouq. xxi. 197.

[o] Vita I. Joh. XXII. ap. Baluz. i. 115. Bernard Guidonis says, that the condition was not kept, "quatenus pro majore bono rei publicæ, quæ præfertur privatæ, compellerentur ecclesiæ providere." 81.

[p] W. Nang. contin. 71. [q] Ib. 72.

[r] Ib. 71-2; Vita I. Joh. 115-16; B. Guid. 84: "Tunc etiam declaratum fuit quod ad coronam Franciæ mulier non succedit." W. Nang. contin. l. c.

[s] This is the form approved by Bertrandy, 'Recherches historiques sur le Pape Jean XXII.' Paris, 1854.

[t] G. Vill. ix. 79; Vita VI. p. 185; Baluz. V. Pap. Aven. i. 785.

[u] "Ex patre plebeio" (Ferr. Vicent. 1167). "De militari progenie natus" (Matth. Neoburg. 125). Cf. G. Vill. ix. 79; Antonin. iii. 29; Baluz. i. 689. M. Bertrandy says, that his father was one of the principal citizens, but not noble; and supposes the notion of the father's having been a cobbler to have grown out of the word *huèse = brodequin* (28-31). Was John the father of three brothers *De Aux*, who were legitimatized by the French king in 1340, as being "ex copula detestanda, de pontifice videlicet in pontificali dignitate, gradu, seu ordine constituto" (Baluz. ii. 600)?

[x] Ferr. Vic. 1116; Vita i. p. 116.

ing;[y] he had been chancellor to king Robert of Naples, and had held the sees of Fréjus and of Avignon, to the latter of which he was promoted by Clement V., in compliance with a recommendation which was signed and sealed by the chancellor in the king's name, but to which Robert himself was not privy.[z] He had been employed in Italy to inquire into the case of Boniface VIII.;[a] at the council of Vienne he had rendered important services to Clement by labouring both for the rescue of Boniface's memory and for the condemnation of the Templars; and these services had been rewarded by his promotion to the dignity of cardinal.[b]

It is said that at the election John conciliated the Italian cardinals by swearing that he would never mount on horseback unless to return to Rome; and that he eluded his oath by descending the Rhone to Avignon in a boat, and walking from the landing-place to the papal palace, which he never afterwards quitted, except in order to attend the services of the neighbouring cathedral.[c]

But although John remained in France, his condition was very different from that of his predecessor. The kings with whom he had to deal did not possess the vigour of Philip the Fair; and the air which the pope assumed towards them was not that of a subordinate but of a superior.[d] Even if he endeavoured to bring about that

[y] G. Vill. ix. 20; W. Nang. contin. 71. Petrarch speaks of him as "homo perstudiosus," etc. (Rer. Memorab. ii. 5, p. 481.) Ferretti says that king Robert pushed on his election, not without the use of money, in the hope of using him against Frederick of Sicily and others. l. c.

[z] G. Vill. ix. 79; Antonin. iii. 292. The story as told by Ferretti (1168) is that Robert asked Clement why James had been promoted so highly. "To please you, and at your recommendation," was the answer. Whereupon the king, instead of exposing the trick, thanked the pope, and made sure of the bishop as a tool.

[a] Rayn. 1310. 37-8.

[b] Ferr. Vicent. 1169.

[c] Vita V. p. 178; or Ptol. Luc. in Murat. xi. 1213; Chron. de Melsa, ii. 318. Baluze questions the story (i. 793). John rode on the day of his coronation; but, perhaps, he may not have reckoned himself to be then fully in power. See Hefele, vi. 507.

[d] Martin, iv. 543. He wrote to Philip V. as if the king were a child, reproving

transference of the imperial crown to the royal house of France which Clement's art had been employed to prevent, it was with a view to establishing more thoroughly the superiority of the papacy over the empire. He took it on himself, in disregard of a right which had always been claimed by sovereigns,[e] to redistribute the dioceses of southern France, erecting Toulouse into an archbishoprick, with six suffragan bishops under it,[f] and to make similar changes in other parts of the kingdom.[g] And, in reliance at once on his pontifical authority and on his personal reputation for learning, he undertook to reform and to dictate to the universities of Paris, Toulouse, and Orleans.[h]

John was especially severe against those magical practices which have been already mentioned, and by the fear of which the public mind was at that time thrown into a state of panic.[i] The Inquisition was employed to discover those who carried on invultuation or similar arts —with whom the remains of the Albigensian sectaries were sometimes confounded.[k] For such crimes (real or imaginary) many persons were put to death; among them

him for talking at the services of the church, especially the mass, charging him to respect the Lord's day by refraining from bathing, from getting his beard and hair trimmed, etc. Rayn. 1317. 3, etc.

[e] See vol. iv. p. 148; vol. v. p. 355.

[f] Extrav. Commun. iii. cc. 5-6 (dated 7 Kal. Jul. and 4 Non. Aug. of his first year); W. Nang. contin. 71; Th. Niem, in Eccard, i. 1469. See Ad. Murimuth, 28; Hist. Langued. iv. 168-72; Baluz. V. P. A. i. 135-7, 187-90. The abbot of Castres protested against having a bishop put over him, on the ground that the king's consent had not been had, and "quod Dominus Papa Johannes adhærens vestigiis suorum prædecessorum, satagit adjungere superioritati imperii spiritualis ad illum pertinentis in universum orbem superioritatem omnis imperii temporalis;" with which view he intended to strengthen himself by multiplying bishops. But this objector was pacified by being allowed to retain the title of abbot, with a handsome allowance out of the conventual revenues. Baluz. V. P. A., ii. 309-11; Hist. Langued. iv., Preuves, 21.

[g] Thus the diocese of Poitiers was divided into three. W. Nang. contin. l. c. John intended to do the like in certain Spanish and Portuguese dioceses, but did not carry out the plan fully. Rayn. 1318. 38-9.

[h] Milm. v. 250.

[i] See, *e.g.*, Rayn. 1317. 52, seqq.

[k] Gir. Frach. contin. 56; Hist. Langued. iv. 207; Rayn. 1320. 31.

was Hugh Geraldi, the bishop of John's native city, who, having been found guilty of having compassed the pope's death by unhallowed arts, was degraded from his orders, flayed alive, and torn asunder by horses, after which his remains were dragged through the town to the place of public execution, where they were burnt.[l] The lepers, who, during the time of the crusades had generally been regarded with compassion, and who, in the early days of the Franciscan order, had been the special objects of its charity, now fell under suspicion of a conspiracy against the rest of mankind. It was said that they were engaged in a design to poison all the wells of France, by putting into them little bags, containing the consecrated host, mixed with human blood, herbs, and various loathsome substances; that by such means they hoped either to destroy all Christians, or to infect them with their own miserable disease; that with a view to this plot they had held four general councils, at which all lazar-houses were represented; that they had been instigated to the crime by Jews, who were the agents of the Moorish king of Granada;[m] and that, while lending

Oct. 1317.

[l] A. Murimuth, 26; Chron. de Melsa, ii. 319; Baluz. V. P. A. i. 170, 187; Th. Niem in Eccard, i. 484; Platina, 253. See Bertrandy, 'Un Evêque supplicié,' Paris, 1865. The bishop was charged with extortion, injustice, corruption, vicious life, putting people to death with tortures, etc. (47-52). For these offences he was tried by a commission and condemned to imprisonment for life; but being afterwards convicted on charges of poisoning the pope's nephew and of invultuation, he was punished as the text relates (61). John of Winterthur says that the pope was believed to have proceeded cruelly against this bishop on no other evidence than that of a dream. (Eccard, i. 1802.) A nephew of the pope himself was charged with invultuation under Charles IV., but the king declared him innocent. Hist. de Langued. iv., Pr. No. 87.

[m] Phil. V. in Hist. Langued. iv., Preuves, p. 163; Mansi, xxv. 570-2; Baluz. V. P. A. i. 130-2; W. Nang. contin. 78; Gir. Frach. contin. 56; Sism. ix. 395-7. Some of them are said to have confessed. (Hist. Langued., Pr. 163-4.) The lepers were supposed to have settled among themselves the dignities which they were to assume when triumphant; one was to be king of France, another, king of England, and so on. (Chron. Anon. in Bouq. xxi. 152.) Henry of Hervorden, who attributes the persecution to Philip, says that his real motive was a fear of their numbers, "ne contagione pestifera tota terra fortassis interficeretur." 230.

themselves to the plots of the infidels, the lepers had engaged themselves to deny the Christian faith. In consequence of these wild tales, a general persecution was carried on against the lepers. In some places they were shut up in their houses, which were set on fire by excited mobs;[n] many of them were burnt indiscriminately by sentence of the king's judges, who were commanded to deal summarily with them;[o] but at Paris and elsewhere the distinction was at length established, that such of them as could not be convicted of any personal share in the alleged crimes should be confined for life within the lazar-houses, in the hope that by a separation of the sexes their race might become extinct.[p]

The Jews also, who in the reign of Lewis had been allowed to return to France, and had paid heavily for the privilege,[q] were now persecuted. Many of them were burnt, their property was confiscated, and the pope ordered that the bishops should destroy all copies of the Talmud, as being the chief support of their perversity.[r] Many Jews threw their children into the fire, in order to rescue them from being forcibly baptized.[s]

Under Philip the Long the system of administration which had pressed so heavily on France in his father's time was resumed. Among other means of exaction, he was authorized by the pope to levy a tenth of ecclesiastical income for the crusade; but when he attempted to collect the money, the bishops, who suspected that it was

[n] Bern. Guid. 165.

[o] W. Nang. contin. 79. See letters of Philip V. and of Charles IV. in Hist. Langued., Preuves, p. 163. Philip says that the ordinary judges were to deal with them, "ut celerius promptiusque et commodius, sicut res exigit, fœtidorum leprosorum superstitum superstitiosa nequitiosa putredine terræ superficies abluatur."

[p] Bern. Guid. 165; Baluz. V. P. A. i. 131. The next king, Charles IV., recommended that those who had been left alive should be provided with the means of life by charitable contributions.

[q] Sism. ix. 400.

[r] Rayn. 1320. 23-30. Bernard Guidonis, as inquisitor of Toulouse, threw two cartloads of Talmuds into the fire on the 29th of December, 1319. Hist. Langued. iv. 181.

[s] Gir. de Frach. contin. 56-7.

intended to serve the king in some design on the empire,[t] refused to pay until they should be assured that a crusade was really intended.[u] The oppressiveness of the king's exactions produced in 1320 a new movement of pastoureaux, which, like that in the reign of St. Lewis, began in the north of France.[x] The leaders in this movement were a priest who had been deprived of his parish for misconduct, and an apostate Benedictine monk; their followers were at first shepherds and swineherds—chiefly boys; and they set out as if for the Holy Land, marching along silently, preceded by a cross, with staves in their hands and empty wallets, trusting to find their support in alms.[y] But gradually the company was swelled by persons of lawless character, and from begging they proceeded to plunder. Their violence showed itself in an alarming degree at Paris, and when some of them were imprisoned, the rest broke open the prisons and forcibly released them.[z] Wherever they went, the Jews were especial objects of their fury. At Verdun, on the Garonne, where many of these had been driven to take refuge, the pastoureaux shut up more than 500 of them in the castle, and set it on fire.[a] At Toulouse they slew all the Jews and plundered their goods, in defiance of the magistrates and of the king's officers.[b] The wave rolled on, every-

[t] Olensl. 122-3.

[u] Martin, iv. 549.

[x] Baluz. V. P. A., i. 128; W. Nang. contin. 77.

[y] Baluz. V. P. A. 129, 161, 193; Gir. Frach. contin. 54; W. Nang. cont. 77. Some were from England. A. Murimuth, 32.

[z] Baluz. i. 129, 162; W. Nang. cont. l. c.

[a] It is said that the Jews employed one of their number to cut their throats, and that, after having despatched nearly 500, he went out to the camp of the pastoureaux, desiring baptism for himself and for some children whom he had reserved. After having reproached him for his crime against his nation, they cut him to pieces; but the children were spared and were baptized. Baluz. i. 120, 129, 161-2; W. Nang. cont. l. c. (who tells a somewhat similar story of the Jews of Vitry, i. 79); Gir. Frach. contin. 54; Hist. Langued. iv. 185.

[b] Baluz. i. 194. In Germany there was a gathering of peasants for the purpose of slaying Jews under the pontificate of Benedict XII.; but it was suppressed by the emperor Lewis, and the leader (who called himself king Armileder, or Arculeder) was put to death. Ib. 203, 228, 231.

where spreading terror, so that the inhabitants of the country fortified themselves against the strangers, and would not sell them any provisions.[c] As they approached Avignon, the pope uttered an anathema against all who should take the cross without his sanction, and requested the protection of the seneschal of Beaucaire, who had already put many of them to death.[d] When they reached Languedoc, the pastoureaux had numbered 40,000. The seneschal shut them out of Aigues Mortes, where they had intended to embark, and, enclosing them with his troops in the adjoining country, he left them to the operation of famine, of nakedness, and want of shelter, and of the fever generated by the swamps,—occasionally falling on them when thus weakened, and hanging them in large numbers on gibbets or on trees. Thus this unhappy fanaticism was speedily extinguished.[e]

Ascension-day, 1320.

With the extreme party among the Franciscans pope John was very seriously embroiled.[f] The luxury and splendour of his court, the wealth which he was visibly accumulating, although a large part of the treasures left by his predecessor Clement escaped his endeavours to get possession of it[g]—such things contrasted violently with the severe notions which this party held as to the nature and obligation of evangelical poverty.[h] While in other matters they mostly adhered to the opinions of Peter John of Olivi[i]—declaring the pope to be the mystical antichrist, the precursor of the greater antichrist, his church to be the Babylonian harlot, the synagogue of

[c] Baluz. i. 194.

[d] Rayn. 1320. 22.

[e] Baluz. V. P. A. i. 130, 162-3; W. Nang. cont. 77; Gir. Frach. contin. 55, 189; Hist. Langued. iv.

[f] Alvar. Pelag. de Planctu Eccles. l. ii. cc. 55, seqq., has much on this subject, taking the pope's side. Cf. 'Chron. de Gestis contra Fraticellos,' by a Franciscan named John, in Baluz. Miscell. iii. 206, seqq. (containing many documents); d'Argentré, i. 290, seqq.

[g] See Baluz. V. P. A. ii. 368, seqq., append. Nos. 56-7, 60-2, etc.

[h] See Rayn. 1226. 21, for the strange performances of the Franciscans of Issoudun on St. Nicolas' day, seemingly in ridicule of the papal court.

[i] See vol. vi. pp. 435-8.

Satan,[k] and in some cases professing to support their opinions by the authority of new revelations,[l]—they denied that the Saviour and his apostles had possessed anything whatever; they maintained that He and they had only the use—not the possession or the disposal—of such things as were necessary for life, of their dress, and even of their food;[m] that the scrip and the purse of which we read in the Gospels were allowed only by way of condescension to human infirmity;[n] that the use of such repositories as cellars and granaries is a distrust of the Divine providence.[o] If, it was argued, the Saviour had possessed, whereas St. Francis did not, He would not have been perfect, but would have been excelled by the founder of the minorites. As even the fanaticism of the fraticelli recoiled from such a supposition as blasphemous, it was concluded that therefore the Saviour possessed nothing;[p] and it was inferred that He ought to be obeyed not only in his precepts but in his counsels.[q]

In such opinions John saw a revolutionary tendency which threatened the papacy and the whole hierarchical system; and he condemned them by several bulls,[r] in some of which he argued the question, maintaining that, in the case of such things as food, the power of use

[k] Baluz. V. P. A. i. 117.

[l] Rayn. 1321. 19; 1322. 52; 1331. 4, seqq

[m] Mich. Cæsen. in Goldast. ii. 1350; G. Vill. ix. 155; Rayn. 1322. 59, seqq. John of Winterthur (a Franciscan) says that the Dominicans had blasphemous caricatures against his order on account of the differences on this subject. Eccard. i. 1800.

[n] Nicolas III. had said, "Sic infirmorum personam Christus suscepit in loculis," etc., and the rigid party made much of these words. Pope John and his abettors maintained that Nicolas ought to be understood as speaking of *bona immobilia*. See Rayn. 1322. 65, seqq.; 1323. 63; 1324. 33, seqq.

[o] Joh. Extrav. xiv. col. 117; Rayn. 1322. 62.

[p] Mich. Cæsen. in Goldast. ii. 1347.

[q] See Wadding. 1318. 9; Dialog. contra Fraticellos, in Baluz. Miscell. ii. 595, seqq.

[r] Extrav. vii. "Sancta Romana"; xiv. 1, "Quorundam exigit"; ib. 3, "Ad conditorem"; ib. 4, "Cum inter nonnullos"; ib. 5, "Quia quorundam." Cf. the bull of Clement V., "Exivi de paradiso," on which see Hefele, v 483. Against these bulls see W. Occam, 'Compendium Errorum Papæ,' in Goldast, ii.

involves possession and ownership.[s] But the "spirituals" met the pope's condemnation by denying his right to dispense with their statutes,[t] by taking their stand on the bull of Nicolas III., which was known by the title of *Exiit*,[u] and by appealing to a future pope.[x] In Languedoc some convents broke out into rebellion, and the spirituals, who were supported by the popular favour, expelled those who differed from them.[y] An inquiry was set on foot by a commission, of which Michael of Cesena, the general of the order, was a member;[z] and by it many of the more violent faction were condemned either to the flames or to imprisonment.[a] A general chapter of the Franciscans, which was held at Perugia

[s] Extrav. xiv. 3, col. 139. Against this, see Mich. Cæsen. in Goldast, ii. 1358. "Unde concludebant multi tales non esse in statu salutis, votumque non esse sanctitatis, sed magis assumptæ sine ratione voluntatis." Gir. Frach. cont. 50; W. Nang. cont. 74; Alb. Mussat. 773-8.

[t] Baluz. V. P. A. i. 117. This was against the exordium of one of John's bulls, "Ad conditorem." Baluz. Miscell. ii. 248, 250.

[u] See vol. vi. p. 435.

[x] Wadd. 1318. 21.

[y] Baluz. V. P. A. i. 111, 117.

[z] Baluz. Miscell. ii. 247; Wadd. 17. 11.

[a] Hist. Langued. iv. 182, seqq.; Knyghton in Twysd. 2610; Baluz. Miscell. ii. 248, 271, etc.; Wadd. 1318. 25-6, etc.; Baluz. i. 118, 598, seqq. One of these, Bernard Deliciosi, of Toulouse, was tried in 1319 on charges of very various kinds, including heresy, magic, treason, and contriving to poison Pope Benedict XI., etc. He was said also to have laboured for many years to excite odium against the inquisition, to have stirred up the mob of Carcassonne to destroy the convent of the Dominican inquisitors, and to have declared before the king and other great persons that St. Peter or St. Paul would be unable to clear themselves of the charge of heresy if they were subjected to the method of trial which was used by the inquisition. Bernard was acquitted as to the death of Pope Benedict, but on other accounts he was sentenced to be imprisoned in chains for life, and to be fed with the bread of affliction and the water of affliction. The judges, in consideration of his age and weakness, were inclined to mitigate his sentence as to the chains and the diet; but the king's proctor appealed against such lenity, and the pope ordered that Bernard should be stript of the Franciscan habit, and forbade all mitigation. Baluz. V. P. A. i. 115-16, 341-65, 691; Liber Sententiarum, in append. to Limborch, 268, seqq., Hist. Langued. iv. 179; Hist. Litt. xxiv. 97. Eymeric says that four brothers, who were burnt at Marseilles, were revered by the party as martyrs and saints (283-4). The Meaux chronicler speaks of 113 persons of both sexes as having been put to death in 1318 and 1330 for their adherence to the rigorous idea of Franciscan poverty (ii. 323); and a list agreeing with this is cited by Mosheim, who supposes that about 2,000 suffered in all (ii. 670).

in 1322, affirmed the doctrine of evangelical poverty,[b] and Michael of Cesena, who presided, was now with the rigid party. The pope declared the chapter to be heretical, and denounced the Franciscans as hypocritical for enjoying great wealth under pretext of the fiction that the use alone was theirs, and that the possession belonged to the papacy. He renounced the nominal right on which this fiction was grounded; he forbade the order to employ the name of the apostolic see in collecting or administering money,[c] repealed the bull of Nicolas III.,[d] on which they relied, and subjected them to various disabilities.[e] The university of Paris, which was under the influence of the rival order of St. Dominic, condemned at great length the extreme doctrine of poverty.[f] A division took place in the Franciscan order, and Michael of Cesena, who had fled from Avignon in defiance of the pope's orders that he should remain there, and had denied the validity of the deposition which John had thereupon pronounced against him,[g] was superseded as its head by the election of Gerard Odonis in June 1329.[h] But in consequence of these differences with the pope, the more rigid Franciscans were driven into Ghibellinism;[i] and while the learned men of the party, such as the

[b] Baluz. Misc. iii. 208; G. Vill. ix. 155; Rayn. 1322. 54; Wadd. 1322. 51-4; Bul. iv. 192 seqq.

[c] Extrav. xiv. 3; Wadd. 1322. 56-61 (who is strongly against these proceedings).

[d] Extrav. xiv. 1-2.

[e] G. Vill. ix. 155; Bern. Guidon. in Baluz. V. P. A. i. 139. Wadding boldly undertakes to prove that John was nevertheless in accordance with Nicolas. 1323. 5-12. Cf. 1324. 25.

[f] Rayn. 1323. 40, seqq.

[g] Wadd. 1327. 7; 1328. 12-21; Martene, Thes. ii. 749, seqq.; Baluz. Misc. iii. 243, seqq., 303, seqq., 341, etc.

[h] Ib. 314; Wadd. 1329. 7; Annal. Cæsen. in Murat. xiv. 1247-51. William of Ockham's 'Opus Nonaginta Dierum,' is especially directed against the bull *Quia vir reprobus* (Baluz. Misc. iii. 323, seqq.), by which the pope condemned Michael. Michael's own tract. 'Contra Errores Joh. XXI. Papæ,' written after his deposition, is in the same volume. Also his letter to the emperor and to the German princes. An acknowledgment of his faults, in the form of a paraphrase on Psalm li., is said to have been written by him when "struggling with death," in 1343, and is printed in Murat. III. ii. 513, seqq.

[i] Joh. Vitodur. 1801

famous schoolman William of Ockham, employed themselves in inquiries which tended to the overthrow of the papal pretensions,[k] the results of such inquiries were spread everywhere by the itinerant friars, who familiarized the people, down even to the lowest classes, with the notion that the pope and the Roman church were the mystical antichrist and Babylon of Scripture.[l] And thus that order on which the popes had relied as their surest support and instrument was turned in great part into dangerous opposition to their interest.

In order to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Henry VII., Frederick and Leopold of Austria, the sons of his predecessor Albert, were brought forward; but they were opposed by the late emperor's partisans, of whom the archbishop of Mentz, Peter Aichspalter, was the leader.[m] The candidate of this party was Lewis of Bavaria, a grandson of Rudolf of Hapsburg through female descent, and therefore a cousin of the Austrian princes whom he was reluctantly persuaded to oppose.[n] On the 19th of October 1314 Frederick was elected by one party, and on the following day Lewis was chosen by the other. Both elections took place in the suburbs of Frankfort; but Lewis, in addition to being supported by three unquestionable votes, while Frederick had only two,[o] had the advantage of being able to gain admission into the city, where he was raised aloft on the high altar of the great church, and was afterwards displayed to the people assembled in the surrounding place.[p] As the

[k] See below, p. 102. William also wrote against John as to the question of poverty, and charged him with thirty-two errors under this head. See Goldast. ii. 965-70.

[l] A friar who was brought before the pope in 1329 told him to his face that he was a heretic and not pope. W. Nang. cont. 92.

[m] Ferr. Vicent. 1170. See Olensl. 75-8, and the documents in his appendix, 56, seqq.

[n] Monach. Fürstenfeld. in Böhmer, i. 47; Olensl. 80-1.

[o] There were, however, complaints of unfairness on the other side. See Henr. Hervord. 230-1.

[p] Gesta Trevir. in Martene, Coll Ampl. iv. 404; Olensl. 83-7.

archbishop of Cologne, when asked to crown him according to custom at Aix-la-Chapelle, pretended to a right of investigating the election, the coronation was performed there by the archbishop of Mentz; and on the preceding day the archbishop of Cologne had crowned Frederick at Bonn.[q] The papacy was then vacant by the death of Clement V., and each party drew up a statement of its case, to be submitted to the future pope, with a request that he would confirm the election of its candidate.[r] Clement, after the death of Henry, had declared the imperial ban which had been pronounced against Robert of Naples to be null,[s] had claimed for himself—by ancient right, as he pretended—the administration of the empire in Italy, and on the strength of this novel claim had appointed Robert as vicar over the imperial territories in that country.[t] By John this pretension was carried yet further.[u] He issued a bull, declaring that all authority which had been held in Italy under grants of the late emperor was at an end, and forbidding the officials to continue the exercise of

Nov. 26.

[q] Olensl. 88-9. See the archbishop of Cologne's letters, ib. Anhang, 72-6. He relies on a papal privilege, by which the archbishops of Cologne were authorized to crown anywhere within their diocese or province (p. 73). Matthew of Neuburg says that Lewis was crowned "in loco quo debuit, sed non a quo debuit," and Frederick, "a quo debuit, sed non in loco in quo debuit" (Urstis. ii. 119). There was a dispute whether, in the absence of the archbishop of Cologne, the coronation of a king of the Romans belonged to Mentz or to Trèves. Olensl. 89 and Anh. 77.

[r] G. Vill. ix. 66; Gir. Frach. contin. 49; W. Nang. cont. 69, 73; Olensl. Anh. 63-9; Schmidt, iii. 508-14. Lewis had to pay heavily for the support of the electors; thus, he gave up the "right of first prayers" (see vol. vi. p. 412) within the diocese of Mentz to the archbishop (Schmidt, iii. 510), and made large concessions to the late emperor's son, John, king of Bohemia (Palacky, II. ii. 108), as well as to the king's uncle, archbishop Baldwin of Trèves. Gesta Trev. 404; Olensl. 83, and Anh. 76.

[s] Clementin. II. xi. 2.

[t] Ib.; Rayn. 1314. 2; Olensl. Urk. 16; Murat. Annal. i. 113. The only instance at all parallel was the appointment of Charles of Anjou as vicar of Tuscany by Clement IV. (vol. vi. p. 246). See Döllinger, ii. 256. This is alleged by Clement himself. Olensl Urk. 95.

[u] "Quod licet de jure sit liquidum, et ab olim fuerit inconcusse servatum." (Extrav. v.) As to Clement and John, see the 'Defensor Pacis,' in Goldast. ii. l. ii. c. 24, p. 279; c. 25, p. 282.

such authority without fresh commissions from himself;[x] he even attempted to set up a similar pretension to a vicariate in Germany during the vacancy of the imperial throne,[y] and refused to confirm German bishops in their sees unless on the condition of their owning neither of the elect as king until the apostolic see should have decided between the rivals.[z] In Italy the chiefs of the Ghibelline party were not disposed to obey the new claim; the most conspicuous among them, Matthew Visconti, although he laid down the title of imperial vicar, got himself chosen by the Milanese as their captain-general, and thus founded a hereditary dominion which afterwards became the dukedom of Milan.[a] In consequence of this John thundered against him charges of heresy and other offences, curses, and interdicts, and proclaimed a crusade with the full crusading indulgences;[b] yet Visconti maintained his power against all the forces which the pope could raise up against him, until a short time before his death, when he transferred it to his son John Galeazzo, and gave up his remaining days to devout preparation for his end.[c] It was, however, found necessary to conceal the place of his burial, lest the papal vengeance should be wreaked on his body as that of one who had died under excommunication.[d] June 1322.

[x] Extrav. l. c. p. 61; Giesel. II. iii. 26.

[y] Olensl. 102; Schröckh, xxxi. 67; Planck, v. 217.

[z] Olensl. 103.

[a] Rayn. 1320. 12; Schmidt, iii. 521-2; Sism. Rèp. Ital. iii. 358, 360.

[b] Rayn. 1320. 16, seqq.; 1322, 6, seqq.; Chron. Astense, c. 105 (Murat. xi.).

[c] He was more than ninety years old. Rayn. 1322. 10.

[d] G. Vill. ix. 142-3, 154; Gir. Frach. contin. 48-9; Mansi, xxv. 689, seqq.; Chron. Ast. c. 107; Sism. Rèp. I. t. iii. 361, 374. The continuer of William of Nangis gives a terrible account of the offences by which the Visconti had incurred the reproach of heresy Matthew's grandfather, grandmother, and other relatives had been burnt as heretics, and he himself was supposed to deny, or at least to question, the resurrection of the dead (73). On the other hand, Marsilius of Padua styles him "generosum, nobilem et illustrem virum catholicum, morum honestate et gravitate inter cæteros Italicos singularem, bonæ recordationis," and says that the pope unjustly cursed him, but that no one cared for the sentence (Goldast. ii. 286). For John's denunciations of his memory, while charging Galeazzo with oppression of the church,

Robert of Naples, by spending some years in Provence, gained an entire ascendency over his old chancellor, the pope, which he intended to employ for the subjugation of Italy ;[e] but throughout the peninsula the dread of falling under his power contributed strongly to foster an antipapal spirit. Almost all the cities had now parted with their republican liberties, and had fallen under the dominion of lords, of whom many were detestable tyrants, yet at whose courts literature and the arts, which were now bursting into splendour, found an enlightened and a munificent patronage.[f] Thus Dante's last years were spent at the court of Ravenna, under the protection of Guy of Polenta, nephew of that Francesca on whose name the poet has bestowed a mournful immortality.[g]

In the dissensions of Germany John seemed for a time to take no side, giving the title of king of the Romans alike to each of the rival claimants of the crown,[h] while he contented himself with desiring them to settle their quarrel and to report the result to him. But this quiescence did not arise from indifference ; for no pope ever entered into political strife more keenly than John, and the part which he at length took was not provoked, as the action of popes in other cases had been, either by any personal vices in the emperor, or by aggressions on the church. In his contest with Lewis of Bavaria, John's single motive was a desire to assert for his see a power over the empire.[i] He is said to have avowed the principle that "when kings and princes quarrel, then the pope is truly pope."[k] So long, therefore, as Lewis and the Austrian princes were wearing each other out in

and proclaiming a crusade against him, see Rayn. 1324. 7, seqq.

[e] Joh. S. Vict. in Bouq. xxi. ; W. Nang. contin. 76-7 ; Sism. R. I. iv. 38 ; Gregorov. vi. 113.

[f] Tiraboschi, v. 15, seqq.

[g] Sism. R. I. iii. 325-8, 334, 345-6, 353. Dante died in 1321, aged 56. G. Vill. ix. 133-4.

[h] Henr. Hervord. 231.

[i] W. Nang. contin. 73 ; Schröckh, xxxi. 70 ; Planck, v. 214 ; Milm. v. 282.

[k] Ludov. ap. Baluz. V. P. A. ii. 479 ; or Olensl. Urk. p. 117.

indecisive struggles, the pope looked on with calmness. But when the great battle of Mühldorf, on Michaelmas-eve 1322, had given victory to Lewis, and had thrown into his hands Frederick of Austria and his brother Henry as prisoners,[1] John was driven from his policy of inaction, and put forth a manifesto, in which his claims were strongly asserted. The pope lays down that, as the election to the empire had been doubtful, it ought to be referred to him for judgment; he desires Lewis to cease within three months from using the title or the authority of the Roman kingdom or empire, and to recall, in so far as might be possible, the acts which he had done as king. He forbids all obedience to Lewis, and declares engagements to him as king elect to be null.[m] The document was not sent to Lewis, as the pope considered the display of it on the doors of the cathedral at Avignon to be a sufficient publication.[n] Lewis, on being made acquainted with it, sent forth a protest, which was read in the presence of a large assembly at Nuremberg. With much profession of veneration for the Roman church, he denounces the injustice and the enmity which he had experienced at the pope's hands. He maintains that one who had been rightfully chosen by the electors, or by a majority of them, and who had been duly crowned, had always been acknowledged as king of the Romans; and he complains that he himself, after having held that dignity for ten years, should now find his title questioned by the pope, with a disregard of all the usual forms of justice. He repels the charge of favouring heresy, which the pope had brought against him on account of his connexion with Galeazzo Visconti and others, and even retorts on

Oct. 5, 1323.

Dec. 16.

[1] G. Vill. ix. 173; W. Nang. cont. 82; Mon. Fürstenf. in Böhmer, i. 61; Matth. Neoburg. 122; Olensl. 112-13; Palacky, II. ii. 138.

[m] Olensl. Urkunden, No. 30.

[n] Ib. p. 84; G. Vill. ix. 26. Lewis denies the sufficiency. Olensl. Urkunden, p. 196.

John himself for neglecting the accusations brought against the Franciscans, that they revealed the secrets of the confessional, and so deterred Christian people from confession, to the great danger of their souls. He concludes by appealing to a general council,[o] and he also sent envoys to the papal court, with a request that the time allowed him for defending himself might be extended.[p] To this the pope replied that the time was not allowed for defence, but for submission. He consented, however, to grant two months more;[q] and as within that period Lewis did not submit, he pronounced him excommunicate, forbade all acknowledgment of him as king of the Romans, and annulled all engagements to him as such, while he yet suspended for three months the further penalties which had been threatened.[r]

Jan. 19, 1324.

March 21.

Lewis again appealed to a general council, and to a true and lawful future pope. He again denied the charge of favouring heresy, and protested against the disregard of the rules of justice which had been shown in John's proceedings against him. The liberties of the church, he says, were the gift of Constantine to pope Sylvester. He charges John with invading the rights of the empire and of the German electors,[s] and taxes him with cruelty and perfidy towards the imperialists of Italy, with having stirred up rebellion in Germany, with profanation of the sacraments and contempt of the canons, and with having prevented the deliverance of the Holy Land by detaining the money collected for that purpose. And whereas in a former document he had blamed him for partiality to the Franciscans, he now accuses him of heresy and profanity in endeavouring to blacken that order by asserting that the Saviour and His apostles possessed goods in

[o] Olensl. Urk. No. 37. [p] Ib. p. 93. [q] Ib. No. 38. [r] Ib. No. 39. [s] Against this John addressed a letter to the electors. Ib. No. 40.

common.[t] John, finding his opponent still contumacious, issued on the 11th of July his "fourth process," by which Lewis was pronounced to be deprived of all that he might claim in right of his election, while his excommunication was renewed, all who had abetted him were placed under ban or interdict, and he was cited to appear, either in person or by proxy, before the pope at Avignon on the 1st of October.[u] The archbishops of Sens, of Canterbury and York, of Magdeburg and of Capua, were charged with the proclamation of this sentence in their respective countries.

In these proceedings the pope did not meet with the general acquiescence and support which he probably expected. Electors and other great personages—even Leopold of Austria—began to take alarm at the extravagance of the papal pretensions.[x] At Paris and at Bologna doctors of both canon and civil law gave opinions condemnatory of his acts.[y] In Germany the sentences against Lewis were not published by any prelates except such as had before been his enemies,[z] and at Basel a clerk who ventured to proclaim them was thrown into the Rhine.[a] Some Dominicans in German cities, who adhered to the pope, found themselves deprived of the alms on which they had relied for a maintenance, and were compelled to leave the country.[b] The canons of Freising refused to receive a bishop who had been nominated by the pope.[c] Respect for ecclesiastical sentences had died out, unless in cases where the justice

[t] Olensl. Urkunden, No. 43, and more fully in Baluze, V. P. A. ii. 478, seqq.; W. Nang. cont. 75. The date is Sachsenhausen, on the 22nd of some month; but the month is not named. Olenslager refers it to April or May, 1324, and remarks that the hand of a Franciscan may probably be traced in it. 140.

[u] Olensl. Urk. No. 42.

[x] Ib. p. 145.

[y] See extracts in Gieseler, II. iii. 34.

[z] Planck, v. 234; Giesel. II. ii. 49.

[a] Joh. Vitodur. in Eccard, i. 1804.

[b] Schröckh, xxxi. 84. On the opposition of Dominicans and Franciscans as to the imperial question, see Andr. Ratisbon. in Eccard. i. 2103.

[c] Olensl. 44.

of them was clear; and the charges to avoid the emperor as an excommunicate person were unheeded.[d]

Lewis was aided in his struggle by men of letters, whom the exaggerated pretensions of the papacy had provoked to follow in the line opened by Dante's treatise "Of Monarchy," and to inquire into the foundations of the ecclesiastical power with a freedom of which there had as yet been no example.[e] The jurists were, as of old, on the imperial side, and maintained the emperor's entire independence of the pope; even those who were hindered by circumstances from taking a declared part—as the lawyers of Bologna, who were subject to the pope's temporal rule—allowed their imperialist principles to be seen.[f] And in the "spiritual" party among the Franciscans, who were already embroiled with John on the question of evangelical poverty, and whose rigid opinions on that subject accorded with the emperor's desire to humble the secular greatness of the papacy,[g] Lewis found a new and important class of allies.

Of these Franciscans the most famous was the Englishman William of Ockham, so called from his native place in the county of Surrey, who, according to the custom of the schools, was distinguished by the titles of "Singular and invincible Doctor," and "Venerable Inceptor."[h] William had studied at Paris under Duns Scotus, of whose system he afterwards became a conspicuous opponent, and he had taught both there and at Bologna.[i] He had revived the almost extinct philosophy of the nominalists, which his followers maintained against the realism of the Scotists with such zeal that their disputes often ran into violent affrays. In the contest between Philip the Fair and pope Boniface he had written

[d] Döllinger, ii. 258.

[e] Giannone, iv. 58. See Döllinger, ii. 259.

[f] See Gieseler's extracts from Bartolo of Sassoferrato, Albert of Rosate, etc., II. ii. 31-4.

[g] Gregorov. vi. 119.

[h] Giesel. II. iii. 234.

Schröckh, xxx. 395.

a treatise on the side of royalty;[k] and, as a provincial of his order, he had taken a conspicuous part in the synod of Perugia, which asserted opinions contrary to those of pope John on the question of evangelical poverty.[l] A papal sentence drove him from Bologna; and, like others of his order,[m] he took refuge with Lewis, to whom he is reported to have said, "Defend me with the sword, and I will defend you with the word."[n]

Ockham's chief contribution to the controversy, a "Dialogue" between a master and a disciple, is (although incomplete[o]) of enormous length,[p] while it is also repulsive from its difficulty, and is written with a scholastic intricacy which might often lead any but a very careful reader to confound the author's opinions with those which he intends to refute. He professes, indeed, to give impartially the arguments for the opposite sides of each question; but the greater weight of argument is always laid on that side which the author himself espoused.[q] After discussing the nature of heresy, he decides that not only the pope, but the Roman church, a general council, the whole body of clergy—nay, all Christians—may err from the faith.[r] He holds that general councils may be summoned without the pope's consent.[s] He attacks the papal pretensions as to temporal dominion and to "plenitude of power,"[t] and discusses questions as to the

[k] 'Disputatio Clerici et Militis,' in Goldast, i. 13-18.

[l] See as to this subject his 'Octo Quæstiones,' in Goldast, ix. p. 387; and his 'Defensorium,' in Brown's "Fasciculus," ii. 439, seqq.

[m] W. Nang. cont. 88.

[n] Trithem. de Script. Eccles., p. 313; Aventin. 609.

[o] See Goldast, ii. 957.

[p] It is in vol. ii. of Goldast, 'De Monarchia,' and, if printed like the text of this book, would fill about 2,200 pages, while the other antipapal writings of Ockham in the same volume would be equal to nearly a third of that quantity. I do not pretend to more than such an acquaintance with it as may be gained by reading the arguments of the chapters (in itself no small labour), and occasionally dipping into the text. A portion of the book, at least, in which pope John's errors are discussed, and in which the form of dialogue is discarded (p. 740, seqq.), was written under Benedict XII.

[q] See Neand. ix. 55.

[r] P. I. ll. iv.-v.

[s] Ib. vi. 84.

[t] P. III. (See vol. vi. p. 407.)

form of civil government. He holds that general councils have only a *general* influence of the Holy Spirit, and are not infallible as to matters of detail;[u] that our Lord's promises to St. Peter were given for the apostle himself alone.[x] In another division of the work, he denies that the empire is in the pope's disposal, and maintains that the gift of it may not be transferred to the pope, but belongs to the Roman people;[y] that the emperor is not dependent on the pope, but has the right of choosing him;[z] and that in coactive power the pope is inferior to the emperor.[a] It is not to be supposed that such a work as this "Dialogue" can ever have found many readers; but the anti-hierarchical opinions which were embodied in it were spread in all directions, and made their way to all classes, through the agency of the itinerant friars.[b]

On the same side wrote John, who takes his name from his native village, Jandun, in Champagne,[c] and Marsilius Raimondini, of Padua, a physician, who had also studied law at Orleans.[d] These two are supposed to have shared[e] in the authorship of the "Defensor Pacis"—a treatise of which the title was intended as a sarcasm on the pope

[u] Pp. 822-5.

[x] P. 850.

[y] Pp. 901, seqq.

[z] Pp. 902-30.

[a] P. 956. The relations of papal and secular power are also discussed in Ockham's 'Opusculum Octo Quæstionum,' etc.

[b] William of Ockham is generally supposed to have died at Munich in 1343 or 1347; but Wadding, who defends his orthodoxy against Bzovius, says that he died at Capua in 1350, penitent for his antipapalism (1347. 19, seqq.). John of Trittenheim mentions a story that he repented and was absolved before his death, but seems to disbelieve it. Chron. Hirsaug. p. 215. Cf. Rayn. 1349. 15-16; Bul. iv. 317; Schröckh, xxx. 396.

[c] See, *e.g.*, his tract 'De Nullitate Processuum Papæ Johannis contra Ludovicum Imperatorem pro superioritate Imperatoris in Temporalibus,' in Goldast, i. 18-21. Instead of *de Jandun* he is sometimes wrongly styled *de Gandavo* (*i.e.* of Ghent).

[d] Gir. de Frach. contin. 68. "Philosophiæ gnarus et ore disertus" (Alb. Mussat. 773; cf. Olensl. 136; Schröckh, xxxi. 96). The continuer of William of Nangis describes John and Marsilius as "duo genimina viperarum," breaking forth from the university of Paris (75). Muratori styles them "due dotti ribaldi." Ann. VIII. i. 188.

[e] Giesel. II. iii. 35.

for fomenting war instead of acting, as became his office, for the maintenance of peace.[f] Passing beyond the technicalities on which the jurists had rested their assertion of the imperial prerogative, the authors inquire into the origin of civil government, founding their theory on Aristotle's "Politics."[g] It is laid down that there ought to be no power uncontrolled by law;[h] that election is to be preferred to hereditary succession;[i] that the pope, according to ancient testimony as well as to Scripture, has no coactive sovereignty or jurisdiction, but ought to be subject to earthly powers, after the Saviour's own example.[k] As to the power of the keys, it is said that God alone can remit sin, with or without the agency of the priest, forasmuch as He alone can know in what cases sin ought to be remitted or retained; that the priest's absolution relates only to the communion of the church on earth; that he is as the keeper of a prison, who, by releasing a prisoner, does not free him from guilt or from civil punishment.[l] The identity of the orders of bishop and presbyter is maintained, and, in quoting the well-known words of St. Jerome, who speaks of "ordination" as the only function by which bishops are distinguished from presbyters,[m] the writers interpret the term as meaning administrative power.[n] They maintain the equality of all the apostles, and deny that the Roman bishops derive from St. Peter any superiority over others.[o] They trace the rise of the papal power to the peculiar circumstances of Rome.[p] The final decision of ecclesiastical questions is ascribed to general councils, which must, it is said, be summoned by the emperor;

[f] Milm. v. 297. The 'Defensor' is n Goldast, ii. 154-312.
[g] See Neand. ix. 36.
[h] i. 11. [i] i. 16.
[k] ii. 3-5. [l] ii. 6.
[m] "Quid enim facit excepta ordinatione episcopus, quod presbyter non faciat?" Ep. 146, Migne, Patrol. Lat. xxii. 1194. Cf. Joh. Breviscox. in Gerson, i. 867; Gerson, ii. 230.
[n] 'Potestatem iconomicam,' ii. 15, p. 240. [o] ii. 16.
[p] ii. 18.

and as an instance of the unfitness of popes, who may possibly be heretical, to interpret doubtful points, they mention the reigning pope's opinions on the subject of evangelical poverty.[q] The precedence of one church over others is declared to be a subject for general councils to settle.[r] The popes are denounced for having assumed an unfounded "plenitude of power"; for having confined to the clergy the privilege of electing bishops, which ought to belong to all the faithful; for having further narrowed it by excluding the priests of the diocese from a share, and restricting the election to the canons, who are described as rarely in priestly orders, and as ill qualified for such a trust;[s] and, finally, for having extinguished the right of election, by reserving all questions on such matters to themselves.[t] It is maintained that the choice of a pope belongs to the people and to the emperor; and that those who elect are also entitled, on sufficient cause, to depose.[u] The usurpations of the popes on the imperial power (which are illustrated by the fable of the snake warmed in the husbandman's bosom)[x] —their abuse of indulgences as encouragements to war against Christian princes[y]—their attempts to prevent the election of an emperor, in order that they themselves might claim power during the vacancy;[z] the injustice, and consequent invalidity, of their sentences,[a] the iniquity of John's behaviour towards Lewis, the hostility of the papal pretensions to all secular government,[b] the great calamities and injury to religion occasioned by the pope's proceedings[c]—are strongly denounced. The idea of the necessity of one earthly head for the church, the Roman bishop's claim to judicial power, his pretensions

[q] ii. 18, 20, 21; cf. 13-14. [r] ii. 22.

[s] "In quorundam imperitorum et exsortium legis divinæ juvenes (?), quos canonicos vocant."

[t] ii. 24. It is also said that they prefer lawyers to theologians for such dignities, and that they promote dissipated and ignorant young men to the cardinalate. Ib.

[u] ii. 25. [x] P. 283. [y] P. 285.

[z] ii. 26. [a] P. 256. [b] Pp. 284-5.

[c] P. 287.

to unfailing faithfulness, are controverted;[d] and the treatise ends by exposing some of the current sayings as to the superiority of spiritual to secular power, and by combating the inferences which were drawn in the papal interest from the alleged transference of the empire from the Greeks to the Germans.[e]

The freedom of speculation which these antipapal writers displayed was, indeed, more likely to alarm than to convince the men of that age; but this effect was perhaps more than counterbalanced by the extravagances into which the assertion of the papal pretensions was carried out by such champions as Augustine Trionfi, an Augustinian friar of Ancona,[f] and Alvar Pelayo, a Spanish Franciscan who eventually became bishop of Silves, in Portugal.[g] All the old claims of the Hildebrandine party were put forward, with those falsifications of history to which time had given the currency of undoubted truths. It was maintained that all powers, both spiritual and secular, belonged to the pope, and that princes exercised power only as his delegates; that to deny this would be "not far from heresy;"[h] that whatever might have been granted by emperors to popes (as the donation of Constantine to Sylvester) was not properly a gift, but a restitution of something which had been wrongfully taken away; that the pope's sovereignty extends even over the heathen; that he has all kingdoms in his absolute disposal; that

[d] ii. 28-9.

[e] ii. 30. The "conclusions" are summed up at the end.

[f] Schröckh, xxxi. 104. The edition of his 'Summa de Potestate Ecclesiastica' which is in the British Museum, bears the date of Augsburg, 1473, and is much like a MS. as to the form of letters, contractions, etc. It has no paging, and my knowledge of the contents is chiefly through Gieseler, II. iii. 42-7.

[g] 'De Planctu Ecclesiæ,' Venet. 1560—a folio of 600 pages, closely printed in double columns. The book was written at Avignon in 1530, and revised ten years later (Giesel. II. iii. 47). It is remarkable how the writer combines with his extravagant papalism an unsparing exposure of the corruptions which existed in the church, and had their real source in the system of the pope and his court. See Janus, 247-8.

[h] Alv. Pelag. 37, fol. 12-13.

he is entitled to appoint and to depose the emperor and all other sovereigns; that the German electors hold their power of election from him;[i] that the pope cannot be deposed for any crime—even for heresy, if he be willing to be corrected;[k] and that he cannot be judged, even by a general council.[l]

The Germans in general were strongly in favour of Lewis, and the more so because the pope showed an inclination to make over the imperial crown, as if it were forfeited and vacant, to the reigning sovereign of France.[m] With a view to this, Charles IV., who succeeded his brother Philip in 1322, and who, like his father, bore the epithet of "le Bel," had visited the papal court in company with king John of Bohemia, who, in consequence of some supposed wrongs, had turned against Lewis. Robert of Naples, who was then at Avignon, joined in the consultations which were held; and it was after these conferences that the ban of March 21, 1324, was pronounced.[n] With the same purpose, an alliance with the Austrian party was projected; but a meeting between Charles and Leopold, at Bar on the Aube, was unsatisfactory,[o] and although the proposal was discussed in an assembly of the German princes at Rhense, early in 1325, it was rejected, chiefly through the effect of an appeal which Bertold of Bucheck, commander of the knights of St. John, made to the national feeling by insisting on the disgrace of transferring the empire to foreigners for the mere gratification of the pope's vindictiveness.[p]

Leopold of Austria, despairing of success for his party, was induced to send the insignia of the empire to Lewis,

[i] Aug. Triumph. ap. Giesel. II. iii. 43-7.

[k] Alv. Pelag. i. 4. It will be seen that even this falls far short of the notions which have since become common in the Roman church. See vol. ii. p. 438.

[l] Alv. Pelag. i. 6.

[m] Olensl. 123.

[n] G. Vill. ix. 24; Olensl. 130-3.

[o] Ib. 147-8.

[p] M. Neoburg. 123; Olensl. 153-4; Schmidt, iv. 535. By this Bertold forfeited the succession to his brother as archbishop of Mentz. M. Neob. l. c.

in the hope of obtaining the release of his brother Frederick.[q] In this he was disappointed; but an agreement was soon after made by August 1324. which Frederick was set at liberty on certain conditions, among which it was stipulated that he should renounce all further designs on the empire, and should ally himself with Lewis against all men, especially "against him who styles himself pope, with all who March 1325. abet or favour him, so long as he should be opposed to the king and kingdom."[r] Although the details of this compact were kept secret for a time, the pope, without knowing what they were, annulled it, on the ground that no such agreement with an May 4, 1325. excommunicated person could be binding.[s] But Frederick disdained to avail himself of this evasion, and finding, after strenuous efforts, that it was impossible to fulfil the conditions of his engagement, he carried out the alternative which had been prescribed in the treaty by repairing to Munich, and throwing himself on the mercy of his rival.[t] Lewis met this "old German fidelity" with a corresponding generosity, and admitted his captive into the closest intimacy. They ate at the same table, and even slept in the same bed; and when Lewis was called away for a time from Bavaria, he left the care of defending the country to Frederick as his representative.[u] A scheme for sharing the empire be-

[q] Lewis had bargained for them as a condition of entering into negotiations (Mon. Fürstenfeld. in Böhmer, i. 64). There is a story that Frederick's wife, by incantations, set on devils to attempt his deliverance from prison, and that Frederick defeated the plan by making the sign of the cross (Andr. Ratisb. in Eccard. i. 2097; Matth. Neoburg. 123; Joh. Vitodur. 1792; J. Trithem. Chron. Hirsaug. 1323; see Olensl. 120). Count Mailáth supposes the demon who is said to have appeared to Frederick to have been really a travelling student (i. 119).

[r] Olensl. Urk. 44; G. Vill. ix. 293; W. Nang. cont. 85. See Hen. Hervord. 238.

[s] Olensl. Urk. 45.

[t] Ib. Anh. p. 132; Joh. Vict. in Böhmer, i. 399.

[u] Olensl. 159; Schiller's poem, 'Deutsche Treue,' is well known. The pope, unable to understand such romantic honour, expressed his surprise at it ("familiaritatem et amicitiam illorum ducum incredibilem") in a

tween them as equal colleagues was devised, as Lewis was in fresh difficulties, which made some compromise desirable ;[x] but as this was found to give offence to the electors, who complained that their right of choice was set aside, it was proposed that one of the elect kings should reign in Italy, and the other in Germany.[y] But the sudden death of Leopold, who was regarded as the chief support of the Austrian party,[z] appeared at once to relieve Lewis from all dread of that party, and to release him from any engagements which had not been completed with it.

Feb. 29, 1326.

He now resolved to proceed into Italy, in compliance with invitations which he had received from the Ghibelline chiefs and from a party among the Romans. But on proposing the expedition to a diet at Spires, he found that the great feudatories (especially the ecclesiastical electors) refused to accompany him ; for, although bound to do so when a king of the Romans was about to receive the imperial crown, they alleged that they owed no such duty to a king who was excommunicate, and whose relations with the pope were altogether such as to shut out the hope of his coronation.[a] Lewis, however, persevered, although the force which he was able to take with him across the Alps was so small that a chronicler of the age likens it to a hunting party.[b] At Trent, where he was met by some heads of the Ghibelline faction, and by the representatives of others, a great demonstration took place against the pope, to whom he had lately made fresh overtures without success.[c] Marsilius of Padua and John of Jandun excited the indignation of the

Feb. 1327.

letter to Charles of France. Olensl. Urk. 47.

[x] Ib. p. 165-7, and Urk. 50-1.

[y] Ib. p. 170, and Anh. 135; Schmidt, iv. 537-8.

[z] G. Vill. ix. 314; Matth. Neoburg. 124.

[a] Olensl. 176-8 ; Schmidt, iii. 542.

[b] "Cum viginti tantum equis vel circiter, quasi venationi vacans." W. Nang. cont. 87. Böhmer makes the number 100. Regesta, 54.

[c] Olensl. 178.

assembly by enlarging on the misdeeds of "priest John" (as they contemptuously styled him[d]); eighteen articles were drawn up against him, and he was declared to be a heretic and unworthy of the papacy. In these proceedings the emperor was supported by many bishops, by the grand-master of the Teutonic order, and by a multitude of Franciscans, Dominicans, and others, whose natural attachment to the papacy had been turned into enmity against the existing pope.[e] At Milan, as the archbishop had taken flight, the iron crown was placed on the head of Lewis by three bishops who had been expelled from their sees by the Guelfs;[f] but he imprudently alienated the family of Visconti, who had been the chief supporters of the imperial interest in northern Italy, and, by depriving Galeazzo of his signory and imprisoning him, he spread alarm among the Ghibelline tyrants of Lombardy and of Tuscany.[g] In he meantime the report of the meeting at Trent provoked the pope to issue a "fifth process," by which, after a long recital of the previous dealings, Lewis was pronounced to be deprived of all fiefs which he held, not only under the church, but under the empire, and was summoned to appear at Avignon in order to hear his sentence.[h]

Whit-Sunday.

July 7.

Apr. 3, 1327.

[d] Olensl. 181. [e] G. Vill. x. 15, 18.

[f] Ib. 18; Gualv. Flamma, c. 365; Antonin. iii. 322; Olensl. 182. The names of these bishops are variously given. The bishop of Arezzo, Guy Tarlati, who was one of them, afterwards forsook Lewis, and died penitent. G. Vill. x. 24.

[g] Ib. 30-1; Gualv. Flamma, 368; Olensl. 186. G. Villani says that his proceedings against Galeazzo Visconti were according to "la parola di Cristo nel suo santo Evangelio, *Io ucciderò il nemico mio col nemico mio;*" but he gives no reference for this text, and Antoninus, who follows him, omits it (iii. 322). Henry of Hervorden, in mentioning the death of Galeazzo (1329) styles him "homo sollertissimus, sagacissimus, moderatissimus, benignissimus, et ad virtutem omnem summe dispositus, utpote qui Secundam Summæ beatissimi doctoris S. Thomæ de Aquino super omnes etiam cujuslibet conditionis homines didicerat, intellexerat, alta mente retinebat, et ad linguam semper habebat." 249.

[h] Olensl. Urk. 53. In Martene, Thes. ii. 680, a citation is added, with censures for maintaining the spiritual-

About the same time were uttered other papal denunciations.[i]

Rome had, since the withdrawal of the popes, been under a republican government, and had in turn been swayed by the influence of Robert of Naples, of the papal legates and other envoys, and of its great families—the imperialist Savellis, the papalist Orsinis, and the Colonnas, whose chiefs, the brothers Stephen and Sciarra, were arrayed in opposition to each other.[k] The Romans had already entreated the pope to return, and now renewed the request; but John excused himself on the ground of important business which detained him in France, of the unsettled state of Italy, and of the commotions and changes which had lately taken place in Rome itself. He promised, however, to return at a later time, and he warned them in the meanwhile to avoid Lewis, as being a heretic, excommunicate, and a persecutor of the church.[l] By this reply, and by the attempt of a Genoese force, in alliance with the pope, to surprise their city and to set fire to the Vatican quarter,[m] the Romans were disposed in favour of Lewis, who entered the city on the 7th of January 1328, and was received with general exultation.[n] Of the clergy who adhered to the pope, some fled, and others refused to perform the offices of religion; but Lewis was accompanied by a train of bishops, clergy, monks, and friars, who made him independent of this opposition.[o] A great assemblage at the Capitol proclaimed him king of the Romans and lord of Rome;[p]

ist doctrine of poverty, for consorting with Marsilius and John of Jandun, etc., as to whose excommunication (Oct. 1327) see ib. 704; Rymer, ii. 719.

[i] *E.g.*, Mart. Thes. ii. 186.

[k] Alb. Mussat. in Murat. x. 772; Sism. iv. 53; Gregorov. vi. 136, 185.

[l] G. Vill. x. 19; Schmidt, iii. 545.

[m] G. Vill. x. 20; Gregorov. vi. 138-9.

[n] Vita Ludov. in Böhmer, i. 156.

[o] G. Vill. x. 53; Gregorov. vi. 142. A canon of St. Peter's hid the Veronica, lest the heretical imperialists should unworthily see it. (G. Vill. l. c.) After having found a refuge at the Pantheon, the famous relic was restored to its place in St Peter's on the emperor's leaving Rome. John to the French king, in Rayn. 1328. 51.

[p] G. Vill. l. c.

and on the 17th of January he was crowned as emperor in St. Peter's. The unction was administered by the bishops of Castello and Aleria, both already excommunicated by the pope; the sword was girt on his thigh by Castruccio Castrucani, lord of Lucca, as count of the Lateran palace;[q] and the crown was placed on his head by Sciarra Colonna, whom the Romans had lately elected as their captain.[r] At the same time the empress was crowned, and Lewis bound himself by three decrees to maintain the catholic faith, to reverence the clergy, and to protect widows and orphans.[s] The pope, on being informed of these proceedings, denounced the emperor afresh, declared his coronations, both at Milan and at Rome, to be null, proclaimed a crusade against him, and exhorted the Romans to arrest the two impugners of the papal authority, Marsilius and John of Jandun—the former of whom had been appointed imperial vicar of the city, and exerted himself in compelling the reluctant clergy to say mass.[t] March 31.

On the 18th of April the emperor appeared with all the insignia of his dignity on a throne erected in the Place of St. Peter's. In the presence of a vast assembly which stood around, an accusation against the pope was delivered by some Franciscans, and by two syndics who professed to represent the Roman clergy; and the question was thrice proclaimed whether any one wished to appear as procurator for priest James of Cahors, who

[q] See Olensl. Urk. 56; Hist. Pistol. in Murat. xi. 443-5.

[r] Hist. Rom. Fragm. in Murat. Antiq. Ital. iii. 261. "Prætenderunt enim urbici hoc eis competere, papa etiam nolente; præsertim cum senatores prius papam requisiverant ut ad urbem se transferret" (Matth. Neoburg. 124). John of Vichtring says that it is the prefect's function to present the crown to the pope, by whom it is to be placed on the emperor's head (Böhm. i. 404). In remembrance of the part taken by Sciarra on this occasion, the Colonnas still bear the crown in their arms. Olensl. 191.

[s] G. Vill. x. 53-4; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 713; Cron. Sanese in Murat. xv. 79; Gregorov. vi. 136, 143, 145, 147; Sism. iv. 54.

[t] Olensl. Urk. 57; Mart. Thes. ii. 727; cf. 716, 736; Gregorov. vi. 152.

styled himself Pope John the Twenty-Second; but no one took up the challenge. A German abbot then preached an eloquent sermon in Latin, enlarging on the emperor's love of justice and on the offences committed by Pope John; and the imperial sentence was read aloud. In this John was charged with having neglected the interest of Christendom and with having exposed it to Saracens and heathens; with having asserted that the Saviour and His disciples were possessed of property; with having attempted to usurp temporal power, whereas Christ commanded that we should render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and declared His kingdom to be not of this world; with having questioned the emperor's election, which had been regularly made and did not need the papal confirmation. For these offences John was pronounced to be deprived of the papacy and of all benefices spiritual or temporal, and to be subject to the penalties of heresy and treason; and the emperor declared that, after the example of his predecessor Otho the Great,[u] he held it his duty to provide the apostolic see with a new and fit occupant.[x] The rashness of such a step began to be manifest four days later, when James Colonna, a canon of the Lateran, and son of Stephen (who had been driven from the city by his brother Sciarra), read in public the pope's last and bitterest sentence against Lewis, which no one had as yet ventured to publish at Rome. After having declared his adhesion to John, he affixed the paper to the door of the church of St. Marcellus, and escaped unmolested to Palestrina.[y] Yet Lewis was resolved to go on.

[u] John Villani wrongly says Otho *the third*. x. 68.

[x] Baluz. ii. 512, seqq.; or another form afterwards published at Pisa, ib. 522, seqq.; Olensl. Urk. 58; G. Vill. 68. Marsilius is supposed to have been the author of the document. Gregorov. vi. 154.

[y] G. Vill. x. 69; Gregorov. vi. 157. For this the pope rewarded him with a bishoprick (G. Vill. l. c.). Albertin Mussato says that Lewis burnt John in effigy (Böhmer, Fontes, i. 89); and this Dean Milman (v. 306) supposes to be

On the following day a statute was published, by which it was forbidden that the pope should go to the distance of two days' journey from Rome without the consent of the clergy and people, and it was enacted that, if after three citations he should refuse to return, a new pope should be chosen in his stead.[z] April 23.

On Ascension-day, the 12th of May, a multitude was again assembled in front of St. Peter's. A sermon was preached by a monk, in which pope John was compared to Herod, while Lewis was likened to the angel who delivered St. Peter out of prison; and the bishop of Venice thrice proposed to the assembled multitude that Peter Rainalucci, of Corbaria, should be elected to the papacy. The imperialists were present in such numbers as to overpower all differences of opinion; and Peter was invested with the papal mantle by the emperor,[a] who saluted him by the name of Nicolas the Fifth, placed him at his own right hand, and afterwards accompanied him into the church in order to be present at his celebration of mass.[b] The antipope, a man of humble parentage,[c] had been married in early life, but had separated from his wife that he might enter the Franciscan order:[d] he had held the office of papal penitentiary, and, notwithstanding the aspersions of his enemies,[e] it would seem

the origin of a story, which Rinaldi (1328. 23) professes to give on unpublished authority, and Böhmer (Regesta, 60) seems to believe—that John was condemned to death by Lewis.

[z] Olensl. Urk. 59; G. Vill. x. 70. See W. Nang. cont. 88.

[a] This was usually done by the archdeacon. Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 706.

[b] G. Vill. x. 71; Olensl. 201-2.

[c] Bernard Guidonis describes his father as "rusticus et pauper." Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 142.

[d] Bernard Guidonis says that the separation was without the wife's consent (cf. pope John in Mart. Thes. ii. 765), and that she sued before the bishop of Rieti for a restoration of conjugal rights, and obtained a favourable judgment in November, 1328 (Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 142; cf. W. Nang. cont. 91). But Nicolas had been a friar at least as early as 1310, and it would seem that this suit, instituted after his appearance as antipope, was got up in order to annoy him (Ib. 705). Some writers trace the fable of pope Joan to the case of this antipope's wife (Bal. iv. 240); but it was of earlier invention. See vol. iii. p. 341.

[e] Alvar Pelayo, who had known him in the convent of Ara Cœli, represents

that he had been highly esteemed for learning and prudence.[f] But, although he had hitherto professed the opinion of the most rigid party among his order as to evangelical poverty, he fell at once, on assuming the title of pope, into the traditional habits of pomp and luxury, for which the means were chiefly provided by the traditional expedients of selling offices and preferments.[g] He made seven cardinals, all of them men who had been deposed from dignities by pope John, or had been prominent in opposition to him;[h] he pronounced deposition against bishops who adhered to his rival, and nominated others to fill their sees—among them, Marsilius to be archbishop of Milan;[i] he affected to appoint legates, and on Whitsunday he confirmed Lewis in the imperial dignity, and pronounced on him a solemn benediction, but with a careful avoidance of everything that might have seemed to imply a claim to the right of conferring the imperial office, or a subordination of the secular to the spiritual power.[k]

Lewis soon began to find himself uneasy at Rome. His delay there had given an advantage to Robert of Naples, whereas it is not improbable that, by vigorously pushing forwards to the south, he might have been able to overthrow the Angevine dynasty. A Neapolitan fleet took Ostia, and some of the ships advanced up the Tiber as far as the convent of St. Paul, committing devastations

him as a hypocrite, and as living much among women (De Planctu Eccl. I. i. 37, fol. 13). —"Quem corvinum appello, quia ut corvus de morte schismaticæ divisionis pascitur, et quia ut corvus furtive et latro in sede Petri resedit," etc. (Ib. Procem.). For the antipope's character generally, see Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 702, seqq.; Olensl. 201. It is said that Lewis set him up chiefly in order to gratify a party among the Romans. Annal. Ensdorf. in Pertz, xvi. 7; Baluz. l. c.

[f] "Eo usque vita et honestate probatum," says Alb. Mussato, 773.

[g] G. Vill. x. 73; Olensl. 305. For councils against Nicolas, see Mansi, xxi. 827, seqq.

[h] Cron. Sanese in Murat. xv. 80.

[i] Gualv. Flamma, i. 366; Hist. Pistol. in Mur. xi. 445.

[k] G. Vill. x. 73-4; Dölling. ii. 262 Gregorov. vi. 164. "Ita falsus imperator et falsus pontifex sibi invicem authores dignitatis fuere." Antonin. iii. 326.

of which the blame was commonly thrown on the emperor.[l] The citizens, instead of receiving from the emperor the benefits which they had expected, found themselves oppressed by taxes, which his own necessities and those of his pope compelled him to impose.[m] The Ghibellines had been offended by some impolitic measures; and, while Nicolas met with little or no acknowledgment even among the imperialists of the city,[n] the party of John, whose intrigues were incessant, recovered its force.[o] Provisions became scarce,[p] partly because the supplies were cut off by the Neapolitan troops, and the emperor's own soldiers, being unable to get their pay, swelled the grievances of the Romans by plundering; the northern Germans quarrelled with those of the south, and many of the soldiers deserted.[q] After a vain attempt to proceed southward, Lewis left Rome on the 4th of August, amidst general curses and derision, mixed with acclamations in honour of "holy church."[r] Stones were thrown as he retired, and some of his men were killed. In token of the popular feeling, the privileges which had been granted by the emperor and the antipope were burnt in the Place of the Capitol; even some bodies of Germans were dragged from their graves and ignominiously thrown into the Tiber.[s]

At Pisa, where he had been joined by the leaders of the disaffected Franciscans—Michael of Cesena, Bonagratia, and William of Ockham, who had all escaped from detention at Avignon[t]—the emperor held an assembly on the 13th of December, when Michael denounced pope John as a heretic, and the emperor

[l] G. Vill. x. 54, 72; Matth. Neoburg. 124; Giann. iv. 12; Gregorov. vi. 164.

[m] G. Vill. x. 66; Olensl. 205.

[n] The chronicler of Pistoia, however, says that he was owned by all the Ghibellines throughout Italy, "si laici come cherici e prelati." Murat. xi. 445.

[o] Murat. Ann. VIII. i. 196; Gregorov. vi. 164.

[p] Alb. Mussat. in Böhmer, i. 182.

[q] G. Vill. x. 76. [r] Ib. 96.

[s] Ib. [t] Alb. Muss. 775.

again pronounced him to be deposed. About the same time John at Avignon renewed his condemnation of the emperor as a heretic and a persecutor of the church, and declared the antipope a heretic and schismatic.[u] The antipope joined Lewis at Pisa, where he carried on the system of ejecting Guelf bishops and substituting Ghibellines, from whom payments were extorted for their promotion.[x] But, on the emperor's departure from that city Nicolas was left behind, and Lewis, as he proceeded northwards,[y] found the Italians less and less favourably disposed, while discontent and desertion became more rife among his own troops.[z] In the end of January 1330 the emperor recrossed the Alps. His expedition to Italy had ruined the imperial cause in that country, and his failure had given additional force to the impression made by the papal curses. The Romans swore fealty anew to the pope, and, with Pisa and other Italian cities, entreated his forgiveness for their temporary submission to Lewis.[a]

April 1329.

The antipope, when left at Pisa, was glad to find shelter with a powerful nobleman, count Boniface of Donoratico, but in the following year was, after much urgency, given up by him to the pope, on condition that his life should be spared.[b] On St. James's day Nicolas abjured his errors in the cathedral of Pisa, expressing deep contrition for his conduct and casting much

[u] G. Vill. x. 113; Baluz. V. P. Aven. ii. 546; Mart. Thes. ii. 763.

[x] G. Vill. x. 121; Hist. Pistol. 453.

[y] In the Annals of Parma (Pertz, xviii. 775) is a curious account of the difficulties caused, as the emperor was in that city, by the question as to observance of the pope's sentences. The local clergy in general celebrated their services with closed doors; but those who attended on Lewis, headed by Michael of Cesena, officiated with ringing of bells, etc.

[z] G. Vill. x. 107; Annal. Mutin. in Murat. xi. 121; Gualv. Flamma, i. 366, ib. xi.

[a] Rayn. 1329. 8, 11, 17-20; 1332. 40, seqq.; Giesel. II. iii. 54-5; Schröckh, xxxi. 116; Gregorov. vi. 174, 179.

[b] Bern. Guidon. in Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 143; Cron. di Pisa, in Baluz. Misc. i. 456.

blame on the emperor.[c] The ceremony was afterwards repeated at Avignon, where he appeared with a rope around his neck, and threw himself at the feet of his triumphant rival. John raised him up, released him from the rope, and admitted him to the kiss of peace.[d] The fallen antipope spent the remaining three years of his life in an apartment of the papal palace, where he was supplied with the means of study, but was strictly secluded from all intercourse with men.[e]

The death of Frederick of Austria, in January 1330,[f] appeared to favour the establishment of peace between the papacy and the empire; but the pope, acting under the influence of Naples and of France, was bent on effecting the ruin of Lewis. He scornfully rejected the mediation of the king of Bohemia, who had been empowered by the emperor to offer very humiliating terms:[g] he uttered fresh anathemas, in "aggravation" of his former denunciations;[h] he endeavoured to stir up enemies against Lewis on all sides, and encouraged his neighbours to attack him—not scrupling even to let loose the heathens who bordered on Brandenburg for an in-

[c] Hist. Pistol. 459; Rayn. 1330. 26; Wadd. 1330. 1-9. See Mansi in Rayn. v. 468.

[d] W. Nang. cont. 93; Gualv. Flamma, 1002, Mart. Polon. cont. 1448. The first meeting was on Aug. 25; the abjuration, on Sept. 6. For the form, see Rayn. 1330. 11-24.

[e] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 145, 149; G. Vill. x. 162; Mansi, xxv. 580; Olensl. 222; Gregorov. vi. 175. John of Vichtring says that the pope would have made him a bishop but for the opposition of the cardinals, who urged that so great a misdeed ought not to be so lightly passed over. Böhmer, i. 409.

[f] Olensl. 214. Lewis heard of it at Trent. Frederick is said to have been eaten up by lice—as some say, for breach of engagements to Lewis, which had been sanctified by receiving the holy eucharist together (Andr. Ratisb. in Eccard, i. 2097; H. Rebdorf. A.D. 1322), while others suppose that it may have been in punishment of his behaviour to his wife, who had lost her sight through weeping during his imprisonment, but on his liberation was deserted by him, and superseded in his affections by a nun (Joh. Vitodur. 1793). The continuer of Martin of Poland says that, although within his own territory he styled himself king, he never attempted anything against Lewis (Eccard, i. 1446); but documents of 1326 are extant in which he calls himself king of the Romans. Olensl. 171-3, and Urk. 52.

[g] Ib. 221-3; Schmidt, iii 552-3.

[h] Mart. Thes. ii. 767.

vasion of that territory, where they committed atrocious cruelties and profanations;[i] he urged the German princes to choose a new emperor; he declared Germany to be under an interdict so long as Lewis should be acknowledged. A fearful confusion prevailed in that country, although, notwithstanding all the pope's denunciations, the emperor was still generally obeyed.[k] Some of the clergy, in obedience to the interdict, refused to perform the Divine offices in cities where Lewis was, and on this account they were driven out by him.[l] Alliances were continually changing, and the ascendency was always shifting from one party to another. In these movements John of Luxemburg played a very conspicuous part. At the age of fourteen he had received the kingdom of Bohemia from his father, Henry VII., as a fief of the empire which had become vacant through the failure of male heirs, and at the same time he had married the younger daughter of the late king, Wenceslaus—thus excluding Henry duke of Carinthia, the husband of her elder sister.[m] But he speedily found that he and his subjects were ill suited to each other, and while the queen, with her children, lived in the palace at Prague, John made his home in his hereditary territory of Luxemburg, and roamed over Europe in quest of adventures, visiting Bohemia on rare occasions for the purpose of raising money.[n] In 1330 he was invited by the citizens of Brescia to defend them against the Visconti of Milan and the Scaligers of Verona, and in consequence of this he proceeded at the head of 10,000 men into Italy;[o]

A.D. 1310.

[i] Joh. Vitodur. in Eccard, i. 1805; Giesel. II. iii. 50.

[k] H. Rebdorff, 1333.

[l] Joh. Vitodur. 1795-7; cf. 1870.

[m] Ptol. Luc. in Murat. xi. 1233; Gesta Trev. in Martene, Coll. Ampl. iv. 390; Joh. Victor. in Böhmer, i. 365; Palacky, II. ii. 79-83; Böhmer, Reg. 279. Some writers represent Bohemia as the princess's portion (Chron. Modoet. in Murat. xii. 1096; Ferret. Vic. 1170); but it seems rather that the emperor gave it to John, and made the marriage for the sake of extinguishing any possible claims on the female side.

[n] Palacky, II. ii. 145, 153, 160, 170, 232.

[o] Joh. Malvec. Chron Brixiense, in

where his intervention was welcomed at once by the Guelfs, who saw in him a friend of the pope, and by the Ghibellines, who regarded him as the son of Henry VII. and as a representative of the emperor.[p] His influence was beneficially exerted for the pacification of many Lombard cities ;[q] but gradually both parties began to distrust him,[r] so that he found himself obliged to withdraw before a combination which was formed against him ;[s] and, after a second expedition, in which he enjoyed the countenance of the French king and of the pope, he was compelled to retire altogether from the field of Italian politics.[t]

The three sons of Philip the Fair, who had successively reigned over France, were all carried off at an early age ; and while the clergy saw in this the vengeance of heaven for Philip's outrages against pope Boniface,[u] the popular opinion traced it to the martyrdom of the Templars, and to the supposed curse or prophecy of James de Molay.[x]

After the death of Charles IV., which took place in January 1328, his widow gave birth to a second daughter,

Murat. xiv. 1001-4. The continuer of William of Nangis says that he went rather "causa curiositatis, et patriæ videndæ, quam alia quacunque ratione." 94.

[p] G. Vill. x. 168 ; Olensl. 225-6 ; Sism. R. I. iv. 86-90 ; Palacky, II. ii. 177-9.

[q] G. Vill. x. 168, 171, 173 ; Annal. Parm. in Pertz, xviii. 777-9 ; Annal. Mutin. in Murat. xi. 125 ; Cron. Sanese, ib. xv. 88. There was a proverb that nothing could be done without the help of God and of the king of Bohemia. Palacky, II. iii. 187.

[r] "Papæ et imperatori complacere cupiens, et ambobus displicens." Matth. Neoburg. 124. Cf. Annal. Parm. in Pertz, xviii. 776-9.

[s] Vita Karoli IV. [autobiography] in Böhmer, i. 237-46 ; G. Vill. x. 181 ; Sism. iv. 92 ; Palacky, II. ii. 180. There is a papal decree (Baluz. i. 704) of about this time, ordering that the kingdoms of Germany and Italy shall be separated, and shall never be re united. The genuineness of it has been questioned (as by Baluze, l. c.), but is regarded as certain by Gieseler, II. iii. 57.

[t] G. Vill. x. 211, 213 ; Annal. Parm. 785-7 ; Palacky, II. ii. 193-6.

[u] It was believed (after the event) that Boniface had prophesied this when seized at Anagni. Joh. Victor. 347.

[x] G. Vill. ix. 64-5 ; Sism. ix. 467 ; Martin, iv. 569. See above, p. 68. A Pistoian chronicler suggests a less authentic reason—that Philip the Fair (?) caused all the lepers (*infermi*) of the kingdom, 500 in number, to be arrested and burnt in one day. Murat. xi. 518.

who lived only a few days;[y] and as the hope of a male heir was extinguished, Philip, the son of Charles of Valois and nephew of Philip the Fair, became king, to the exclusion of his predecessor's surviving daughter.[z] Philip of Valois revived much of the chivalrous splendour which had lately been wanting to the court of France;[a] and in his ecclesiastical policy he endeavoured, like St. Lewis, to maintain the rights of the national church as against the papacy.[b] When, however, he proposed a new crusade, it was evident that the idea was not prompted by a spirit of self-sacrificing devotion like that which had animated his saintly ancestor. He designed, by placing himself at the head of Christendom in such an enterprise, to gain for himself and his family a title to the empire; and he endeavoured in other respects to turn it to his own advantage by obtaining great concessions from the pope.[c] John granted for the crusade the tithe of ecclesiastical benefices throughout the whole western church for six years;[d] and in October 1333 Philip took the cross, and swore to set out for the holy war within three years.[e] But he was reminded that some of his predecessors, after having collected tithes, as if for a crusade, had spent them on other objects; and, whatever his

[y] W. Nang. cont. 85.

[z] There had been no instance of a female heir to the crown of France since the accession of the reigning dynasty, and it was now pretended that the Salic law excluded women from the throne. This was unfounded, and was contrary to the analogy of the great fiefs, which descended to female heirs; and the possible fitness of women for reigning had very lately been shown in the case of the queen-regent Blanche, the mother of St. Lewis. Edward III. of England claimed the kingdom of France through his mother, Isabella, daughter of Philip the Fair, alleging that, even if she were personally disqualified by sex, her claim would revive in her son. But this is against all fair principle of succession; and moreover, if inheritance by or through females were admissible, the daughters of the last three kings, and the sons of these princesses, would have had prior claims to Isabella and Edward. See W. Nang. cont. 87; Hume, ii. 345-6; Hallam, M. A. i. 42-5, 278; Lingard, iii. 107; Martin, iv. 563-4.

[a] Froissart, i. 126; Sism. x. 59, 62; Martin, v. 11-12. [b] Martin, v. 12-13.

[c] W. Nang. cont. 94; Rayn. 1332. 2, seqq.

[d] See the letters of Frederick, abp. of Salzburg, in Pez, VI. iii. 21, seqq.

[e] W. Nang. cont. 96; Rayn. 1333. 1, seqq.

intentions may really have been, circumstances arose which prevented the execution of the project.[f] When the collection of the tithe was attempted in Germany, the emperor, in a great diet at Spires, declared that no such impost could be raised without his permission, and hinted his doubts whether the money would be spent for the professed object. He added that, if peace were re-established, he himself would head an expedition for the recovery of the Holy Land; for he considered that he would have lived long enough if he might once see a pope who cared for his soul's good.[g] Mission after mission was sent to Avignon, but all brought back reports of the pope's implacable hardness.[h] The difficulties which pressed on the emperor were so serious that in 1333 he was willing to resign his crown for the sake of restoration to the communion of the church; but the plan was frustrated through the indiscretion of his cousin, Henry, duke of Lower Bavaria, in whose favour the abdication was intended.[i]

John XXII., who had been so profuse of accusations of heresy against others, himself fell under a new charge of this kind, by asserting in a sermon that the saints would not enjoy the beatific vision until the end of the world; he was reported to have said that even the blessed Virgin herself would until then behold only the humanity, but not the God-head, of her Son.[k] This opinion, although agreeable to the authority Jan. 1333.

[f] W. Nang. contin. 108; G. Vill. x. 196. Matt. Villani (i. 75; vii. 2) says that it was a trick to get money. There is a story of a friar who rebuked the king for this (ib. 3). Schröckh, xxxi. 128; Martin, v. 23.

[g] Mutius in Pistor. ii. 874; Olensl. 250-1.

[h] Ib. Urk. 62-4; Schröckh, xxxi. 123-5.

[i] Ptol. Luc. 1212 (who says that the kings of France and Bohemia were in favour of this plan); Olensl. 249; Schmidt, iii. 562-3. See Böhmer, Fontes, i. 214-19.

[k] G. Vill. x. 228; Occam in Goldast, ii. 746; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 787-91. Mansi says that John can only be defended on the ground that, although he varied from the doctrine which was afterwards established, he was ready to accept whatever might be shown to have the authority of the church (note in Rayn. t. v. 568). Herman Corner,

of many early fathers, had been generally abandoned for centuries;[1] it endangered doctrines and practices which had become firmly established in the church—the belief in purgatory, the use of indulgences, masses for the dead, and invocation of saints. Although the papal court in general acquiesced, an English Dominican, named Thomas Waleys, raised an alarm by preaching against it.[m] John's old Franciscan opponents, Michael of Cesena, Bonagratia, and William of Ockham, eagerly raised the cry of heresy;[n] and the question was referred by king Philip to the theological faculty of Paris, in an assembly held at the palace of Vincennes,[o] while John laboured to influence the opinion of divines by heaping preferment on those who sided with him.[p] At Paris great excitement arose, and men were divided in their judgment. The Dominicans opposed the pope's view;[q] the general of the Franciscans, who had superseded Michael of Cesena, supported it; the doctors of the Sorbonne condemned the doctrine, but suggested that John might have propounded it only by way of a doubt or a question.[r] The king is said to have threatened not only the Franciscan general, but the pope himself, with the punishment of

after relating that a treasure belonging to John was seized by the imperialists on its way to Lombardy, says that the pope "jam senio confectus desipuit, partim ex senio et partim ex melancholia, eo quod tantum thesaurum perdidisset." 1041.

[1] Rayn. 1534. 27, seqq.; Giesel. II. iii. 59.

[m] Olensl. 252; W. Nang. cont. 96; Henr. Hervord. 251-2; D'Argentré, i. 315; Thorn in Twysden, 2067; Giesel. l. c.; Milm. v. 313. Waleys was imprisoned for a while, and was put on short allowance of food. D'Argentré, l. c.

[n] Rayn. 1334. 32, seqq. See Pt. ii. of Ockham's 'Dialogus,' and his 'Compendium Errorum' (written after John's death), in Gold. ii. 970. Durand of St. Pourçain, bishop of Meaux, also wrote against John. Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 183; H. Hervord. 255.

[o] W. Nang. cont. 97.

[p] G. Vill. x. 228.

[q] Gualv. della Fiamma notices this as remarkable, after John had promoted 122 members of the order to bishopricks. 1006.

[r] "Non asserendo vel opinando, sed solummodo recitando." D'Argentré, i. 317; cf. G. Vill. l. c.; W. Nang. cont. 96; Mansi, xxv. 981; Giesel. II. iii. 60; Milm. v. 316; Letter of the Paris doctors in Mart. Thes. i. 1383; D'Argentré, i. 316, seqq.; Bul. iv. 236, seqq.

heresy, and made use of John's danger to extort important concessions from him;[s] while the Italian cardinals, in their dislike of a French pope, threatened to bring him before a general council.[t] John offered to produce ancient authorities in his behalf, but was glad to avail himself of the escape which the doctors of Paris had suggested, and declared that he had intended only to state the opinion, not to decide in favour of it.[u] But the excitement burst out afresh, and at last John, on his death-bed, was brought—it is said chiefly by the urgency of his nephew or son, cardinal Bertrand de Poyet[x]—to profess the current doctrine, "that purged souls, being separated from their bodies, are in heaven, the kingdom of heaven, and paradise; that they see God face to face, and clearly behold the Divine essence, in so far as the condition of separate souls permits."[y]

On the day after having made this declaration, John died, at the age of ninety. The treasures which he left behind him were enormous,[z] partly the produce of exactions raised under the pretext of a crusade,[a] partly of the arts of the papal court as to the disposal of preferments and favours. In these arts John showed himself a master. Under the pretence of discouraging simony, he kept valuable reserves in his own hands.[b] By the bull *Execrabilis*, he compelled pluralists to give up all but one benefice each, and got

Dec. 4, 1334.

[s] G. Vill. l. c.; Letter of John to the king, Rayn. 1333. 46.

[t] Giesel. II. iii. 61.

[u] "Recitando et conferendo, et non determinando, nec etiam tenendo." D'Argentré, i. 320; Mansi, xxv. 984; G. Vill. l. c.; Ptol. Luc. in Murat. xi. 1212; Hefele, vi. 523-4. St. Antoninus says that, even if the opinion were heretical, John was not a heretic, as he did not maintain it obstinately. iii. 334.

[x] See Ciacon.[iii]. 409. Rinaldi denies the alleged parentage. 1334. 40.

[y] Mansi, xxv. 569; G. Vill. xi. 19; Mosh. ii. 654. The story of the retractation was questioned, however. See Giesel. II. iii. 61.

[z] John Villani, on the information of his brother, who, as a merchant, had been concerned in counting pope John's wealth, says that the money amounted to eighteen, and the plate and jewels to seven, millions of gold florins. xi. 20.

[a] "E *forse* havea quella intenzione," says Villani, l. c.

[b] Ib.

for himself the disposal of the rest.[c] He took into his own hands the appointment of bishops, in disregard of the capitular right of election,[d] which had been so hardly extorted from sovereigns. Whenever any high preferment fell vacant, he made it the means of promoting the greatest possible number of persons, advancing each of them a single step, and so securing the payment of fees from each.[e] And to the exactions which already pressed on the church, he added the invention of annates—the first year's income of ecclesiastical dignities.[f] Yet although his long pontificate was chiefly remarkable for the unrelenting hostility with which he pursued the emperor Lewis, and for the extortions and corruptions by which he so largely profited, it must in justice be added that he is described as temperate in his habits, regular in the observances of devotion, and unassuming and unostentatious in his manner of life.[g]

At the time of John's death, the college of cardinals consisted of twenty-four members, among whom the French, headed by Talleyrand of Perigord,[h] had a great majority.[i] Both Frenchmen and Italians, however, agreed to choose the cardinal of Comminges, bishop of Porto, if he would pledge himself that the papal residence should

[c] Extrav. tit. iii. 'De Præbendis et Dignitatibus."

[d] Muratori, Annal. VIII. i. 249; Schröckh, xxxi. 127. [e] G. Vill. xi. 20.

[f] Schröckh, xxxi. 130. See below, chap. xi. i. 4. [g] Ib. 129.

[h] For this bearer of a name which has been again famous in late times, see Baluz. Vit. Pap. Aven. i. 770; Ciacon. ii. 430. He was son of the count of Perigord by his wife Brunisenda, the supposed mistress of Clement V. (see p. 11). It is said that he had been married before taking holy orders, and had been a very popular advocate. But, although he had a good patrimony, and received large fees, he was always in want of money; whence he concluded, on considering the matter, that his practice of pleading for money was wrong. He thereupon resolved to undertake no other than just causes, and to work for charity alone; and he soon found himself abundantly rich. (Gesta Abbat. S. Albani, ii. 384.) He is highly eulogized in the Hist. Litt. de la France, xxiv. 39. For his will, see Martene, Thes. i. 1468. He died in 1364. Ciacon. l. c.

[i] G. Vill. xi. 21. John had complained to the king, in 1331, that the French were 17 out of 20, yet afterwards found himself obliged to add to their number. Rayn. 1331. 33-4.

not be removed from Avignon ; but he refused to comply with this condition, and the cardinals, shut up in the palace of Avignon by an officer of king Robert of Naples, began afresh the usual intricate manœuvres of a papal election.[k] By an unforeseen concurrence of circumstances, the result of which was considered to be a divine inspiration,[l] their choice fell on James Fournier, a member of the Cistercian order, cardinal of St. Prisca and bishop of Mirepoix, whose remark on the announcement of his new dignity was, "You have chosen an ass." The new pope, Benedict XII.,[m] was a native of Saverdun, in the country of Foix, and had risen from a humble condition in life.[n] He was highly respected for his learning, and, notwithstanding his modest estimate of himself, was a man of sense and judgment.[o] He is praised for his sincerity, his justice, his liberality in almsgiving,[p] and his benevolence of character; while his orthodoxy had been displayed by his activity as an inquisitor in his own diocese and throughout the region of Toulouse.[q] Disinclined to share in political affairs,[r] he was earnestly bent on a reform in the church, and in order to this he reversed in many respects the system of his predecessors. The crowds which, in hope of preferment, had thronged the city of the papal residence, the idle and greedy friars who hung about the court, were dismissed to their own homes.[s] A reform of the monastic system was strenuously taken in hand.[t] The abuse of

Dec. 30, 1334.

[k] G. Vill. l. c.

[l] Ib.; Hist. Rom. Fragm. in Murat. Antiq. Ital. iii. 275.

[m] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 197; G. Vill. l. c.

[n] St. Antoninus calls him "infimæ conditionis in sæculo" (iii. 332). His father is commonly described as a baker or a miller (Matth. Neoburg. 125); but for this it is said that there is no ground except the family surname (Hist. Langued. iv. 215). A curious story as to his elevation being foreshown is told by Matth. Neoburg. l. c

[o] G. Vill. l. c.; Giesel. II. iii. 62. See Olensl. 321.

[p] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 213; Matth. Neoburg. 125.

[q] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 213, 229.

[r] Ib. 198, 214.

[s] Ptol. Luc. in Murat. xi. 1214; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 251; Vita V. p. 233.

[t] See Wilkins. ii. 585-621; J. Vitodur. 1821. H. Hervord. 263.

commendams was done away with, except only in the case of such as were held by cardinals.[u] Pluralities were steadily discouraged.[x] Expectancies of benefices not yet vacant were abolished, and such as had been already granted were revoked.[y] The late pope's custom of multiplying promotions on every vacancy was abandoned. All practices which might appear to savour of simony were forbidden. It was ordered that no canonries in cathedrals should be bestowed on boys under fourteen years of age,[z] and all applicants for the pope's patronage were examined as to their fitness.[a] Preferments were given to men of learning, without solicitation, and although they did not frequent the court.[b] The pope withstood the entreaties of great men, who attempted to influence his patronage; and he was careful not to favour his own relatives unduly.[c] He refused great matches for his niece, whom he married to a merchant of Toulouse, with a dowry not more than suitable to the husband's condition; and when the pair visited his court, in the hope of favour, he told them that as James Fournier he knew them, but that as pope he had no kindred; that he could only give them his blessing, with payment of the expenses of their journey.[d] One nephew alone obtained high office in the church, having been urgently recommended by the cardinals for the archbishoprick of Arles.[e] The officials of the court were required to swear that they would not accept any gifts.[f] The messengers who con-

[u] G. Vill. l. c.; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 198.

[x] Ib. 230.

[y] Ib.

[z] Ib. 231.

[a] Ib.; Hist. Rom. Fragm. in Murat. Antiq. iii. 277.

[b] Baluz. 109, 231.

[c] "Huic autem sanguis et caro non revelavit amorem." Ib. 219; cf. Rayn. 1338. 82. This was partly in order that he might keep himself independent of the king. Matth. Neob. 125.

[d] Baluze, 210-11, 219.

[e] Ib. 210. "Non improbo tamen," says Platina, "eos qui ob cognationem et affinitatem ad summos dignitatis gradus eriguntur, si tanta conditione digni sunt." 258.

[f] Matth. Neob. 231. There is a letter from Benedict to a collector sent into England, desiring him to report as to the alleged misbehaviour of former collectors. Theiner, 267.

veyed the papal letters were bound in like manner neither to ask nor to receive anything beyond food and other necessaries.[g] The pope moderated the expenses of episcopal visitations, which had long been a subject of complaint;[h] and he caused a visitation of cathedrals to be undertaken by commissioners, who corrected such irregularities as they discovered.[i] Yet, great as Benedict's merits were, he has not escaped serious imputations. His desire to purify the administration of the church and the monastic orders appears to have been too little tempered by courtesy or by discretion, so that it excited much animosity, which has left its lasting traces in the chronicles of the times. Petrarch speaks unfavourably of him in more than one place, and mentions especially that excessive love of the pleasures of the table which is said to have given rise to the saying, "Let us drink like a pope."[k] And a biographer, whose enmity would seem to have been provoked by Benedict's avowed dislike of the mendicant orders, charges him with avarice and with harshness of character, with negligence in some parts of his duty as to administration, and with a general distrust and ill opinion of mankind.[l]

[g] Wadding, 1335. 2.

[h] Mansi, xxv. 987.

[i] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 233.

[k] "Bibamus papaliter" (Vita VIII. in Baluz. i. 241). "Comestor maximus et potator egregius," says Gualvaneo Fiamma (Murat. xii. 1009), who felt as a Dominican towards Benedict (see Murat. Annal. VIII. ii. 9). Petrarch tells us that Benedict, on receiving a present of eels from the Lake of Bolsena (see vol. vi. p. 288), distributed all but a few among the cardinals, and that when these afterwards praised the fish, he said, "Si prægustassem, scivissemque quales erant, non fuissem tam largus distributor; sed nunquam credidi tale quid nasci posse in Italia" (p. 904). Elsewhere he calls the pope "potorem illum et senio et sopore et mero gravidum" (p. 809)—"vino madidus, ævo gravis, ac soporifero rore perfusus." (Ep. sine Titulo, i. 1; see Gibbon, vi. 215; Gregorov. vi. 223.) It has been asserted that Benedict seduced the poet's sister, and made her his concubine; but the story is said to be unfounded (Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 815; Milm. v. 329). The Seventh Life, in Baluze's collection, ends with a quotation—

"Iste fuit Nero, laicis mors, vipera clero,
Devius a vero, cuppa repleta mero."

The same is quoted by the Dominican Henry of Hervorden, who says that the pope died "perpaucis dolentibus." 265.

[l] Vita VIII. in Baluz. i. 240. Cf. 829. "Hic justus et durus erat." Th. Niem, in Eccard, i. 1499.

Benedict's virtues were also marred by a want of courage, which prevented him from carrying out his wish to deliver himself from the thraldom of king Philip, and from the oppressive influence of the French cardinals.[m] And, when he attempted to prepare the way for a return to Rome, or at least to Bologna, where the foundations of a palace had been laid by the legate Bertrand de Poyet,[n] he was deterred by the manifestations of an antipapal spirit, by the dangers of the way, and by other such considerations.[o] He therefore, as if to guarantee the continuance of the papal residence at Avignon, began the vast and costly structure which still remains as the chief monument of it;[p] but at the same time he showed his interest in the ancient capital of Christendom, by spending large sums on renewing the roof of St. Peter's, and on repairing other churches and palaces at Rome.[q] He accepted the office of senator, to which he was elected by the Romans in 1337; he forbade the use of the terms Guelf and Ghibelline,[r] as being continual sources of discord,[s] and he endeavoured to keep up a semblance of influence in Italy, by investing some party chiefs with the character of vicars under the apostolic see.[t]

[m] Giesel. II. iii. 63; Milm. v. 320 Döllinger says that by adding to the number of French cardinals he riveted his chains faster, and brought on the fulfilment of Joachim's prophecy that the papacy would find France a reed that would pierce its hand (ii. 265). See note there against Raynaldus and Pagi.

[n] G. Vill. x. 199-200; Hist. Pistol. 454.

[o] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 199. The Bolognese had expelled the legate. Ib.; G. Vill. x. 1-7; Hist. Rom. Fragm. in Murat. Antiq. iii. 271; Hist. Pistol. 461-7; Gualv. Fiamma, 1008; Cron. Bologn. in Murat. xviii. 39; Rayn. 1337. 27, seqq.

[p] Baluz. 215; Martin, v. 25. The cardinals hereupon began to erect *bastitæ* for themselves (Ib. 202). Ptolemy of Lucca says that he built the great tower "quæ etiam ad sui similitudinem magna et quadrata existit." (Murat. xi. 1216.) Platina says that Benedict intended to employ Giotto ("Jotum, pictorem illa ætate celebrem") in painting his palace with the histories of martyrs. 258.

[q] Baluz. V. P. Aven. 199, 206, 219; Ptol. Luc. 1214. In the Fragments of Roman History (Murat. Antiq. iii. 277-9) is a curious account of the breaking up of the old roof of St. Peter's.

[r] Gregorov. vi. 197.

[s] Henr. Hervord. 256.

[t] Gregorov. vi. 218.

Philip, however, notwithstanding his ascendency, was not able to gain all that he desired from Benedict. When he asked the newly-elected pope to make over to him the treasures of John XXII., and to bestow on him the ecclesiastical tithe for ten years—professedly with a view to a crusade, but in reality for the war into which he had been drawn with England—Benedict replied that his predecessor's wealth, having been collected for the crusade, must not be given up until that expedition was actually begun; and he withdrew the grant of tenths which John had previously sanctioned.[u] It was in vain that the king asked the vicariate of Italy for himself, and the kingdom of Vienne for his son;[x] and when he went to Avignon, for the purpose of urging his suit as to the pretended crusade, March 1336. the pope declared that, if he had two souls, he would gladly sacrifice one of them for the king; but that, as he had only one, he must endeavour to save it.[y]

The controversy which John XXII. had raised as to the Beatific Vision, and in the discussion of which Benedict had formerly taken a conspicuous part,[z] was now determined by him in a formal decree, which declared that the glory of the saints is perfect; that they already enjoy the vision of the blessed Trinity; and that, although they will have their perfect consummation in body and in soul after the judgment-day, the joy of their souls will not be sensibly increased.[a] Jan. 29, 1336.

The pope, both from natural character and from alarm at the French king's inordinate requests, was heartily desirous of peace with the emperor Lewis, and with a

[u] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 200-1; Olensl. 254.

[x] Matth. Neob. 125; Olensl. l. c.

[y] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 211; Planck, v. 283-4.

[z] Rayn. 1333. 59, seqq.

[a] Mansi, xxv. 989; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 216, 222-4. Some thought this decision heretical. Rayn. 1334. 35, seqq.; 1336. 4-16; G. Vill. xi. 47.

view to this made overtures, both indirectly and directly, to him.[b] Lewis, on his part, sent a fifth and a sixth embassy to Avignon, with offers of submission; but the influence of France, of Naples, and of Bohemia, with that of the cardinals, whose property Philip had threatened to confiscate if they made peace with the Bavarian,[c] prevailed over the pope's favourable dispositions.[d] Yet he made no secret of his real feeling. Thus, on one occasion, when urged by the representatives of the French and the Neapolitan kings, he asked whether they wished to do away with the empire. On their answering that they did not speak against the empire, but against Lewis, who had been condemned as an enemy of the church,—"Rather," said Benedict, "it is we that have sinned against him. He would, if he might have been allowed, have come with a staff in his hand to our predecessor's feet; but he has been in a manner challenged to act as he has done."[e] The emperor's sixth embassy, in October 1336, was authorized to offer very humiliating terms: to confess that he had done grievous wrong in setting up an antipope, in his alliances with the Visconti, with the rebellious minorites (whose opinions he disavowed), with John of Jandun and Marsilius, by whom he professed to have been deceived and misled. The ambassadors professed that he was ready to submit to penance, to lay down the imperial title, to persecute heretics, to build churches and convents, if the pope would release him from excommunication and interdict, and would grant him the empire anew.[f] But they became weary of waiting for an answer, and Lewis, despairing of any satisfactory

April—Oct. 1336.

[b] Matth. Neoburg. 126; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 198; Olensl. 256; Giesel. II. iii. 63.

[c] Matth. Neob. 126; Olensl. 259.

[d] Matth. Neob. 127; Joh. Vitodur. 1842-3; H. Rebdorff, 1337; Rayn. 1335. 7; Olensl. 256-7.

[e] Matth. Neob. 126; Olensl. 259.

[f] Rayn. 1336. 31, seqq.

result so long as the French king's influence should be exerted against him, declined an invitation to resume negotiations, and allied himself with Edward of England, who had now set up that claim to the crown of France which for a century and a half arrayed the two nations in deadly hostility to each other.[g] Benedict's warnings to Edward against entering into a connexion with an excommunicated person were unheeded, although the king professed all dutiful submission to the papal authority, and said that he had advised Lewis to make his peace by humbling himself.[h]

Another mission—the seventh—in behalf of Lewis, was sent to Avignon by the archbishop of Mentz, Henry of Virneburg, and his suffragans, after a council held at Spires.[i] The pope is said to have had tears in his eyes as he told the envoys that he could not grant absolution to Lewis, in consequence of his breach of treaties with France; that Philip had threatened him with a worse fate than that of Boniface VIII., if the Bavarian should be absolved without the French king's consent; and that he could hold no communication with the archbishop of Mentz, who had given great offence by a compact which he had lately made with his chapter, in order to obtain admission to his see.[k]

The Germans were indignant that their requests should thus be rejected at the dictation of a foreign sovereign, and that pretensions should be set up which seemed to transfer the right of the electors to the pope.[l] In reli-

[g] Joh. Vitodur. 1844; Rymer, ii. 991; Pauli, 'Bilder aus Alt-England,' No. v. The emperor asked Edward to go with him to Avignon. Rymer, l. c.

[h] Rymer, ii. 1004; Rayn. 1337. 7; 1139. 11, seqq.; Olensl. 270-3; Schmidt, iii. 577-9; Pauli, iv. 340. See Baluz. i. 804, against the story of Edward's having prevented some papal envoys from coming to England.

[i] Olensl. Urk. 66. The date is March 27, 1338.

[k] Matth. Neoburg. 127; Olensl. 276-7. Henry had been appointed by John XXII. in contempt of the capitular right of election, and, having been before opposed to Lewis, had been gained over to his side. Matt. Neob. 127,135; Olensl. 274-5; Schröckh, xxxi. 144-5.

[l] Olensl. 278; Schmidt, iii. 580.

ance on this feeling, Lewis summoned a great diet, consisting not only of princes and nobles, but of deputies from cities and cathedral chapters, to meet at Frankfort on Rogation Sunday, 1338. Before this assembly Lewis stated, in a pathetic tone, the course of his dealings with the papal see, and the pretensions which had been set up for the papacy in derogation of the imperial dignity; and in proof of his orthodoxy he recited the Lord's prayer, the angelic salutation, and the creed. The case was argued on his behalf by lawyers and canonists, especially by the famous Franciscan, Bonagratia; and the assembly resolved that the emperor had done enough, that the censures uttered against him were wrongful, and therefore of no effect; that the clergy ought not to observe the papal interdict, and that, if unwilling to celebrate the Divine offices, they should be compelled to do so.[m]

On the 15th of July the electors, with the exception of the king of Bohemia, held a meeting at Rhense,[n] where they expressed their apprehensions that, if the papal claims were admitted, they might in future have to choose only a king—not an emperor. They resolved that the empire was held immediately under God; that the emperor, chosen by all the electors, or by a majority of them, needed no confirmation from the pope; and they swore to defend the dignity of the empire and their own rights against all men, and to accept no dispensation

[m] Joh. Vitodur. 1846-7 (whose account of the effect on the clergy is remarkable); Olensl. 280-1.

[n] This meeting is known as the first Union of Electors (*Churverein*). Giesel. II. iii. 67. Although Rhense, on the Rhine, between Boppart and Coblentz, is described as immemorially a place of meeting for the German electors, the first distinct mention of it as such is in connexion with the election of Henry VII. Its situation, within the territory of the archbishop of Cologne, was convenient as being near the frontiers of the other three Rhenish electors. The *Königstuhl* was erected by Charles IV. in 1376, and there is a view of it in Olenslager's book (p. 422). Having fallen into ruin under the French domination, it was restored in 1844. Murray's Handbook; Bädeker, 'Rheinlande.'

from their oath. These resolutions were confirmed by a diet held at Frankfort, and several documents were drawn up by which the late pope's processes against Lewis were pronounced to be null, and pope Benedict was requested to withdraw them, while the emperor appealed against John to a general council. It was declared that the vicariate of the empire, during a vacancy of the throne, belonged not to the pope but to the count palatine of the Rhine; that the oath taken by emperors was not one of fealty to the pope; and it was forbidden to receive papal bulls without the sovereign's permission.[o] Aug. 8.

A great excitement followed in Germany. While the imperialists posted on church-doors manifestoes annulling the papal sentences, the papalists placarded copies of those sentences, and denunciations against all who should hold intercourse with the excommunicated Lewis.[p] The clergy and monks who observed the interdict were driven out, and their property was confiscated; many of them went to Avignon, but, as their distress found no relief there, some returned to Germany and submitted to the emperor.[q] Each party defended itself by the pen; and on the imperial side the most conspicuous writers were William of Ockham[r] and Leopold of Bebenburg, who afterwards became bishop of Bamberg.[s]

In September 1338 the emperor held a meeting with the king of England at Coblentz. The importance of the occasion was marked by a great display of splendour on both sides. Each of the sovereigns set forth his causes of complaint against Philip of France; an intimate alliance

[o] Olensl. Urk. 67, 70; pp. 282-8; Matth. Neoburg. 129; Schmidt, iv. 583; Giesel. II. iii. 67. Some documents connected with this affair are said to be questionable. See Hefele, v. 559.

[p] Olensl. 284-6.

[q] Ib. 288-9.

[r] 'Compendium Errorum Papæ,' in Goldast, ii. 957, seqq.

[s] "De Juribus Regni et Imperii Romani" [addressed to Abp. Baldwin of Trèves], in Schard, Syntagma, Argent. 1609, pp. 167, seqq. See Gieseler, II. iii. 69.

was concluded, and was confirmed by oath, and Edward was appointed vicar of the empire over the territories westward of Cologne.[t] Yet notwithstanding the solemnity of his compact with Edward, from whom he received large subsidies,[u] the emperor allowed himself to be soon after enticed,—chiefly through the influence of the countess of Hainault, who was at once his own mother-in-law and Philip's sister,—into making an alliance with the French king; an inconstancy which can only be explained by supposing that he was sincerely disquieted in conscience by the papal excommunications, and that he wished to secure Philip's intercession with the pope.[x] But although Philip affected to mediate, the faintness of his interest in the matter was too manifest, and Benedict looked with no favour on such an alliance between the sovereign whom the holy see had regarded as its especial favourite, and him who had been the object of its most terrible condemnations. He expressed his willingness to listen if Lewis would sue for absolution according to the forms of law, but intimated that the orthodoxy or the heresy of Lewis could not be dependent on the French king's convenience.[y]

A.D. 1339-40.

About this time a new cause of difference arose. Margaret, the heiress of the Tyrol,[z] had been married to a

[t] Walsingh. i. 223; Ad Murimuth, 88; W. Nangis, contin. 100, 105; Matth. Neoburg. 127 (who says, "generalem vicarium per Germaniam et Teutoniam"); Baluz. V P Aven. i. 201; Olensl. 292-3; Pauli, Gesch. v. Engl. iv. 360-1; Bilder, 135-7; Hook, iv. 102. For the pope's bulls against the alliance, see Rymer, ii. 1063, 1092, 1096, and Benedict's letter to Edward, against using the title of King of France, ib. 147 (March 1340).

[u] Matth. Neob. 128.

[x] Ib.; H. Rebdorff, 429; Olensl. 296, 307; Urk. 78; Palacky, II. ii. 231; Pauli, iv. 381. The recall of the commission to Edward as vicar (July 25, 1341) is in Rymer, ii. 1164. Edward's answer, Ib. 1167.

[y] Matth. Neob. 128; Joh. Vitodur. 1863; Olensl. 309. "Francus, ut videbatur, quod noluisset simulavit se velle; Benedictus vero quod voluisset simulavit se nolle." M. Neob. l. c.

[z] Rayn. 1341. 14. It is commonly said that she was called *Maultasch* (Mouth-pocket), on account of the largeness of her mouth (Olensl. 314)—"ob fœdam tetramque vultus dispositionem" (Trithemius, Chron. Spanh. A.D. 1347). Another writer calls her "femina inexhaustæ libidinis et audax"

boy six years younger than herself, a son of the king of Bohemia.[a] The marriage had not been happy, and the emperor now formed a scheme of securing Margaret and her possessions for his son Lewis, on whom he had already bestowed the marquisate of Brandenburg. It was alleged that the Bohemian prince was incapable of performing the duties of a husband,[b] and Leopold, bishop of Freising, was found willing to pronounce a separation on this ground, and to grant a dispensation for the marriage of Margaret with the younger Lewis, to whom she was related within the forbidden degrees.[c] But before these things could be done, Leopold was killed, while on a journey, and no other bishop could readily be found to carry out the plan. In this difficulty the emperor's literary allies, Marsilius and William of Ockham, came to his aid, by writing treatises in which it was maintained that the jurisdiction in such cases was not for the church, but for the temporal sovereign; that it had belonged to heathen emperors, and therefore much more must it be the right of the Christian emperor;[d] that, while it is for bishops and theologians to decide whether certain defects in one of the parties would justify a divorce, the application of the rule so determined is the business of the secular judge; that "it is for the human lawgiver to order that to be done which is established by the Divine law."[e]

On the strength of these opinions Lewis proceeded. Margaret's husband was cited, and, as he did not appear, the emperor took it on himself to decree a divorce, and to dispense with the laws as to A.D. 1341.

(Mutius, in Pistor. ii. 870). Matthew of Neuburg styles her "semifatua." (Urstis. ii. 129.) But John of Winterthur describes her as "pulcra nimis" (1864), and Bp. Hefele says that she got her name from the castle of Maultasch, where she was born. vi. 560.

[a] Olensl. 225; Palacky, II. ii. 159.

[b] H. Hervord. 257.

[c] H. Rebdorff (429, 442) and others represent him as having actually annulled the marriage. Another story is given by John of Winterthur, 1864 See Coxe, i. 126; Palacky, II. ii. 240-3.

[d] W. Ockham. in Goldast, i. 21-4.

[e] Marsil. ib. ii. 1389-90.

consanguinity with a view to her second marriage.[f] But although Lewis thus gained his immediate object, this invasion of a province which had always been supposed to belong exclusively to the hierarchy excited a general distrust, which told severely against him.[g] He made enemies of the king of Bohemia, with his uncle the powerful archbishop Baldwin of Trèves, and all the Luxemburg party.[h] The pope desired the patriarch of Aquileia to declare the late proceedings null, and to interdict the Tyrol;[i] and at this very time the death of Benedict XII. made way for a successor more formidable to the emperor.[k]

April 25, 1342.

The election fell on Peter Roger, a Limousin of noble family, who styled himself Clement VI. He had been a Benedictine monk, and at the time of his election was archbishop of Rouen and cardinal of SS. Nereus and Achilleus.[l] He had also been chancellor to king Philip, who, from unwillingness to lose his services, had for a time hindered his promotion to the cardinalate. His devotion to the interest of France was indicated in the ceremonies of his coronation, where the chief parts were assigned to great French dignitaries; and it was soon after more fully shown by the circumstance that, of ten cardinals whom he appointed at once, all but one were French.[m]

May 7, 1342.

[f] Olensl. Urk. 81-2; or Goldast. ii. 1383, 1385. The marriage took place in Feb. 1342. Böhmer, 139.

[g] Martin. Polon. contin. in Eccard. i. 1458; Joh. Vitodur., ib. 1864, 1867.

[h] Matth. Neoburg. in Urstis. ii. 130; Schmidt, iii. 592-8; Palacky, II. ii. 243; Gieseler, II. iii. 72.

[i] Olensl. 318. A divorce was afterwards pronounced by the bishop of Chur, under papal authority, on the ground of Margaret's cohabitation with Lewis of Brandenburg. Matth. Neoburg. 151.

[k] It is said that Benedict, "de quo fertur quod non fuit justior eo post S. Gregorium," on being asked, when dying, to empower some one to absolve him, replied, "Gloriam meam alteri non dabo, sed submitto me in misericordiam Dei." (Chron. de Melsa, iii. 38.) Gualvaneo Fiamma, whose enmity to Benedict is remarkable (see p. 129, note [k], and p. 140, note [u]), says that his death caused very great joy to all Christendom. 1044.

[l] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 205-7; Rayn. 1338. 81.

[m] Döllinger, ii. 267. Matthew of Neuburg says that he made seven

Clement was noted for his learning, for his eloquence,[n] and for an extraordinary power of memory;[o] his manners were agreeable, and he is described as free from malice and resentment.[p] His morals were never of any rigid correctness; and while he was pope, a countess of Turenne, if not actually his mistress, is said to have exercised an absolute influence over him.[q] He was a lover of splendour and luxury. The great palace of Avignon was growing under his care,[r] and the princely houses of the cardinals rose around it; the court of the successor of St. Peter was perhaps the gayest and most festive in Europe. Under Clement the vice of the papal city became open and scandalous. Petrarch, who himself cannot be described as a model of severe and intolerant virtue, expressed in the strongest terms his horror at the abominations which filled the new "Babylon of the West,"[s] and with-

cardinals at the request of the French king, while Edward of England could not obtain the promotion of one (133). Of twelve whom he created in Dec. 1350, only two were Italians. (Cron. Estense, in Murat. xv. 463.) Among his other concessions to the French sovereigns were a great number of exemptions as to excommunications and interdicts, indulgences, privileges for the royal chapels, etc. See Dachery, Spicil. iii. 723.

[n] "Quanno esso teneva cattedra per sermocinare, o vero desputare, tutto Parisi concorreva ad udire esso. Deh como fo bello sermocinatore!" Hist. Rom. Fragm. in Murat. Antiq. iii. 343.

[o] W. Nang. cont. 90, 343; Trithem. de Script. Eccl. p. 322; De Sade, iii. 50. The author of the 'Eulogium Historiarum' calls him "bonæ conditionis, bene litteratus, amabilis, affabilis, mansuetus, morigeratus, ab omnibus amatus" (i. 283).

[p] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 264. Rolewinck speaks of him as "nomine et re totus virtuosus," and adds, "Laudabilis fuit rigor severitatis Benedicti, sed multo amabilior fuit benignitas Clementis" (in Pistor. iii. 564).

[q] Matthew Villani styles her "governatore del papa nelle sue temporali bisogne" (iii. 2); cf. iii. 43, where Clement is described as "molto cavalleresco, poco religioso" (cf. Henr. Hervord. 267). Another speaks of him as "ab antecessoris sui moribus in multis distans, mulierum, honorum, et potentiæ cupidus." (Matth. Neoburg. 133.) See Murat. Ann. VII. ii. 74. The Meaux chronicler gives a curious tale as to his dissoluteness, and tells us that he answered his confessor's remonstrances by saying, "Quando juvenis fuimus, hoc usi sumus, et quod facimus modo, facimus ex consilio medicorum." When the cardinals murmured, he produced a little black book, from which he showed that the popes of lax morals had been the best popes. iii. 39.

[r] Baluz. i. 261.

[s] Ep. sine Titulo, p. 793; De Sade, ii. 220. He styles Avignon, "probrum

drew in disgust from the papal city to the solitudes of Vaucluse.[t]

In his ecclesiastical administration, Clement reversed the policy of Benedict. Preferments which the late pope had kept open, from a conscientious anxiety as to the difficulty of finding suitable men to fill them,[u] were now bestowed without any regard to the qualifications of the receivers.[x] Bishopricks, cardinalates, and other high dignities were given to young men whose sole recommendation was the elegance of their person and manners, while some of them were notorious for their dissolute habits.[y] Other benefices were declared to be vacant as papal reserves, and were conferred with a like want of discrimination. The higher offices of the church were reserved for the pope's own disposal, in contempt of the claims alike of sovereigns and of cathedral or conventual electors. The pope's own kindred, both clerical and lay, were loaded with benefices and wealth to a degree of which there had been no example;[z] among his cardinals were one of his brothers, two nephews, and another relation; and when some one ventured to remark on

ingens, fœtorque ultimus orbis terræ" (Contra Galli Calumnias, p. 1179). "Quicquid," he says, "de Assyria vel Ægyptia Babylone, quicquid de quatuor Labyrinthis, quicquid denique de Averni limine, deque tartareis sylvis sulphureisque paludibus legisti, huic Tartaro admotum fabula est." (Ep. sine Tit. 705.) Cf. pp. 621, 796, 797, 801, 806, 808, etc., Epp. Famil. xii. 11; xv. 11, etc.

[t] This was, not, however, his first retirement to Vaucluse. See De Sade, i. 339-40.

[u] Baluz. V. P. Aven. 210. This is turned against Benedict by one of his biographers, — "Negligens in providendo statum ecclesiarum supra modum fuit et in excusatione duritiæ suæ paucos ad hoc dignos vel sufficientes dicebat." (Ib. 240.) So Gualvaneo Fiamma says, "Ille [John XXII.] fuit in concedendis gratiis ultra modum benevolus; iste [Benedict] fuit crudelissimus, retinuit enim 330 beneficia mitrata, et sic ecclesiarum non pastor sed detructor fuit." Murat. xii. 1009.

[x] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 283; M. Vill. iii. 43.

[y] M. Vill. l. c.; iv. 86; N. de Clemangis (?) de Corrupto Eccl. Statu, xxvii. 4-5.

[z] M. Vill. iii. 43; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 265, 305; Matth. Neoburg. in Urstis. ii. 133; Platina, 258. The chronicler of Meaux, however, seems to overstate the matter,—"Ut infra paucos annos major pars cardinalium de filiis ejus erat et nepotibus." iii. 40.

this, Clement's answer was, "Our predecessors did not know how to be pope."[a]

The Romans, by two legations composed of persons who represented the various classes of the community,[b] invited the pope to take up his abode in the ancient capital, and Petrarch, who was one of the deputies, urged the prayer in a poetical epistle, setting forth the attractions of the imperial and apostolic city.[c] In reply, Clement alleged the necessity of remaining north of the Alps, that he might act as a peacemaker between England and France; but he promised to visit Rome as soon as the troubles of France should be settled. In the meantime he accepted the office of senator, which was offered to him, not as pope, but as a private person,[d] and he granted another of their requests—that the jubilee, which was supposed to recur only once in a century, should be celebrated every fiftieth year.[e] A.D. 1342-3.

Towards the emperor Lewis, the pope, while yet archbishop of Rouen, had shown his hostility by a sermon, in which he condescended to play on the words *Bavarian*, *barbarian*, and *boor*;[f] and his behaviour towards him was marked throughout by a rancour which contrasted strongly with the easiness of Clement's general

[a] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 311. "Hic non modicum diminuit jura, jurisdictiones, libertates, thesaurum atque patrimonia B. Petri et ecclesiæ Romanæ." Ib. 309.

[b] Hist. Rom. Fragm. in Murat. Ant. Ital. iii. 343; see Papencordt's 'Rienzo,' 339-42.

[c] Epp. l. ii. p. 1346.

[d] Rienzi, in Lord Broughton's 'Italy,' ii. 514.

[e] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 286; Hefele, vi. 579. "Havendo ancora," says Matthew Villani, "alcuno rispetto a l'anno Jubileo della Santa Iscrittura; nel quale catuno ritorna ne' suoi propi beni. E i propi beni de' Christiani sono i meriti della passione di Christo; per li quali ci seguita Indulgenza e remissione de' peccati." (i. 29, in Muratori, xiv.) A Bolognese chronicler says that, from the pope's concession as to the jubilee, people supposed that he must be in want of money. Murat. xviii. 415

[f] "Quem nominavit *Baurum*, interpretans nomen *baurus*, id est, *nesciens tergere barbam*, quia tantam dixit esse fœditatem oris sui quod ipsam abjicere non valebat." (Matth. Neob. 133.) Gieseler says that for *baurum* we ought to read *Bavarum*, with a reference to the French word *bave*. II. iii. 73.

character. The emperor sent a mission to Avignon, caused processions and other religious services to be celebrated with a view to an accommodation,[g] and reminded king Philip of his engagement to intercede for him; but although Philip made a show of exerting himself, the terms which the pope prescribed were too rigid. It was required that Lewis should penitently acknowledge all the errors of his past conduct—that he should resign the empire, and restore the Tyrol to the Bohemian prince John;[h] and on Maundy Thursday 1343 a new bull was issued, in which, after a long recital of the emperor's offences—his contempt of ecclesiastical censures, his opposition to pope John on the question of evangelical poverty, his proceedings in Italy and at Rome, especially the crime of setting up an antipope, his usurpation of the right to grant a dispensation for the "incestuous and adulterous" union of his son with Margaret, "whom her immodesty will not allow us to call our beloved daughter"—the pope charges him within three months to lay down the imperial title and authority, to appear in person for penance, and to amend his offences against the church; and he threatens him with yet worse punishments in case of failure.[i] At the same time Clement, by private letters, desired the German princes to prepare for another election, and threatened that, if they should be backward, he would give the empire a new head, by the same authority which had formerly transferred it from the Greeks to the Germans.[k]

April 12.

Notwithstanding the French king's intercession, the pope, at the expiration of the time which he had named, pronounced Lewis to be contumacious; and a meeting of electors was held at Rhense, under the influence of

[g] J. Vitodur. 1903.
[h] Olensl. 325; Schmidt, iii. 593.
[i] Olensl. Urk. 83.
[k] Olensl. 326; Schmidt, iii. 594.

John of Bohemia and his uncle, archbishop Baldwin, who were now strongly opposed to the emperor. Lewis, although on receiving the report of his first mission to Clement he had angrily sworn that he would never yield to the assumptions of the papal court,[l] was warned by tokens of a growing disaffection to attempt a different course. He appeared at Rhense, and was able to avert the immediate danger by professing himself willing to be guided in all things by the judgment of the electors, and to labour in all ways for a reconciliation with the church, and by producing a letter in which the French king held out hopes of his obtaining absolution.[m]

As his former applications had been considered insufficient, Lewis now begged that the pope would himself furnish him with a draft of the terms which were required of him; and in answer to this he received a document to which it might have seemed impossible that an emperor could submit in any extremity.[n] He was required not only to acknowledge the errors of his past conduct, but to profess that he had never thought it right; to give up the imperial title, and to own that it was in the gift of the pope alone; to undertake a crusade whenever the pope should call on him; to amend all faults against the church and the pope, and to promise absolute obedience.[o] Even pope Clement was surprised when Lewis authorized his ambassadors to accept these terms;[p] but still these were not enough. Another document was prepared, by which Lewis was required to amend and retract all that he had done, not only as emperor, but as king—not only as to Italy and Rome,

[l] Olensl. 329.

[m] Ib. 330; Schröckh, xxxi. 168.

[n] "Procuratorium turpissimum et rigidissimum, quod non credebant Ludovicum sigillaturum etiam si captus fuisset." Matth. Neob. 133. Cf. H. Rebdorff, A.D. 1344.

[o] Olensl. Urk. 85.

[p] Ib. p. 332; Matth. Neob. l. c. The emperor wrote letters to the pope and cardinals (ib.), which Rinaldi misdates. See Olensl. ib., and Urk. 86.

but as to Germany—and to pledge himself for the future to absolute slavery to the papal will.[q] At this, which concerned the electors as well as himself, the emperor hesitated. He summoned a diet to meet at Frankfort in September 1344, and, after having exposed the pope's dealings with him, he asked the advice of the assembly. Great indignation was expressed, and it was resolved, in accordance with the determination of the electors in a previous meeting at Cologne, that compliance with the pope's demands would be incompatible with the emperor's oath of office and with the duty of the electors.[r] But the feeling of the assembly, instead of being favourable to Lewis, turned against him, as having by his weakness and vacillation lowered the dignity of the empire, and as being now for personal reasons the only hindrance to peace.[s] Another meeting was held a few days later at Rhense, where John of Bohemia took the lead in opposition to him. When Lewis offered to resign, the electors showed themselves willing to accept the offer, and in his place to set up Charles, marquis of Moravia, a son of the Bohemian king; and the emperor's attempt to recommend his son, Lewis of Brandenburg, as his successor, was met by the insulting declaration that, since one Bavarian had so degraded the empire, they would have no more Bavarian emperors.[t]

Sept. 17.

Clement was resolved against any reconciliation. Another mission from the emperor[u] appeared at the papal court, but without effect; and on Maundy Thursday a fresh anathema was issued, in which the pope, after forbidding all intercourse with Lewis except for the benefit of his soul, denying him the right

April 13, 1346.

[q] Olensl. 333-4, and Urk. 88; Schmidt, iii. 596.

[r] J. Vitodur. 1904; Matth. Neob. 134; Olensl. 339-40.

[s] J. Vitodur. l. c.

[t] Ib.; Olensl. 341.

[u] Ib. 343.

of Christian burial, and, charging all Christian princes to expel him from their territories, proceeds to implore the most horrible curses on him;[x] and the document concludes by charging the electors to make choice of a new king, with a threat that, in case of their neglect, the pope would himself provide a person to fill the vacant throne.[y]

John of Bohemia, who had lately become blind, visited Avignon with his son Charles, who had received in the French court an education of almost a clerical character; and Clement, who, as abbot of Fécamp, had been the prince's tutor, was now favourable to his pretensions.[z] But when the question of the empire was brought before the cardinals, a violent conflict arose. The French party, headed by Talleyrand of Perigord, bishop of Albano, was with the pope; the Gascons, under the cardinal of Comminges, a nephew of Clement V., were on the other side. Odious charges and imputations were bandied to and fro; the two chiefs had risen from their

[x] *E.g.*, "Divinam suppliciter imploramus potentiam, ut Ludovici præfati confutet insaniam, deprimat et elidat superbiam, et eum dexteræ suæ virtute prosternat, ipsumque in manibus inimicorum suorum et eum persequentium concludat, et tradat corruentem ante ipsos. Veniat ei laqueus quem ignorat, et cadat in ipsum. Sit maledictus ingrediens, sit maledictus egrediens. Percutiat eum Dominus amentia et cæcitate et mentis furore. Cœlum super eum fulgura mittat. Omnipotentis Dei ira, et beatorum Petri et Pauli, quorum ecclesiam præsumpsit et præsumit suo posse confundere, in hoc et futuro sæculo exardescat in ipsum. Orbis terrarum pugnet contra eum; aperiatur terra et ipsum absorbeat vivum. In generatione una deleatur nomen ejus, et dispereat de terra nomen ejus. Cuncta elementa sint ei contraria. Habitatio ejus fiat deserta, et omnia sanctorum quiescentium merita illum confundant, et in hac vita super eum apertam vindictam ostendant, filiique ejus ejiciantur de habitationibus suis, et videntibus ejus oculis in manibus hostium eos perdentium concludantur."

[y] Olensl. Urk. 89; Matth. Neob. 135; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 248.

[z] See Charles's autobiography in Böhmer, Fontes, ii. 233. His original name, Wenzel, was changed at his confirmation (ib. 233), although it would seem that the Germans continued to call him by it until his election as king of the Romans. (H. Rebdorff, 1075.) John feeling the disadvantages of his own want of learning, was resolved that his son should be well educated (Böhm. 234), and Charles was able to speak and write with ease Bohemian, French, Italian, German, and Latin (ib. 247: Schröckh, xxx. 92). The autobiography, addressed by Charles to his sons Wenzel (Wenceslaus) and Sigismund, reaches to his election as king of the Romans.

seats to rush at each other, when they were with difficulty restrained by the pope, and the meeting was suddenly broken up; whereupon the members of the hostile factions fortified their houses and armed their servants, as if in expectation of a general tumult.[a] A paper of terms was offered by the pope to Charles, and was accepted by him. By this the future emperor bound himself to a degrading submission to the papal see.[b]

The pope now issued a mandate desiring the electors to proceed to a new choice. As there was no hope of gaining Henry of Virneburg—to whom, as archbishop of Mentz, belonged the privilege of superintending the election—Clement set him aside in favour of Count Gerlach of Nassau, a youth of twenty;[c] and he desired that Lewis of Brandenburg, son of the deposed emperor, should be excluded from a vote, as holding his position unlawfully.[d] The young archbishop summoned a meeting to take place at Rhense on the 10th of July, when he appeared with the electors of Cologne and Trèves, the king of Bohemia, and Rudolf, duke of Saxony. The empire was declared to be vacant; Charles of Moravia was elected by the five, and the ceremony of raising him aloft was performed on the "King's Chair" of Rhense, as Frankfort was in the

April 28.

[a] G. Vill. xii. 59. To this refer the words of Petrarch,—

Ecce duo obnixis qui sese cornibus urgent.
Eclog. vii. p. 1265.

[b] See Olensl. Urk. 93, where it is embodied in a later document; or Rayn. 1344. 19, seqq.

[c] For a lively account of the contest for Mentz, see Matth. Neob. 139. Henry had been made archbishop without the consent of the canons, and had been kept out of the see for three years, during which it was administered by Baldwin of Trèves (Trithem. Chron. Hirsaug. A.D. 1328). Notwithstanding the pope's condemnation, he carried himself as archbishop so long as Lewis lived, while Gerlach was acknowledged only in Hesse, where the landgrave was favourable to him. Ib. A.D. 1353; Gobelin. Persona, in Meibohm. i. 291.

[d] Olensl. Urk. 90; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 248; G. Vill. vii. 59; Rayn. 1343. 62. At this time, partly with the intention of annoying Henry of Virneburg, king John and his son Charles got the Bohemian church made independent of the see of Mentz, Prague being erected into an archbishoprick. Matth. Neob. 135; Olensl. 337; Pelzel, 121; Mansi, xxvi. 75; Palacky, II. ii. 248.

hands of the opposite party.[e] The services of his supporters were, as usual, rewarded by large payments or other concessions,[f] and the election was, although not until nine months later, confirmed by the pope.[g] July 11.

The general feeling of the Germans was against Charles. They saw with indignation that the same humiliations to which Lewis had submitted only in the extremity of distress were accepted by the new claimant as the very conditions on which he was to be allowed to supplant a lawfully-chosen emperor.[h] A diet at Spires, under Lewis, declared the election of his rival to be null, and denied the pope's right to depose an emperor.[i] No secular prince would side with Charles; no city would countenance or harbour him; even at Basel, the bishop and his monks were unable to procure his admission.[k] Aix-la-Chapelle, the traditional scene of the German coronations, shut its gates against him; and he was derided by the name of the "priests' emperor."[l] In this state of things he found it expedient to withdraw with his father into France; and at the great battle of Cressy, where the blind king died in the thick of the fight, Charles fled from the field.[m] As Aix and Frankfort were closed against him, he was, with the pope's consent, crowned at Bonn by the archbishop of Cologne;[n] August 26, 1346. Nov. 25, 1346.

[e] Matth. Neob. 135; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 248; G. Vill. xii. 59.

Matth. Neob. 135; Herm. Corner, 1076.

[g] Olensl. Urk 92; ib. pp. 361, 365; G. Vill. xii. 77.

[h] See Rayn. 1347. 2, seqq.; Giesel. II. iii. 80-2. Palacky, who is very favourable to Charles on account of his merits as king of Bohemia, says that he differed from others, not by yielding more, but by intending to keep his engagements. II. ii. 267-9.

[i] Olensl. i. 359, 360.

[k] Matth. Neob. 139; Olensl. 360.

[l] G. Vill. xii. 105. The objections to his election as irregular are set forth by Henr. Hervord. 275.

[m] H. Rebdorff, 436; Froissart, i. 288; Hist. Rom. Fragm. in Murat. Antiq. Ital. iii. 379-87; Andr. Ratisb. in Pez, IV. iii. 570; Petrarc. de Remed. utriusq. Fortunæ, ii. 96; Palacky, II. ii. 263-4. John had only reached the age of fifty (Pauli, iv. 401). As to his blindness, see Palacky, 225-6, 236.

[n] G. Vill. xii. 77; Matth. Neob. 138; Palacky, II. ii. 270, who gives, from

and Germany seemed to be on the verge of a civil war,[o] when Lewis suddenly died of a fall received in hunting,[p] on the 11th of October 1347—the last emperor against whom the anathema of the church was directed, and the one who felt it most severely, although living at a time when such denunciations were generally less dreaded than in the days when men had not become familiar with them through abuse.[q]

CHAPTER III.

JOANNA OF NAPLES—RIENZI—LAST YEARS OF CLEMENT VI.

A.D. 1343-1352.

I. Robert, who from the year 1309 had reigned over the kingdom of Apulia, or Naples, with a reputation for wisdom and political skill unequalled among his contemporaries,[a] lost his only son, Charles, in 1328;[b] and,

Pelzel's Life of Charles, a strange letter of abuse addressed to him by Lewis in January 1347.

[o] For the anarchy which prevailed, see H. Hervord. 267-8.

[p] G. Vill. xii. 105. The fall is said to have been caused by paralysis. (Matth. Neob. 1841.) H. Rebdorff views his sudden death, while under the church's censure, as a judgment on his having allowed the church and the poor to be oppressed, etc. (437). According to some writers the emperor was poisoned by the wife of Duke Albert of Austria (C. Zantfliet in Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 250), or by Margaret Maultasch (Trithem. Chron. Ducum Bavar, p. 133; Chron. Spanh. A.D. 1347). Cf. Andr. Ratisb. 571; Wadding, 1347. 18; H. Hervord. 270 (who is full on the emperor's character). Rinaldi exults in his death. 1347. 9.

[q] Schmidt, iii. 604. Later popes and the council of Basel style him "divæ memoriæ imperator," although Rinaldi and even Muratori speak of the empire as vacant from the death of Henry VII. to the election of Charles. (Olensl. 380; Giesel. II. iii. 80.) Aventinus, a century and a half later, is very eulogistic. 630-1.

[a] Petrarch styles him "regum et philosophorum hujus ævi meo princeps judicio." (Rer. Mirabil., l. I. t. i. 444; cf. 456, 513.) John Villani says that for 500 years [*i.e.*, apparently, since Charlemagne] there had been no such sovereign, either for abilities or for acquired knowledge (xii. 9); cf. Hist. Rom. Fragm. in Murat. Antiq. iii. 311, seqq.; Olensl. 327.

[b] Alb. Mussat. in Murat. x. 780;

seemingly from a wish to compensate the elder branch of his family for its exclusion from the Neapolitan throne at an earlier time,[c] he resolved to bestow his granddaughter Joanna, who had thus become his heiress, on one of its members.[d] For this purpose, Andrew, the second son of Robert's nephew, king Charobert of Hungary, was chosen, and the marriage took place in 1333, when the bridegroom was seven and the bride five years old.[e] Andrew remained at Naples in order that he might be duly trained up for his future dignity; but the roughness of his character, which the Italians ascribed to his Hungarian birth, refused to yield to the southern culture, and he grew up rude, passionate, and headstrong.[f] On the death of Robert, in 1343, Joanna, to whom her grandfather had already caused an oath of allegiance to be taken, succeeded to the throne; but intrigues were busily carried on by members of the royal family, and a Hungarian faction, headed by a friar named Robert, attempted to make itself supreme at Naples.[g] Andrew endeavoured, through the interest of his brother Lewis, king of Hungary, to obtain the pope's consent that he should be crowned, not as consort, but as king by hereditary right;[h] and he indiscreetly uttered threats of the punishments which he intended to inflict on all who had offended him, as soon as he should be established in the kingdom.[i]

Chron. Sanese, ib. xv. 84. Letter of John XXII. in Rayn. 1328. 60.

[c] See p. 69.

[d] G. Vill. xi. 224; Matth. Neob. 129; Gravina in Murat. xii. 549; Vita Nic. Acciajuoli, ib. xiii. 1207; Giannone, iv. 12.

[e] G. Vill. x. 224; xii. 9; Giann. iv. 14; Mailáth, Gesch. d. Magyaren, ii. 49.

[f] Giann. iv. 18. Giannone calls the Neapolitan court "accademia e domicilio d'ogni virtù;" Sismondi, "la cour la plus policée, comme aussi la plus corrompue, de l'Europe." Rép. Ital. iv. 206.

[g] Gravina, 553; Murat. Ann. VIII. ii. 17; Giann. iv. 19, 73. See Petrarch's amusing description of this friar, Epp. Famil. v. 3. He says that at Naples there was "nulla pietas, nulla veritas, nulla fides."

[h] Giann. iv. 74; Mailáth, ii. 52. Clement grants the coronation as consort, Rayn. 1344. 16.

[i] Baluz. V. P. Aven. 246; Gravina, 559.

He also suspected his wife of infidelity,[k] and the mutual ill-feeling which arose from this and other causes was artfully fomented by interested courtiers.[l] A conspiracy was formed against Andrew, and, while residing with the queen and a hunting-party at the Celestine convent of Aversa, he was decoyed from his chamber and strangled, on the night of the 18th of September 1343.[m] By desire of the Neapolitan nobles an inquiry was made as to the murder, and some of the persons who had been concerned in it were put to death, or otherwise punished.[n] But Joanna herself was suspected,[o] and when she sent a bishop to Lewis of Hungary, entreating his protection for herself and for the child with whom she had been pregnant at the time of his brother's death, he replied in a letter which, with unmeasured severity, declared his belief of her guilt.[p]

On the death of his posthumous nephew, Lewis claimed the Apulian kingdom as his inheritance, and

[k] G. Vill. xii. 50. On the other hand, there is a story (probably of later date) that Joanna was provoked against him by his having seduced her sister. Gobel. Persona in Meibohm, i. 298.

[l] Gravina, 554-5, 558-9.

[m] G. Vill. xii. 50; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 246-7; Matth. Neob. 130; Hist. Pistol. 512. It is said that the murderers had recourse to strangulation, because it was believed that his mother had given him a charm against steel and poison (Gravina, 560; Chron. Estense, xv. 422; Hist. Pistol. l. c.; Mailáth, ii. 53). "Aversa vere aversa," says Petrarch, "nomen a re sumptum, aversa prorsus ab humanitate," etc. (Epp. Famil. vi. 5). John of Bazano, a Modenese chronicler, thinks that, if Andrew had been crowned, the murderers would not have ventured on their crime; and he says that a cardinal, who was on the way to crown him, performed the ceremony on his dead body. Murat. xv. 613.

[n] J. de Bazano, 613; Hist. Pistol. 513-14; Gravina, 564-7; G. Vill. xii. 51; Giann. iv. 76-7; Sism. iv. 211.

[o] Anon. Ital. 27, in Murat. xvi. Giannone is favourable to Joanna, whom he highly eulogizes (iv. 116). Mr. Hallam thinks that she was probably innocent of the murder, and that there is no clear proof of the dissoluteness which is imputed to her by most writers (M. A. i. 347-8); and she has found a champion of another kind in Mr. Landor. See his 'Andrew of Hungary and Joanna of Naples.'

[p] "Johanna, inordinata vita præterita, retentio potestatis in regno, neglecta vindicta et excusatio subsequens, necis tui viri probat te fuisse participem," etc. Chron. Est. in Murat. xv. 445; cf. ib. 424; Giannone, iv. 78. Lewis and his mother wrote to princes, denouncing the murder. See Rymer, iii. 75-6.

invaded it, displaying at the head of his army a banner on which was painted the murder of Andrew. He also sent an embassy to the pope, with a request that he might be crowned as heir of Sicily and Apulia; but his envoys were unable to obtain a public audience, as it was alleged that he was connected with the excommunicated Lewis of Bavaria.[q] In the meantime, Joanna, yielding (as it was said) to the entreaties of her subjects, who dreaded a Hungarian rule, married her cousin Lewis of Taranto, who had been suspected of criminal intimacy with her during the life of her former husband, and of a share in the guilt of his death; and by this she appeared to confirm the imputations which had been cast on her.[r] The pair withdrew from Naples before the approach of the Hungarian force, and fled by sea to the queen's territory of Provence,[s] where she was received at Avignon with great honour, all the cardinals going out to meet her. Clement, who had already pronounced a general excommunication against the murderers of Andrew,[t] at the request of Lewis, appointed a commission of three cardinals to investigate the case, but without any definite result; he granted a dispensation for the queen's second marriage,[u] and endeavoured to mediate between her and the king of Hungary.[x] After a time Lewis withdrew from Apulia, where he had inflicted severe punishment on many who were suspected of a share in his brother's murder.[y] Joanna and her husband were requested by a party among her subjects to return;[z] and, in order to provide money for this purpose, she agreed to sell Avignon to the pope for a price far below its real value, in con-

Jan. 12, 1348.

[q] G. Vill. xii. 57; Giann. iv. 80-1; Sism. iv. 211.
[r] Sism. R. I. iv. 256.
[s] G. Vill. xii. 98, 114; Gravina, 578-9; Wadd. 1348. 6.
[t] G. Vill. xii. 51; Rayn 1346. 45.
[u] G. Vill. xii. 114; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 253; M. Vill. i. 18; Giann. iv. 82.
[x] Baluz. i. 253; Rayn. 1348. 3.
[y] Gravina, 583-5.
[z] Ib. 586-7.

sideration (as was believed) of the favours which she had received or might still desire from him in the matter of Andrew's murder.[a] In 1351 the king of Hungary again appeared in southern Italy; but Joanna and her husband were able, by the help of one of the mercenary bands which were then at the service of any power that would pay them,[b] to make so vigorous a resistance that a truce was concluded. By this the question was referred to the pope and cardinals for arbitration, with the understanding that, if Joanna were found guilty of the crime imputed to her, she should forfeit the kingdom, and that if acquitted, she should retain peaceful possession, but should reimburse the Hungarian king for the expenses of the war. The decision of Clement was in her favour, and she and her husband were crowned by a papal legate on Whitsunday 1352.[c]

II. The long absence of the popes from Rome had been disastrous in its effects on the city. Although still an object of pilgrimage, it no longer enjoyed the wealth which had been drawn to it by the residence of the court, and by the resort of persons from all quarters for official business. Even the pilgrims were often plundered on the way by robbers, or by the bands of mercenary soldiers which beset the roads.[d] The churches were falling into decay; the great monuments of antiquity were turned into fortresses, or were left to utter neglect. While the popes were usually elected, each in his private capacity, and for his own life, to the nominal dignity of senator,[e]

[a] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 272; M. Vill. i. 18; Platina, 260; Fuller, 'The Profane State,' 341, ed. Nichols. The sale was sanctioned by the emperor Charles as suzerain. (Plat. 262.) Joanna afterwards, when she supposed herself safe, protested against the bargain, but in vain. (Gregorov. vi. 329.) For Clement's defence of his conduct as to Joanna, see Rayn. 1349. 5.

[b] Gravina, 681. See below, p. 176.

[c] M. Vill. i. 93; ii. 41, 65; iii. 8; Monaldesco in Murat. xii. 539; Giann. iv. 85; Sism. R. I. iv. 231-3.

[d] Gregorov. vi. 13.

[e] Ib. 225.

the city was a prey to anarchy, and to the contentions of the great families.[f] In these circumstances some romantic spirits felt themselves thrown back on the memories of an earlier time, regarding less the veneration which was attached to Rome as the religious capital of Christendom than the fame of its ancient republican and imperial grandeur.[g] Thus Dante had desired to see Rome the seat of the papacy and of the empire;[h] and now Petrarch, the foremost man of his age in poetry and general literature,[i] endeavoured from time to time, by letters both in prose and in verse, which found circulation wherever the Latin language was understood, to stir up both emperors and popes to make Rome again their residence.[k] Petrarch was decorated with the laurel crown in the Capitol on Easter-day 1341, having received at the same time an offer of that tribute to his genius from the university of Paris and from the Roman senate, and having chosen to be so honoured by the representatives of ancient greatness rather than by the body which, in his own time, was most distinguished in the cultivation of literature.[l]

[f] Hist. Rom. Fragmenta, in Murat. Antiq. iii. 411; Sismondi, iv. 218; Gregorov. vi. 185, 200-2.

[g] Milm. v. 341.

[h] See above, pp. 76-8.

[i] See Zantfliet, in Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 226, 229. Tiraboschi remarks that Petrarch, even if he had not written the poems to which he owes his popular fame, would have deserved to be regarded as one of the most illustrious men of his country. (v. 443.) The Basel edition of his works (fol. 1554) contains only eight books of his letters 'De Rebus Familiaribus,' but has the 'Seniles' and the 'Sine Titulo.' The late Florence edition of the Letters, by Fracassetti (3 vols. 8vo. 1853-63), is without the 'Seniles' and the 'Sine Titulo,' but has sixteen additional books of 'Familiar' letters, and large additions to the 'Variæ.'

[k] Epp. l. i. pp. 1331, 1335, 1346, ed. Basil.; Epp. Famil. xi. 1; xii. 1; xviii. 1; xix. 1, etc. He writes to certain cardinals, who had been commissioned to reform Rome, "Primum animis vestris reor insitum, nullius humanæ rei nomen esse sanctius quam reipublicæ Romanorum." xi. 16.

[l] Opera, 1251, seqq.; Tirab. v. 437; Gibbon, vi. 368; Gregorov. vi. 208-15. The two invitations reached him at the third and the tenth hours on one and the same day. (Opera, 1251.) Papencordt says that De Sade's account of the coronation (t. ii. note 14) is apocryphal. (Cola di Rienzo, 58.) For the history of the laurel crown, see Selden, iii. 457, ed. Wilkins; Gibbon,

Among the spectators of this ceremony it is probable that there was one in whom the romantic feeling which has been described was soon to find a remarkable expression; indeed, it has been supposed that his enthusiasm had drawn nourishment from the sight of the great poet wandering among the monuments of Rome's former majesty on an earlier visit to the city.[m] Nicolas, who, from a popular corruption of his father's name, is commonly called Rienzi,[n] was born about the year 1314,[o] in the region named Regola, which extends along the left bank of the Tiber, adjoining the Jewish quarter of Rome. His father was a tavern-keeper, his mother a washerwoman and water-carrier;[p] and although, in the later part of his life, he professed to be an illegitimate offspring of the emperor Henry VII.,[q] it is certain that this attempt to glorify his paternal descent at the expense of his mother's reputation was merely the invention of a diseased vanity.[r]

l. c.; Tirab. v. 455-6; Burkhardt, 161.

[m] Gregorov. vi. 206, 213.

[n] *I.e.* The son of Laurence. It has been said that his family name was Gabrini; but of this there is no trace in the original sources. (Papencordt, 62.) The chief special authority for the history of this man, whose character has been extravagantly idealized by writers of fiction, is a chronicle published in the third volume of Muratori's Antiquities, under the title of 'Historiæ Romanæ Fragmenta.' This has since been re-edited by Zephyrino Ré, Florence, 1828 and 1854. [My references are usually to Muratori; those in which Ré is mentioned are to his second edition.] The author has been wrongly identified with one Fortifiocca, whom he occasionally mentions. (See Ré, 2.) See too Hocsemius, in Chapeaville, 'Gesta Pontiff. Leodiensium,' ii. 494, seqq. (Leod. 1613); Lord Broughton's 'Italy,' ii. 512, seqq.; and Papencordt's 'Cola di Rienzo,' Hamb. 1841, in all of which there are original materials.

[o] Ré, 176.

[p] Hist. Rom. Fragm. 399.

[q] The story is that Henry, having visited St. Peter's in disguise, while the Vatican suburb was in the hands of his enemies, was pursued into Lorenzo's tavern, where he lay hidden for ten days or more, and so became the father of Nicolas by the hostess. The first apearance of it is after the fall of Rienzi, when he wished to recommend himself to Charles IV. at Prague. His own statement is in Papencordt, Urk. p. xxxi. David, he says, had "filium non ignotum" by Uriah's wife, and Abraham had "filium Deo acceptum ex ancilla." The author of the Hist. Rom. Fragm. represents him as saying to the emperor, "De vostro lenajo so; figlio de vastardo de Herrico imperatore" (511); but we ought to read (with Ré, 250) "figlio vastardo."

[r] Papenc. 65; Ré, 252.

Rienzi was educated for the profession of a notary; but his delight was in the study of the old Roman authors, —of Livy, Cæsar, Cicero, Boethius, and the poets,—and he acquired an unusual skill in reading and interpreting ancient inscriptions.[s] From brooding over these records of the past he conceived visions, which he attempted to realize with an amount of success which for a time was wonderfully great, and might have been far greater and more lasting but for his own utter inadequacy to the part which he attempted to act; and the anarchy into which Rome had fallen was especially brought home to him by the circumstance that his brother was killed in an affray, and that no redress was to be obtained from the great families which then exercised the powers of government.[t] A.D. 1344-5.

In 1342-3 Rienzi was one of the deputation sent by the Romans to beg that pope Clement would return to their city;[u] and it is said that his eloquence won the admiration of the pope himself,[x] while it is certain that he excited the enthusiasm of Petrarch, who afterwards found reason to regret that he had too easily allowed himself to be fascinated.[y] The embassy, as we have seen,[z] was put off with fair words, and with a grant of the petition that the jubilee should be celebrated every

[s] Fragm. 399; Milm. v. 343.

[t] Fragm. 399.

[u] G. Vill. xii. 89; Fragm. 399. Von Reumont seems to think that Rienzi had no regular commission. ii. 853.

[x] Fragm. 399.

[y] Gregorov. vi. 262; De Sade, ii. 48, seqq. Papencordt says that the Italians universally suppose Rienzi to be the subject of Petrarch's sonnet, "Spirito gentil," but that the doubts raised by De Sade (t. i., Notes, 61, seqq.) are still entertained by many German writers. Dean Milman (v. 243), Gregorovius (vi. 202), and Ré (Appendix) think the reference certain, but Von Reumont is undecided (ii. 120). After Rienzi's fall, Petrarch wrote, "Vir unus obscurissimæ originis et nullarum opum, atque ut ratio docuit plus animi habens quam constantiæ, reipublicæ imbecilles humeros subjicere ausus est, et tutelam labentis imperii profiteri;" and from the measure of success which such a person had obtained he argues the capacity of Rome for a revival of her greatness. Apol. c. Galli Calumnias, p. 1181. Cf. Ep. Famil. xiii. 6, pp. 234-5, 237.

[z] P. 141.

fiftieth year, instead of once in a century; but this concession was hailed by Rienzi with a joy so extravagant that he extolled Clement above the greatest of the ancient Roman worthies.[a]

Rienzi returned to Rome with the official character of papal notary,[b] and resumed his old studies, while his indignation at the oppression of the nobles (who mocked at his ideas as the fancies of a crazy enthusiast)[c] became more vehement than ever. He endeavoured to excite the patriotic feeling of the people by various means, such as expounding inscriptions which attested the glory and liberty of former days,[d] and by exhibiting a picture which, in the midst of many other symbols, displayed Rome under the figure of a majestic matron, clothed in tattered garments, with dishevelled hair, weeping eyes, and hands crossed on her breast, kneeling on the deck of a ship, which was without mast or sail, and appeared about to sink.[e] On the first day of Lent 1347, he announced by a placard on the church of St. George in the Velabro that the Romans would "soon return to their ancient good estate;"[f] and after having held many meetings on the Aventine, in order to prepare the minds of the citizens,[g] he gave out at Whitsuntide that this good estate was come. Rienzi, at the Capitol, assumed the title of tribune, with the pope's legate, Raymond, bishop of Orvieto, for his colleague;[h] the laws of his government were proclaimed, and forthwith he entered on the administration of the republic.[i] A strict

A.D. 1344.

Feb. 15.

May 20.

[a] Letter in Broughton's 'Italy,' ii. 514, 516. He speaks of the jubilee as having been obtained by his own influence. Papenc. Urk. 21.

[b] "Notario de la cammora di Roma." (Fragm. 401.) His petition to the pope for this office (which he represents himself as seeking chiefly for the sake of security against the enmity of the nobles) is printed for the first time by Gregorovius, vi. 230.

[c] Fragm. 407-9.

[d] Ib. 405, seqq.; Gregorov. vi. 236.

[e] Fragm. 401; Papencordt, Urk. lvi.

[f] Fragm. 409. [g] Ib. [h] Ib. 415.

[i] Ib. 413; Sism. iv. 221-3; Gregorov.

and rigid system of police was enforced without respect of persons;[k] the fortresses of the nobles, both in the city and in the Campagna, were demolished; the owners were compelled to swear to the observation of peace, and long and bitter feuds were extinguished by a forced reconciliation of enemies.[l] The streets of Rome and the highways of its neighbourhood became, for the first time since many years, safe;[m] the Romans, in the enjoyment of the unwonted security, fancied themselves once more free.[n] The tribune's authority was respected far beyond the bounds of his jurisdiction; his announcement of his elevation, and his invitation to the Italian cities to combine for their common country, were received with a respectful welcome:[o] it is said that even the soldan of Babylon was affected by the change which had taken place in the government of Rome.[p] Petrarch, watching with enthusiastic delight the course of affairs in the city, congratulated the tribune and his people on having thrown off the domination of foreigners, and exhorted them to profit by their opportunities.[q]

But very early Rienzi began to show that his mind—vain, fantastic, and unsteady from the first—had become intoxicated by success. With the title of tribune he combined others at once pompous and inconsistent,

vi. 244-6. The chronicler of Pistoia represents his elevation as the result of a popular impulse, occasioned by a scarcity, which then prevailed (Murat. xi. 519), while another chronicler says that the Romans chose him in consequence of having been warned that foreigners would not attend the jubilee for fear of being robbed. Chron. Est., ib. xv. 437.

[k] Fragm. 415-19, 421-3.

[l] Ib. 417, 427, 431-9; Papenc. Urk. xlvii.

[m] G. Vill. xii. 89.

[n] Sism. iv. 223.

[o] Fragm. 441-3; Hist. Pistol. in Mur. xi. 521; Chron. Mutin. ib. xv. 607-10; Chron. Sanese. ib. xiv. 128; Chron. Est. ib. 441; Chron. Reg. ib. xviii. 65; Gregorov. vi. 249-58. See his account of his successes in Papenc. Urk. pp. xxiv.-v.

[p] Fragm. 423.

[q] Opera, 595, ed. Basil.; iii. 423, ed. Fracassetti; cf. iii. 409, where he describes to Rienzi the contrast between Avignon and Vaucluse. See Gregorov. vi. 260. John Villani reports calmer observers as already saying "che la detta impresa del tribuno era un opera fantastica, e da poco durare." Compare the story of the Franciscan weeping at his coronation, Papenc. Urk. lii.

including some which belonged to the imperial dignity.[r] He claimed a special influence of the Holy Ghost,—a pretension which, when taken in connexion with the oracles of abbot Joachim and his school, was likely to awaken suspicions of heresy;[s] nay, he did not hesitate even to compare himself to the Saviour.[t] He levied new and heavy taxes,[u] the proceeds of which, and of the confiscations to which he subjected the wealthier citizens,[x] were spent in luxurious living, and on theatrical displays, in which he himself was the chief figure.[y] Among these exhibitions the most noted were his admission to the order of knighthood after having bathed in rose-water in the porphyry vessel which was traditionally believed to have been the font of Constantine's baptism,[z] and his coronation with seven crowns, each of which was intended to bear a particular symbolical meaning.[a] He promoted his own relations to all sorts of offices, in which they disgraced themselves and him by their unfitness, and by their extravagance of vulgar luxury;[b] and his own indulgences in food and drink were such that his figure became gross and bloated.[c] He kept a

Aug. 1.

Aug. 15.

[r] Thus he styles himself, "Nos candidatus Spiritus sancti miles, Nicolaus severus et clemens, liberator urbis, zelator Italiæ, amator orbis, Tribunus augustus" (Chron. Mutin. 609); and he concludes a letter, "Datum in Capitolio urbis, ubi regnante justitia recto corde valemus, Nicolaus severus et clemens, libertatis, pacis, justitiæque tribunus, et sacræ Romanæ reipublicæ liberator illustris." Hocsem. 505; cf. ib. 494; Hist. Pistol. 520.

[s] See the emperor Charles' letter in Papenc. Urk. xxxix. Rienzi boasted that through the influence of the Holy Spirit even a moral reformation had been wrought. Broughton, ii. 530-2. Papenc. 112, 146.

[t] Yet he tells the pope that he had done away with the usual *gabelle*, and had not imposed any new ones. Hocsem. 504.

[x] Fragm. 479.

[y] Ib. 425, 427, 453; Chron. Est. 439.

[z] Fragm. 448; G. Vill. xii. 89; Gregorov. vi. 269. He himself mentions this in a letter to the pope (Papenc. Urk. 6, p. x.), and vindicates it in another—"Numquid quod mundando licuit a lepra pagano, Christiano mundanti urbem et populum a leproso servitutis tyrannice non licebit?" (Ib. xxii.; cf. xxv.) Perhaps we might read "leprosæ . . . tyrannidæ."

[a] Papenc. Urk. 10; Gregorov. vi. 281.

[b] Fragm. 434; Gibbon, vi. 382-3.

[c] Fragm. 475.

train of poets to celebrate his actions, and of jesters to amuse him.[d] Fancying himself seated on the throne of the Cæsars, he summoned the pope to return to Rome,[e] and the rival claimants of the empire, together with the electors, to submit themselves to his arbitration;[f] and although this was unheeded, Lewis of Bavaria stooped to entreat his mediation, with a view to reconciliation with the church,[g] while Lewis of Hungary and Joanna of Naples each endeavoured to enlist him as a partisan in their contest.[h]

But Rienzi's errors became more and more palpable, and speedily brought on his ruin. He treacherously arrested the chiefs of the adverse nobles, as if on suspicion of a conspiracy; and, after having alarmed them with the expectation of death, he not only set them free at the intercession of some citizens,[i] but loaded them with offices and honours. The Colonnas[k] and others, having collected a force in their fastnesses among the mountains, attacked him under the walls of Rome: and, when their blunders had given him a victory which his own ability could not have gained for him, he abused it by cruel insults to the dead, and was unable to profit by his success.[l] Although he had throughout professed the deepest reverence not only for religion, but for the papacy,[m] the pope

Sept. 17.

Nov. 20.

[d] Fragm. 421.

[e] Matth. Neoburg. in Urstis. ii. 142.

[f] Fragm. 451; Chron. Est. 440; Chron. Regiense, 65; Hocsem. 494, seqq.; Gibbon, vi. 381-2.

[g] Fragm. 443.

[h] Papenc. Urk. xxiii.; Hocsem. 503; Gibbon, vi. 378; Sismondi, iv. 229. See Ré, 206.

[i] G. Vill. xii. 104; Fragm. 453, 457; Hocsem. 497; Cron. Bologn. in Murat. xvii. 406; Gregorov. vi. 285. Petrarch blames him for having thrown away the opportunity of making them "urbi Romanæ vel de hostibus cives, vel de timendis hostibus contemnendos," by depriving them of their fortresses and of other means of doing mischief. Ep. Famil. xiii. 6 (t. ii. 236).

[k] Rienzi professed to have visions of Boniface VIII. animating him against the Colonnas. Hocsem. 508; Hist. Pistol. in Murat. xi. 521.

[l] G. Vill. xii. 104; Fragm. 467-9, 471-3. See his boasts in Hocsem. 907-8.

[m] See his letter, ib. 498; Broughton, ii. 542; Papenc. 160.

had not unnaturally viewed his proceedings with jealousy. He was charged with heterodoxy, and even with magic;[n] and the legate, who had once been his colleague in power, but had separated from him on finding that Rienzi intended to use him merely as a tool,[o] pronounced an anathema against him.[p] Pipin, count palatine of Minerbino and Altamura, a Neapolitan noble, who had been banished from his own country, and had become the head of a band of mercenaries, having been summoned to appear before the tribune on account of his violent acts,[q] proceeded to attack him; and Rienzi, who had forfeited the affection of the people by his misconduct and tyranny,[r] did not venture to stand his ground, but fled in abject terror.[s] After having been sheltered for a time by the Orsini in the castle of St. Angelo, he Dec. 1347— privately made his escape from Rome, and Jan. 1348. found a refuge among the fanatical fraticelli of the Apennines, while the churches resounded with the papal denunciations of him,[t] and Rome relapsed into a state of anarchy worse than before.[u]

Two years and a half after his flight from Rome, Rienzi appeared at Prague, in consequence of a com- July or mission given to him by a hermit named Aug. 1350. Angelo, who believed that he and Charles IV. were destined to reform the world.[x] He obtained

[n] See them in Rayn. 1347. 17-20; Milm. v. 355; Gregorov. vi. 293. After his death a mirror of polished steel was found in his bedroom, and it was supposed that in it he kept a familiar spirit. Fragm. 545.

[o] Papenc. Urk. 8. The pope had confirmed Rienzi and the legate as "rectores" of the city, ignoring the title of tribune. Ib. 3-4. (June 26-7, 1347.)

[p] Fragm. 475; G. Vill. xii. 104; Gregorov. vi. 293.

[q] G. Vill. xii. 104; M. Vill. vii. 102; Chron. Est. 445-7. He was afterwards hanged in his own town of Altamura. (Fragm. 479.) There is much about this man in Gravina, ap. Murat. viii. 551-6, 642, seqq., 659, 667, etc.

[r] Fragm. 475.

[s] Ib. 477.

[t] Papenc. 199.

[u] G. Vill. xii. 104; Gregorov. vi. 312-14, 325, 335. It has been supposed that Rienzi was present at the jubilee in disguise (Papenc. 214; Ré, 251); but there is no warrant for this. Gregorov. vi. 537.

[x] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 256; Fragm. 511; Palacky, II. ii. 310.

access to the emperor, and endeavoured to draw him into the hermit's schemes;[y] but the wildness of his talk, which savoured of the society in which he had lately been living, excited such suspicions that Charles thought it well to commit him to the care of the archbishop of Prague, by whom, in compliance with a request from the pope, he was after a time sent to Avignon.[z] The charge of heresy, however, was not prosecuted against him. His life was spared, partly through the intercession of Petrarch, who, although grievously disappointed in his career, still regarded him with interest and sympathy,[a] and partly in consequence of a mistaken belief that he was entitled to the honours of a poet;[b] and he was kept in confinement, which, according to the notions of the time, was lenient, as he was bound only by a single chain, and was allowed the use of books, especially of the Scriptures and of Livy.[c] In this condition he remained until circumstances brought him once more into public life. July 1352.

III. About the same time when Rienzi was in power at Rome, a pestilence of oriental origin[d] made its appearance in Europe, and raged with unexampled virulence from Sicily to Iceland and even to Greenland.[e] This "Black Death" (as it was called) is A.D. 1347-8.

[y] Papenc. 217, and Urk. ii. It was at this time that he invented the story of his connexion with the imperial family (see p. 154). Gregorov. vi. 339.

[z] Rayn. 1350. 5; Papenc. Urk. 17; Palacky, II. ii. 310-11; Gregorov. vi. 340, 344. The author of the Hist. Rom. Fragm. says that he begged the emperor to send him to the pope (511). The Este chronicler tells us that he was drawn into writing down his opinions, and that the paper was sent to Avignon. 460.

[a] See his letters, Rer. Fam. vii. 7, xi. 16; xiii. 6; Sine Tit. pp. 789-93; Papencordt, Urk. 28.

[b] Petr. Epp. ed. Franc. ii. 238-9.

[c] Fragm. 511-13.

[d] For its ravages at Constantinople, see J. Cantacuzene, iv. 8. It was brought into the west by Genoese vessels. Ist. di Parma in Murat. xii. 746. See M. Vill. i. 2; And. Dei in Murat. xv. 120; Chron. Est. 448-9; W. Nang. cont. 110.

[e] See 'The Epidemics of the Middle Ages,' translated from Hecker by Dr. B. G. Babington, ed. 3, Lond. 1859. The visitation had been preceded by a scarcity (Hist. Pistol. in Murat. xi.

said to have carried off at least a fourth of the population[f] in the countries which it visited. Among the places which most severely felt its ravages was Florence, where the historian John Villani was among its victims,[g] and where its tragic details furnished an incongruous framework for the lively and licentious tales of the "Decameron."[h] At Marseilles it carried off the bishop and all his chapter, almost all the Dominican and Minorite friars, and one-half of the citizens.[i] At Avignon three-fourths of the inhabitants are said to have died,[k] among whom was cardinal Colonna, the chief patron of Petrarch, with several other princes of the church, and the lady whom the poet has made for ever famous under the name of Laura.[l] So great was the mortality in the city of the papal residence that the living were insufficient to bury the dead, and the pope had recourse to the device of consecrating the Rhone in order to receive the bodies which could find no room in the cemeteries.[m] In England the pestilence raged violently, and among its victims was John de Ufford, whom the king, in his anger

518), and was accompanied by earthquakes, floods, etc. See Hecker, 14-15. Rome suffered especially from earthquakes (Gregorov. vi. 319). For the ravages of the Black Death in Greenland, see vol. iv. p. 115; Hecker, 28.

[f] This is Hecker's estimate, and he puts the whole loss at 25,000,000 (29). Others say a third, three-fifths, or more. (Sism. R. I. iv. 252; Martin, v. 111.) The 'Eulogium Historiarum' makes the loss in England one-fifth (iii. 213). Cf. Cron. Senese, 120; Matth. de Griffonibus, in Murat. xviii. 167; Henr. Hervord. 303-4.

[g] M. Vill. i. 1; Anon. Italus, c. 29, in Murat. xvi.; Chron. de Pisa, ib. xv. 1020. J. Villani himself gives an account of it in its earlier stages. xi. 113; xii. 83. Cf. Antonin. 353. For Siena, see the Cron Senese in Murat. xv. 123. The writer says that he had buried five of his children with his own hands.

[h] See Michelet, iii. 346-9. Boccaccio supplies a remarkable hint as to the looseness of medieval statistics—"Oltre a centomilia creature umane si crede per certo dentro alle mura della città di Firenzi essere stati di vita tolti, che forse anzi l'accidente mortifero non si saria estimato tanti avervene dentro avuti."—Introd.

[i] Matth. Neoburg. in Urstis. ii. 147.

[k] The Pistoian Chronicle says that 120,000 died in three months. Murat. xi. 524. Henry of Hervorden speaks of 100,000 from Feb. 1 to Oct. 1. 274.

[l] Tiraboschi, v. 462-3. Petrarch has a Latin poem on the pestilence. 1341-2.

[m] J. Vitodur. 1924; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 254; Hecker, 24. See a list of the towns in which the mortality was greatest, ib. 22-3.

against the Canterbury monks for having elected the learned schoolman Thomas Bradwardine without the royal licence, had begged the pope to appoint by provision to the archbishoprick. After the death of his rival (who had not been consecrated) Bradwardine was promoted by the consent of all parties, and received consecration from the pope; but within a few days after landing in England he too was carried off by the plague.[n] At Drontheim, all the members of the chapter except one died; and the survivor elected a new archbishop, without any interference on the part of the crown.[o]

The moral effects of this visitation were not altogether favourable. In many it produced a spirit of selfishness and covetousness and a decay of charity.[p] It is said that in Italy many of the survivors, finding themselves easier in their circumstances through the consequences of the pestilence, ran into all sorts of dissoluteness and self-indulgence; while the lower classes of society, for a like reason, gave themselves up to idleness and dissipation.[q] In England, when such persons of the labouring classes as had escaped death demanded an increased price for their work, a royal decree forbade all servants, artisans, and the like, to receive higher pay than in former years. In consequence of this, such persons found that, as the cost of living was increased, their state was worse than before; and their discontent was shared by the lower clergy. For a time the surviving members of this class had found their services so much in request, as curates or chaplains, that

[n] W. de Dene, Hist. Roffensis, in Wharton, i. 375; Lingard, iii. 154, seqq.; Hook, iv. 103, 106, 109, 115, seqq. It was noted that in Ireland, although the English suffered, the natives were exempt. (Ling. iii. 155.) The authority belonging to the prior and convent of Christchurch, Canterbury, during a vacancy of the see, is remarkably shown in a letter of this date, where they charge the bishop of London to enjoin on other bishops of the province the observation of prayers, masses, processions, etc., for deliverance from the plague. Wilkins, ii. 738.

[o] Münter, ii. 68.

[p] W. Nang. cont. 100

[q] M. Vill. l. c.

they had insisted on receiving four or five times as much as before; and, in consequence of this, many laymen who had lost their wives by the pestilence pressed into the ministry of the church, without any other qualification than an imperfect knowledge of reading.[r] But through this multiplication of their numbers, combined with the increase of prices and with the diminution of fees which followed on the decrease of population, the condition of the lower clergy speedily became worse than it had ever been before.[s] Even on monastic discipline it is said that the Black Death told unfavourably; as in many places the older and more experienced monks were carried off, and those who succeeded them were unable or unwilling to enforce the rules with the strictness of former times.[t]

This great calamity was naturally followed by outbreaks of superstitious terror. The Jews were suspected of having poisoned the wells and infected the air; some of them were tortured into a confession of these crimes, and multitudes of the unfortunate people suffered death.[u] In some places the Jews were driven by despair to attack the Christians; at Mentz they killed about 200, and the act was avenged by a butchery of 12,000 Jews.[x] The

[r] Knyghton in Twysd. 2600; W. de Dene, in Wharton, i. 375. There is a letter from the pope to the archbishop of York, authorizing him to confer orders at other times than the Ember seasons, with a view to supplying the lack of clergy. Letters from the Northern Registers (Chron. and Mem.) 401.

[s] See Steph. Birchington, in Wharton, i. 42; W. de Dene, l. c.; Bergenroth's Essay on Wat Tyler (appended to Mr. Cartwright's Memoir of him, Edin. 1870) In 'Pierce the Ploughman's Vision' we read:—

"Parsons and parisshe preestes
Pleyned them to the bishope,
That hire parisshes weren povere
Sith the pestilence tyme,
To have a licence and leve,
At London for to dwelle,
And syngen ther for symonie;
For silver is swete."
(165, seqq., ed. Wright, London, 1842.)

[t] Wadding. A.D. 1348. 2 (from Antoninus).

[u] Froissart, iii. 22; Baluz V. P. Aven. 255, 314; Gesta Abbat. Trudon. in Pertz, x. 432; C. Zantfl. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 253; Hecker, 38, 43. The continuer of William of Nangis says, "Sed revera tales intoxicationes, posito quod factæ fuissent, non potuissent tantam plagam et tantum populum infecisse" (110). See, too, the remarks of Herman of Lerbeke, a Dominican of the 15th century, in Leibnitz, ii. 291.

[x] H. Rebdorff, 444.

persecution raged especially in the towns along the Rhine; and when the pope threw his protection over the Jews, the age was so little able to apprehend any good motive for such humanity that he was commonly supposed to have been bribed.[y] The end of the world was believed to be at hand. The fanaticism of the flagellants, which had been first known in the preceding century,[z] and of which there had since been some smaller displays,[a] was now revived. The flagellants professed to have come into Germany from Hungary,[b] and displayed a letter which an angel was said to have brought down to Jerusalem, declaring the Saviour's wrath against mankind for profanation of the Lord's day, for neglect of fasting, for blasphemy, usury, adultery, and other sins.[c] They went about half-naked, singing, and scourging themselves; and they declared that the blood which was thus shed was mingled with that of the Redeemer, and that it superseded the necessity of the sacraments.[d] When the Saviour's passion was mentioned in their hymns, they threw themselves on the earth "like logs of wood," with their arms extended in the form of a cross, and remained prostrate in prayer until a signal was given to rise.[e] They were under "masters" of their own, to whom all that joined

[y] Matth. Neoburg. 147-9; Baluz. i. 882-3. Andrew of Ratisbon argues that a persecution of the Jews in 1338 was clearly a matter of the Divine vengeance, because princes and officials failed in their endeavours to stop it. (Eccard, i. 2104.) On a return of the pestilence in 1362, more than 1000 Jews were slain in Poland, although the king, in consideration of their gifts, wished to save them. M. Vill. ix. 107.

[z] See vol. vi. p. 236.

[a] As in Italy in 1310 (Ptol. Luc. in Murat. xi. 1223), again in 1333-4 (Gregorov. vi. 190), and at Avignon in 1334 (Petrarc. Senil. ix. 2, p. 949). See Förstemann, 'Die Christl. Geisslergesellschaften,' Halle, 1828, 54, 63.

[b] This, however, according to Förstemann (70), is stated only by the later writers, as Trithemius.

[c] Matth. Neoburg. 149, 150; Förstemann, 70, seqq.; Giesel. II. iii. 314. (As to such letters, see vol. v. pp. 404-5.) D'Argentré is very full on this case of flagellancy, i. 361, seqq.

[d] Chron. Elwac. A.D. 1348-9, in Pertz, x.; Gesta Abb. Trud., ib. 632; W. Nang. contin. 111; H. Rebdorff. 439, H. Corner, 1083-4; Th. Niem in Eccard, i. 1504.

[e] Henr. Hervord. 281. See Förstem. 75.

them were required to swear obedience, and their behaviour towards the clergy was hostile and menacing.[f] From Germany the movement spread into France, but the king forbade the flagellants to approach the capital, and the university of Paris pronounced their practices to be a "vain superstition." At the instance of the university, flagellancy was condemned by the pope,[g] and at his desire it was forbidden by the royal authority.[h] Some of the flagellants carried their fanaticism from the Low Countries into England; but the English looked on their wild exercises with indifference, and suspected them of heresy.[i]

In many towns the parochial clergy fled from the pestilence, and their places were taken by the more courageous friars, who visited the sick, administered the last sacraments, and performed the offices of burial.[k] This devotion was rewarded with large bequests, especially from persons who had lost their natural heirs;[l] and a complaint was made to the pope by the cardinals and the secular clergy, who desired that the mendicant orders should be suppressed for interfering with the parochial system of the church. But Clement, according to a

[f] Gesta Abb. Trud. l. c.; Matth. Neoburg. 150; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 320; Giesel. II. iii. 315. In a town of the diocese of Bamberg, the Jews attacked the flagellants, killed about fourteen, and set fire to the place. H. Rebd. 440.

[g] Oct. 20, 1349. Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 316; Mansi, xxv. 1153; Matth. Neoburg. 150, 159; W. Nang. cont. l. c.; D'Argentré, i. 364. The flagellants invited the pope to join them. Mailáth, Gesch. v. Oestreich, i. 142.

[h] Froissart, iii. 21-2.

[i] Ib. 21-2; Pauli, iv. 418. The pope had desired Edward either to keep them out of England, or, if they were admitted, to compel them by moderate means to give up their follies and errors (Rayn. 1349. 22). Archbishop Islip, although urged by Clement to proceed against them, let them alone. Hook, iv. 118-21.

[k] W. Nang. contin. 110: Martin, v. iii. The Franciscans are said to have lost 124,434 members in Germany, and 30,000 in Italy by the pestilence. Hecker, 23 (quoting, however, an author who describes many of them as lazy "Tropfen").

[l] W. Nang. cont. 110. The annalist of Parma, however, says that the sick were abandoned by friars as well as by servants, doctors, notaries, and priests, "tal che non potevano testare, nè confessi o contriti assoluti morire." Murat. xii. 746.

writer who himself belonged to the mendicant brotherhood of Carmelites, rebuked the objectors severely. He asked them what they themselves would preach if the monks were silent? He told them that if they were to preach humility, poverty, and chastity, their exhortations would be vitiated by the glaring contrast of their own pride and luxury, their avarice and greed, and the notorious laxity of their lives. He reproached them for closing their doors against the mendicants, while they opened them to panders and buffoons.[m] If, he said, the mendicants had got some benefit from those whose deathbeds they had attended, it was a reward of the zeal and the courage which they had shown while the secular clergy fled from their posts; if they had erected buildings with the money, it was better spent so than in worldly and sensual pleasures; and he declared the opposition to the friars to be merely the result of envy.[n] The rebuke carried weight from its truth, if not from the character of the pope who uttered it.

IV. Although the death of Lewis of Bavaria had removed a great obstacle from the path of his rival Charles, the "priests' emperor" found that his difficulties were not yet ended. In going about the cities of Germany, attended by clergy who offered the pope's absolution from ban and interdict, on condition that the people should renounce the late emperor and all his family, he met with hostile demonstrations in some places.[o] Thus at Basel, when the bull announcing the terms of absolution was read, the mayor of the city[p] stood forward, and addressing the pope's commissioner, the bishop of Bamberg, declared that the citizens of

[m] "Truffatores."

[n] W. Nang. contin. 112.

[o] Matth. Neoburg. in Urstis. ii. 142. Disgust was caused by the high fees which the clergy exacted for the reconciliation of interdicted towns. J. Vitodur. 1925.

[p] "Magister civitatis." M. Necb. 143.

Basel did not believe the emperor Lewis to have been a heretic; that they were resolved to acknowledge as king and emperor any one who should be chosen by the electors, or by a majority of them, without requiring the pope's confirmation of the choice; that they would do nothing contrary to the rights of the empire, but were willing to accept the pope's forgiveness of all their sins, if he should be pleased to bestow it. By this firmness an unconditional absolution was extorted.[q] In other towns the emperor's arrival was the signal for scenes of disorder.[r] Many of the most religious persons, such as the famous mystic John Tauler, of Strasburg,[s] regarded the pope's proceedings against Lewis as unjust and invalid;[t] and, as at some earlier times, the impatience of the papal rule gave rise to a popular expectation that the emperor Frederick II. would reappear, to destroy the clergy and the friars, and to restore the glories of the empire.[u]

The Bavarian party, headed by Henry of Virneburg, who was still acknowledged by most of the Germans as archbishop of Mentz, endeavoured to set up an emperor of its own.[x] The crown, after having been declined by some German princes, was offered to Edward of England, whose fame had lately been enhanced by the victory of Cressy;[y] but Edward, in deference to the opinion of his parliament, and fearing that the offer might be intended to divert him from the prosecution of his designs on France, refused it.[z] At length a champion was found in count Gunther of Schwarz-

A.D. 1348.

[q] M. Neob. 143; Olensl. 382. On Christmas-day Charles at Basel read the gospel of the decree of Cæsar Augustus at early mass, "alta voce, habens in manu evaginatum gladium." M. Neob. l. c.

[r] Ib. 144.

[s] See below, ch. x.

[t] Giesel. II. iii. 83.

[u] It was said that, although the emperor might be cut into a thousand pieces, or even burnt to dust, this must be fulfilled, because it was God's decree. J. Vitodur. 1928; Giesel. II. iii. 85; cf. ii. 650.

[x] Schmidt, iii. 606.

[y] Knyghton (in Twysden, 2596) says that some of the electors wished to choose him, "velut dignissimum, strenuissimum, et validissimum militem sub Christianismo."

[z] Ib. 2597 G. Vill. xii. 105; Matth.

burg, in Thuringia, a man of great renown for prowess, but of no considerable territory or power.[a] Gunther was elected by his partizans on the 30th of January 1349, was displayed on the high altar of St. Bartholomew's at Frankfort as king, and was enthroned in the same city;[b] but he found few adherents, and after a time his chief supporters were gained over to the side of Charles by means of matrimonial alliances or other inducements.[c] Gunther himself, who had been attacked by a hopeless illness, was persuaded, although unwillingly, to resign his pretensions, chiefly in consideration of a large sum of money.[d] The Bavarian party was conciliated by Charles's undertaking to get the papal sanction for the marriage of Lewis of Brandenburg with Margaret of the Tyrol;[e] and Lewis made over to Charles the insignia of the empire, which had come into his hands at his father's death.[f] Thus Charles acquired peaceable possession of his dignity, to which, according to some writers, he submitted to be again elected, so that the honour of the empire might be formally saved, although the acceptance of the pope's nominee proved that the electors were no longer inclined to oppose the papacy.[g]

The character of Charles as a sovereign is very differently estimated by the Germans and by the Bohemians; but their estimates are not inconsistent. To the Germans

Neob. 145; Olensl. 385-9; Pauli, iv. 415.

[a] Matth. Neob. 150; Olensl. 399; Palacky, II. ii. 283.

[b] See Olensl. Urk. 101-2.

[c] Ib. p. 406.

[d] Matth. Neob. 152; Henr. Hervord. 276; Olensl. Urk. 105-6. Gunther died on the 12th of June 1349—of course not without suspicion of poison. Annal. Ensdorf. in Pertz, xvi. 7 Matth. Neoburg. 151; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 251 Trithem. Chron. Spanh. A.D. 1349· Palacky, II. ii. 286 Olensl. 407

[e] Her divorce from her first husband was soon after pronounced by the bishop of Chur. H. Rebd. 445. See p. 137.

[f] H. Hervord. 258, 276. In consequence of this, Charles persuaded the pope to institute a festival in honour of the signs of the Saviour's passion. H. Rebd. 441, 446, 452; Balbinus, Miscell. Hist. xlvi.

[g] Palacky, after Pelzel, indignantly denies the new election, and says that Charles was crowned a second time merely in connexion with the crowning of his queen at Aix. II. ii. 287.

he appeared to neglect the empire for the interests of his family, which he laboured to secure by marriages and peaceful negotiations rather than by the more brilliant exploits which accorded with the taste of the age;[h] while in his hereditary kingdom, which he had governed as his father's deputy while John was seeking adventures all over Europe,[i] his name is honoured above those of all other sovereigns for his good administration, and for his patronage of literature and the arts. To him Prague was indebted for its splendour as a capital and for the foundation of its university,[k] which drew to it a vast concourse of students, not only from the Slavonic countries, but from all parts of Germany—as in that country no such institution yet existed.[l]

V. Notwithstanding the late mortality, and the dangers which in a time of such disorder beset the ways, the jubilee of 1350 drew vast multitudes of pilgrims to Rome. Many persons of the higher classes, indeed, availed themselves of the dispensations which the pope offered to those who should be prevented from undertaking the journey.[m] And Edward of England, although he granted

[h] Aventinus, 639. See Schmidt, iii. 616; Sism. R. I. iv. 379; Hallam, M.A. i. 447; Bryce, 269.

[i] See his autobiography in Böhmer, Fontes, i, 247-64.

[k] Baluz. iv. 313; Schröckh, xxx. 93-6. The pope's charter is given by Rayn. 1347. 11.

[l] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Bohem. c. 33; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 322; Matth. Neoburg. 155. See Palacky II. ii. 197, 294-8, and the concluding chapter of the volume. Also J. Trithem. Chron. Spanh. A.D. 1360; Chron. Hirsaug. 1360. Balbinus calls him "patriæ pater, at verius mater." (Epit. Rer. Bohem., Prag. 1677, p. 350; cf. 353, 358, 381.) Charles is also lauded for having enriched Bohemia with many precious relics. See a list in Acta SS. Jan. t. i. 1084; also Balbinus, Misc. Hist. Dec. I., Nos. xlii.-xlvii.; Chron. Marienwerd. in Leibn. ii. 442; Acta SS. Apr. 21, p. 863 (as to a relic of St. Anselm), etc.

[m] M. Vill. i. 56. See the bull "Unigenitus," in Extrav. Comm. l. v. De Pœnit. c. 2. Another bull, "Cum natura humana," is famous as making the pope assume a power over the angelic hierarchy ("Mandamus angelis paradisi, quatenus animam illius . . . in paradisi gloriam introducant." P. Herentals, in Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 313). But these words are wanting in some copies, and the genuineness of the whole bull is questioned, as by Baluze in his notes. Wyclif speaks of the passage

licenses for the pilgrimage,[n] forbade his subjects in general to take part in it, alleging the necessities of war in answer to Clement's remonstrances on the subject. Yet Matthew Villani states that the number of those who visited Rome from Christmas to Easter was 1,000,000 or 1,200,000, and that in the season of the Ascension and Whitsuntide there were 800,000 more.[o] The same writer tells us that the streets leading to the churches which were to be visited—St. Peter's, St. Paul's, and St. John Lateran[p]— were so crowded as to admit of no movement except with the stream of the multitude; and that the Romans were extortionate as to the prices of lodging, food, fodder, and other necessaries.[q] Another chronicler, who was present, tells us that at the exhibition of the Veronica many were crushed to death.[r] The numbers of the pilgrims must probably have been swelled by the serious impressions of the late calamity; and while Matthew Villani describes them on their journey as cheerfully braving the inconveniences of an unfavourable season,[s] the interest with which the more pious might view the decayed but venerable city, and the relics of especial fame for holiness which were displayed before their eyes, may be conceived from the fervent language of Petrarch.[t] Yet, as to the result of the pilgrimage, we may probably

with doubt (Trial. iv. 32, p. 357), but Hus and others near the time assume its genuineness. (Hus de Eccles., Opera, i. 219.) See on the whole question, Gieseler, II. iii. 290-2, who thinks that the bull is certainly spurious, and that it was probably forged in the interest of the Romans, who wished to attract pilgrims for the sake of their money.

[n] Rymer, iii. 200, 203.

[o] i. 56. See, as to this estimate, Murat. VIII. ii. 159; Gregorov. vi. 318, who think it exaggerated; also Baluz. i. 316.

[p] The Lateran was now for the first time included in the list. Gobel. Persona, in Meibohm. i. 291.

[q] M. Vill. i. 56. Petrarch says that, although the lands about Rome had not been tilled, and the vines had generally been destroyed by frost, there was greater plenty after the vast multitude had been fed than before. Epp. Senil. vii. p. 910.

[r] Rebdorff, 440. [s] i. 56.

[t] Ep. Famil. ii. 9; see Rayn. 1350. 1. Rome had been much damaged by an earthquake in the preceding year. H. Rebd. 406.

believe a contemporary chronicler's statement, that many came back from Rome worse than before.[u]

On the 6th of December 1352 Clement suddenly died in consequence of the bursting of a tumour,[x] having in the preceding year mitigated the law of papal elections by allowing that the cardinals, when shut up in conclave, should have their portions of the room separated by curtains; that each of them might have two attendants, who might be either clerks or laymen; and that the rigour of the regulations as to the supply of food should be abated on the third day.[y]

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE ELECTION OF POPE INNOCENT VI. TO THE DEATH OF GREGORY XI.

A.D. 1352-1378.

At the death of Clement VI. the cardinals had reason to suppose that John, who in 1350 had succeeded to the crown of France, would endeavour to set up a pope of his own nomination; and, notwithstanding their devotion to the French interest, they resolved to preserve a show of independence by making their election before any intimation of the royal will could reach them. It seemed as if John Birelli, general of the Carthusian order, were about to be chosen; but cardinal Talleyrand warned his brethren that the Carthusian, if he were to become pope, would reduce them to primitive simplicity of living, and would

[u] Limburger Chronik, quoted by Giesel. II. iii. 285.

[x] Baluz. i. 318.

[y] Ib. 261; Rayn. 1351. 39; Cartwright on Papal Conclaves, 105.

degrade their splendid horses to drag the waggon or the plough.[a] The cardinals then determined to choose one of their own number, under a system of capitulation such as had sometimes been practised in elections of bishops, and had lately been usual in the elections of emperors. Every member of the college was to swear that, if chosen, he would make no new cardinals until the college should be reduced to sixteen; that he would never raise their number to more than twenty; that he would not create, depose, or arrest any cardinal without the consent of the whole body; and that he would make over to the cardinals one-half of the revenues of the Roman church.[b] By these terms the future pope would have bound himself to become a tool of the cardinals; and, although all took the oath, some of them did so with the reservation "provided that these laws be agreeable to right."[c]

On the 18th of December the choice of the cardinals fell on Stephen Aubert, a Limousin, bishop of Ostia, a man eminent for his learning in civil and ecclesiastical law, who styled himself Innocent VI.[d] Soon after his election, the new pope took advantage of the reservation which he had made in swearing to the late agreement, by declaring that he had found such engagements to be contrary to the decrees of some former popes; and also that they were void for attempting to limit the power which God had bestowed on St. Peter and his successors. And the cardinals, who seem to have become aware of the evils which might result from such capitulations, acquiesced in this determination.[e]

Innocent betook himself earnestly to the work of ecclesiastical reform. He did away with the system of reserves, and in his bull for that purpose he dwelt on the

[a] Rayn. 1352. 25.
[b] Ib. 26; Planck, v. 384-6.
[c] Rayn. 1352. 27.
[d] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 321, 357. "Homo bonus, simplex, et justus." W. Nang. cont. 112.
[e] Baluz. i. 357; Schröckh, xxxi. 202; Planck, v. 306-7.

mischiefs which had arisen from them—such as the neglect of pastoral care, the dilapidation of churches, and the decay of hospitality.[f] He abolished many of the corruptions of the court, and did much to restrain the extortion of his officials.[g] He suppressed the scandalous abuse by which prostitutes had been allowed, on payment of a tax to the papal treasury, to ply their trade at Avignon. He insisted on an abatement of the excessive luxury in which the cardinals had indulged, and himself set an example in this respect;[h] and those members of the college who offended him by their laxity of life were awed by threats that he would remove the court to Rome.[i] The bishops who haunted Avignon were compelled to return to their dioceses.[k] He discouraged pluralities: there is a story that when a favourite chaplain, who held seven benefices, asked for some preferment in behalf of a nephew, Innocent desired him to give up to the young man the best of his own preferments; and, as the chaplain showed dissatisfaction at this, he was further required to resign three other livings, each of which the pope bestowed on a poor clerk.[l] Innocent was careful in the disposal of his patronage; and, although he is charged with too great fondness for advancing his own relations, it is admitted that in general the kinsmen whom he promoted did him no discredit.[m]

Innocent was able to act with an independence unknown to the earlier Avignon popes; for king John,

[f] Baluz. i. 357; M. Vill. ix. 93; Matth. Neob. 156.

[g] Baluz. i. 343. Platina tells us that he assigned salaries to the auditors of the court—"Dicebat enim famelicos non facile etiam ab alieno cibo abstinere, si sit oblata quovis modo edendi facultas." 261.

[h] Baluz. i. 357; Döllinger, ii 271.

[i] M. Vill. iv. 298.

[k] It has been supposed that this order was very little enforced, because 70 or 100 bishops are said to have died at Avignon during a renewed visitation of the plague in 1361; but Matthew Villani states the mortality of "prelates [under which name others than bishops are included] and great clerks" at somewhat more than seventy, x. 46. See Hist. Langued. iv. 313; Schröckh, xxxi. 203.

[l] Baluz. i. 361-2.

[m] Ib. 343

weakened by the disastrous war with England, in which he himself was made a captive at Poitiers, Sept. 19, 1356. was unable to exercise a control like that of Philip the Fair, or of his own father, Philip of Valois.[n]

In the meantime Italy was a prey to disorder. While every division of the country had its own little tyrant,[o] the Milanese family of Visconti[p] had gained such a predominance in the north that the ancient parties of Guelfs and Ghibellines forgot their enmities in order to combine against a foe who threatened them all.[q] On the death of Lucchino Visconti, in 1348, the lordship of Milan fell to his brother John,[r] who was already archbishop of the city.[s] By violently seizing on Bologna, a city which belonged to the pope, he incurred threats of excommunication and deprivation from Clement VI.;[t] but by bribing the king of France and other powerful intercessors, including that pope's favourite, the countess of Turenne,[u] he was afterwards able to make terms, and was allowed to retain the place for twelve years, on condition of paying tribute.[x] It May 5, 1352. is said that, when required by a legate to choose between the characters of archbishop and secular prince, he desired

[n] Martin, v. 377.

[o] Rayn. 1350. 6.

[p] For curious legends as to their origin, see Andr. Ratisb. in Pez, IV. iii. 602.

[q] Sism. iv. 352. Mansi notes that the old party names subsided about t s time. N. in Rayn. t. vi. 53.

[r] P. Azarius, 11 (Murat. xvi.).

[s] Matthew Villani habitually call John "il tiranno" (i. 95, etc.): "Hic fui potentissimus tyrannus totius mundi." (Chron. Regiense, in Murat. xviii. 76. St. Antoninus styles him "præsul et tyrannus" (357; cf. 355, 359, 361). There is a curious mixture of eulogy on the bishop's secular pomp and on his ecclesiastical merits in his chaplain, Gualv. Fiamma (Murat. xii. 1046. Cf. Murat. Annal. VIII. ii. 15; Petrarc. Variar. 7, ed. Fracassetti). He had been made a cardinal by the anti-pope Nicolas at the request of the emperor, but had afterwards resigned the title, and submitted to John XXII. Cron. di Bologna, in Murat. xviii. 352.

[t] Rayn. 1350. 7; 1351. 27, seqq.

[u] M. Vill. iii. 2.

[x] Ib. 4; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 252. The archbishop was supposed to have been concerned in a letter which mysteriously made its way into the papal consistory—written in the name of the "Prince of Darkness," and strongly reproving the vices of the court. M. Vill. ii. 48.

that the message might be repeated in the face of his clergy and people; and when this was done on the following Sunday, after he had celebrated mass with great pomp, he rose from his throne, holding in one hand his crosier, and in the other his drawn sword—"These," he said, "are my arms spiritual and temporal; and with the one I will defend the other." He signified, however, his willingness to appear at Avignon; but the proceedings of his harbingers, who set about hiring all the houses that could be got in the city and for leagues around it, as if to lodge an overwhelming train, alarmed the pope to such a degree that the archbishop's visit was excused.[y]

The citizens of the Italian republics, devoting themselves to the accumulation of wealth, ceased to cultivate the art of war, and relied for their defence on the mercenary bands which now, under the name of free companies, overran both France and Italy.[z] These companies were at first composed in great part of soldiers who, by the conclusion of peace between France and England, had found their occupation gone.[a] They admitted into their ranks men of various nations, and enlisted themselves in the service of any power that could afford to hire them—keeping their contract faithfully so long as it lasted, but holding themselves at liberty to go over to an opposite party at the end of the term;[b] and when not thus engaged, they plundered and ravaged on their own account. Among the captains of such mercenaries (*condottieri*) the most famous was Sir John Hawkwood,

[y] These stories rest on the authority of Corio's 'History of Milan.' See Murat. Ann. VIII. ii. 68; De Sade, iii. 172-3; Sism. iv. 276-7.

[z] G. Vill. x. 112; Leonard Aretin. in Murat. xix. 919; Hist. Pistoles. in Mur. xi. 489; Antonin. 364-5; Gregorov. vi. 404-12; see Hallam, M. A. i. 332-4. Leonard of Arezzo (l. c.) adds that in his own youth (towards the end of the century) the Italian cavalry again became famous, and the foreign mercenaries were no longer employed.

[a] W. Nang. cont. 128-9; Froissart, iii. 283-4. See Edw. III. A.D. 1361, in Rymer, iii. 630. These companies occupy much space in the later books of M. Villani.

[b] See Macaulay, 'Essay on Machiavelli,' Works, v. 8, ed. 1866.

an Englishman, who, after having distinguished himself in the French wars, passed into Italy, and there served for thirty years under the Visconti, the pope, and lastly under the republic of Florence, which at his death commemorated him by a colossal equestrian portrait, still existing in the cathedral.[c] Hawkwood had the reputation of being the most skilful commander of his age;[d] and in our own day he has been characterized by an eminent historian as "the first real general of modern times; the earliest master, however imperfect, in the science of Turenne and Wellington."[e] Avignon was repeatedly threatened by these companies, which laid waste the country around it; and the popes endeavoured to protect themselves, sometimes by uttering anathemas,[f] sometimes by engaging the

[c] Froissart, vii. 211; Antonin. 371-2, 376, 384, etc. He died in 1393. Annal. Mediol. in Murat. xvi. 821. A cenotaph preserves his memory in his native place, Sible Hedingham. See Nichols, 'Bibl. Topographica,' vol. vi. For an engraving of the Florentine picture, see Tartini's Continuation of Muratori's 'Scriptores,' ii. 663. A monument was voted by the Florentines in 1393, but it was not until 1436 that the painting was executed by Paul Uccelli. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, ii. 290-1.

[d] Antonin. 378, 426. Hawkwood's name appears under various disguises —some of them, such as *Kauchouod, Kauchouvole*, etc., arising from the copying of MS. without any regard to sound, while others, such as *Aucud, Aguto, Augudus, Acutus, Achus* (Antonin. iii. 484), are attempts to approach the pronunciation. From this last class (suggestive of *acus*, a needle) may have come the name by which Matthew Villani styles him—*della guglia*—and the idea of his having in early life been a tailor (M. Vill. ix. 37); an idea which seems inconsistent with the fact that "Johannes de Haukwode, *armiger* de comitatu de Essex," was one of those who were summoned to join Edward III. in France, A.D. 1345 (Rymer, iii. 52). Peter Villani speaks of him as "Inglese, gran maestro di guerra, di natura a loro [*i.e.* the English] modo volpigna ed astuta," and tells us that his name means *Falcone in Bosco*, and was given to him because his mother caused herself to be carried into a wood that she might give birth to him (xi. 79). Hawkwood married an illegitimate daughter of Bernabò Visconti (Annal. Mediol. 763). He was employed by the English government in Italian negotiations, and in 1388 was made vicar-general of Richard II. for Provence and Forcalquier. (Rymer, vii. 307, 458, 569.) As a specimen of his discipline it is related that, seeing two of his band fighting for a beautiful maiden who had been found in a nunnery on the taking of Faenza, and being unwilling to lose either of them, he solved the difficulty by plunging his sword into her breast, "E in questo modo la Vergine Maria conservò la verginità d' essa fanciulla, e fu martire." Nero Donati in Murat. xv. 221.

[e] Hallam, M. A. i. 335.

[f] M. Vill. vii. 87; x. 24; W. Nang. Cont. 129; Froissart, iv. 141. See as

aid of princes and nobles,[g] but more successfully by the payment of large sums of money,[h] by which the adventurers were persuaded to transfer themselves to some other quarter. Thus Innocent in 1362 bought off the "White company," which thereupon crossed the Alps, at the invitation of the marquis of Montferrat, and engaged in the wars of Italy.[i] With a view to defence against such assailants, Innocent fortified his palace and the city of Avignon—enclosing within the walls an extent of ground which left room for the future increase of the place.[k]

Rome had been in a state of confusion since the time of Rienzi's withdrawal, in January 1348.[l] With a view to recovering his power over the city, and over the territory of the church, Innocent in 1353 sent into Italy an army under Giles Albornoz, cardinal of St. Clement, a Spaniard, who had been a knight in his youth, and afterwards archbishop of Toledo—a man eminent both for military and for political talents.[m] With this legate was joined Rienzi, who had been released from prison,[n] and invested with the dignity of senator, in the hope that he might be able to resume his influence over the Romans, and that he would use it in the interest of the papacy.[o]

to the bull of Urban V., in 1366 (Bul. iv. 414), Gregorov. vi. 411-12. When the count of Narbonne and others had fallen captives to a company, Urban forbade them to pay the stipulated ransom, and declared them absolved from their promise. Froiss. iv. 344; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 350, 351, 354.

[g] Innoc. VI. Epp. 8, 9, 12-15, etc. (Mart. Thes. ii.).

[h] Froiss. iii. 284, 286; iv. 123-45. One of the companies threatened Strasburg, but was driven off by the emperor Charles. Ib. 164; Trithem. Chron. Hirsaug. A.D. 1362.

[i] Petrarc. Ep. Famil. xxiii. 1; M. Vill. x. 43; Froiss. iv. 143; Hist. Langued. iv. 310-12; Martin, v. 236.

[k] Epp. 29, 226-7; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 342; Eulog. Hist. iii. 229, where it is added, "Et nisi morbo hydropisi fatigaretur, non ibi moraretur; sed quia debilior, factus est audacior."

[l] M. Vill. iii. 57-8, 78, 91. See Gregorov. vi. 332, seqq.

[m] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 323, 336, 358, etc.; Hist. Rom. Fragm., Murat. Ant. Ital. iii. 493; Rayn. 1353. 2. See Ciacon. ii. 500; Gregorov. vi. 331.

[n] Rè dates his release on July 1, 1353.

[o] Fragm. 513, 519. There are two letters from Rienzi to the Roman people, written from Avignon, in Baluz. Miscell. iii. 136-7.

But although the citizens, weary of anarchy, appear to have begged that their former tribune might be restored to them, and received him with enthusiasm,[p] he speedily forfeited their favour by his misconduct. The faults which had led to his earlier fall were repeated in a worse degree than before. The people were oppressed by heavy taxes levied on the necessaries of life. His power was exercised with caprice and cruelty; and especial distrust was excited by the death of one Pandulf, whose only crime was the possession of influence,[q] and by that of Walter de Montréal, a famous Provençal condottiere, who, from having been formerly a knight of St. John, was commonly styled Brother Moreale. This man had offended against the public peace by acts which pope Innocent describes as worse than the outrages of Holofernes or of Totila;[r] but his brothers had laid Rienzi under great obligations by advancing sums of money which were necessary to the fulfilment of his mission; and when the senator, in disregard of this, treacherously decoyed Moreale into his power, tortured him, and put him to death, the victim's faults were forgotten in indignation at the manner of his end.[s] Meanwhile Rienzi's personal habits became grossly sensual; he fed immoderately on sweetmeats, drank strong mixed wines at all hours,[t] and showed the effect of these indulgences in the swelling of his body, which a contemporary likens to that of a fatted ox or of an abbot of unreason.[u] Aug. 1, 1354.

[p] M. Vill. iv. 23; Fragm. 513, 522.

[q] Fragm. c. xxii.

[r] Rayn. 1354. 4.

[s] As to Fra Moreale, see Fragm. 511-13, 529, 531-5; M. Vill. i. 93; iii. 89, 108; iv. 23, 26; Cron. d'Orvieto, in Murat. xv. 675-7; Hist. Pistol. ib. xii. 513; Gregorov. vi. 349, 356-9; Reumont, ii. 909.

[t] Fragm. 523.

[u] "Grasso era horribilmente .... Tanto era la soa grossezza, che parea uno smesurato bufalo, o vero vacca a maciello." (Ib. 543.) "Havea una ventresca tonna, trionfale, a modo de uno abbate Asiano"—or, according to another reading (Ib. 523), which seems preferable, *asinino*,—meaning a mock abbot in a burlesque festival. Compare the scene between Roland Graeme and Abbot Howleglass, 'Waverley Novels,' xx. pp. 205, 213, ed. 1829.

His reputation was lowered by failure in an attempt to take the fortress of Palestrina from the Colonnas.[x] Rome became impatient of his yoke, and his oratory had lost its power over the multitude. A rising took place,[y] there were cries for his death, and Rienzi was arrested while attempting to escape in disguise. For an hour he was exposed to the derision of the mob, who then fell upon him, cut him to pieces, and treated his remains with indignities which showed the violence of their exasperation against him.[z] Although, however, the attempt to turn Rienzi to account had utterly failed, the legate Albornoz, a man of a very different stamp, conducted his affairs with such skill that he succeeded in recovering Bologna and the Romagna,[a] with almost all the other ecclesiastical territories.

Oct. 8.

A.D. 1354-1367.

In 1354 the emperor Charles, with the pope's sanction, proceeded into Italy for his coronation. He found that the formidable archbishop of Milan, John Visconti, had died in consequence of a surgical operation,[b] and had been succeeded in his secular power by his three nephews, of whom the eldest, Matthew, was soon after poisoned by his brothers Bernabò and Galeazzo, because his excessive dissoluteness endangered the interests of the family.[c] Charles received the iron crown at Milan on the Epiphany, 1355;[d] and, leaving Bernabò Visconti as his vicar (an appointment which greatly offended the pope),[e] he continued his progress towards Rome. The smallness of the force by which he was accompanied—a mere escort of three hundred horsemen[f]

Oct. 4, or 5.

[x] Fragm. 527.

[y] M. Vill. iv. 26.

[z] Fragm. 543; M. Vill. l. c.; Gibbon, vi. 390; Gregorov. vi. 362-5.

[a] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 357; M. Vill. vii. 56, 100; Cron. d'Orvieto, 681-6, 692; Gibbon, vi. 389; Gregorov. vi. 383-5, etc.

[b] M. Vill. iv. 25; Antonin. 364; Murat. Ann. VIII. ii. 87.

[c] M. Vill. iv. 28; v. 81.

[d] Rayn. 1355. 1; Murat. Ann. VIII. ii. 92. Matthew Villani places the coronation at Monza. iv. 39.

[e] N. Donati, 195.

[f] M. Vill. iv. 39 (where there are the readings *trecento* and *ottocento*); Sism. iv. 382; Palacky, II. ii. 319.

—disarmed the suspicion of the Italians,[g] and, because of his very weakness, Charles was everywhere received with an extraordinary show of respect; even the rigid Guelf republicans of Florence did homage, and bound themselves to the payment of tribute.[h] At Pisa he was strengthened by the arrival of those Germans whose duty required them to attend the emperor on such expeditions, so that he found himself at the head of a considerable force, composed of the flower of the German nobility.[i] A condition by which he had pledged himself not to enter Rome before the day of the coronation[k] had been in so far relaxed by the pope that, on arriving on Thursday in the holy week, he was allowed to visit the churches and the cardinals as a pilgrim.[l] But his solemn entry was deferred until Easter-day, when he and his empress were crowned in St. Peter's by the cardinal-bishop of Ostia;[m] and on the same day, April 5. agreeably to his engagement, he again left the city.[n] Without having made an attempt to recover any rights of the empire which had been invaded, or to establish any authority over Rome, Charles returned northward so hastily, and with so little display, that his journey almost resembled a flight;[o] and Petrarch,[p] who had urged him

[g] M. Vill. v. 2.

[h] Ib. iv. 41, 49, 53-4, 67, 73, 75-6; Antonin. 363; Schröckh, xxxi. 208-9. See M. Villani, c. 63.

[i] "4000 cavalieri della più bella e ricca baronia del mondo." M. Vill. iv. 56.

[k] See p. 146.

[l] M. Vill. iv. 92; Albert. Argent. in Urstis. ii. 163; Gregorov. vi. 377-81.

[m] It had been usual that on such occasions the bishop of Ostia should attend at his own expense, and that two others should attend at the expense of the church. But the pope and cardinals found it inconvenient at this time to pay the additional bishops, and Charles was willing to do without them. (M. Vill. iv. 71.) Albornoz had been joined in the commission, but was too busy elsewhere. (Rayn. 1355. 2, 5, 11.) M. Villani is mistaken in saying that Charles was crowned by the prefect. Rayn. 1359. 3; Gregorov. vi. 377.

[n] M. Vill. v. 2; Rayn. 1355. 3, seqq.; Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 328, 346; Gregorov. vi. 377; Palacky, II. ii. 323. Petrarch is indignant at this restriction. Ep. xxiii. 2 (t. iii. 193, ed. Fracass.); De Vita Solitaria, l. II. sect. iv. 3 (t. i. 305, ed. Basil.).

[o] See as to troubles at Pisa, Palacky, II. ii. 325-7.

[p] *E.g.*, Epp. x. 1.

to revive the glories of Rome,[q] and had been summoned to meet him at Mantua on his way to the coronation, expressed strongly the bitter disappointment of the hopes which he had rested on the emperor.[r] In July 1355 Charles arrived again in Germany, enriched by the money which he had levied on the Italian cities, but without having increased his reputation.[s]

Charles had announced from Piacenza that, if he should be permitted to return to Germany, he intended to do some good thing for the benefit of the kingdom ;[t] and, in fulfilment of this promise, he summoned a diet to meet in January 1356 at Nuremberg, where the document known as his Golden Bull was enacted as a fundamental law of the empire.[u] By this bull many circumstances of the election to the crown were settled[x]—the forms to be observed, the duties of the chief officers, the time within which an election must take place after a vacancy, the election at Frankfort, and the coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle. By a provision which doubtless originated in Charles's own rare knowledge of languages,[y] it was ordered that, whereas the empire consisted of various nations, the sons of the lay electors should, from their seventh to their fourteenth year, be instructed in Italian and Slavonic.[z] But the bull was chiefly important as determining to whom the right of sharing in the election should belong.

[q] See his letters in Goldast, ii. 1350 ; Gibbon, vi. 391. Petrarch had been invited by Charles to accompany him to Rome, but had found it necessary to refuse. Epp. xii. 522.

[r] In Ep. xix. 12 he reproves Charles for having a soul unequal to his dignity. "Tu imperii dominus Romani nihil nisi Bohemiam suspiras," etc. Cf. xix. 3 ; xx. 1-2 ; xxiii. 2 ; xxxiii. 15, 21, etc.

[s] "Cum magna pecunia, sed majori infamia," says a biographer of Clement VI. in Baluz. i. 322. Theodoric of Niem styles Charles "hypocrita insignis, et avaritiâ alter Marcus Crassus." (Nem. Un. vi. 33, p. 362.) See N. Donati, in Murat. xv. 206, as to his extracting money from the Sienese.

[t] Schmidt, iii. 633.

[u] It was afterwards ratified at Mentz. Palacky, II. ii. 342.

[x] See Olenslager, 'Neue Erläuterung der Goldenen Bulle Karls IV.,' Frankf. 1766. The bull is also printed in the 'Fascic. Rer. Exp. et. Fug.' i. 108, seqq.

[y] See above, p. 143.

[z] C. 30.

For as to this there had been much difficulty and uncertainty, from the circumstance that the rule of inheritance by primogeniture had not been established in the families of the lay electors, and that consequently their territories were liable to be broken up among several heirs, each of whom might claim the electoral suffrage. By the "golden bull" it was settled that in every case the vote should be attached to a certain portion of territory, which was to be regarded as the electoral land, and that this portion should descend according to the order of primogeniture.[a] The claim of the pope to interfere with the election was not mentioned at all; and it was assumed that in Germany, at least, the king or emperor had full power from the time of his election, so as to need no confirmation in his office. The "priests' emperor" had secured the crown against the pretensions of the papacy; and Innocent was greatly annoyed at the result.[b]

After a pontificate of nearly ten years, Innocent died on the 12th of September 1362. Twenty cardinals assembled for the choice of a successor; but they were unable to agree as to the promotion of one of their own body, and their choice fell on Oct. 18, 1362. William de Grimoard, a native of the diocese of Mende, and abbot of the Benedictine monastery of St. Victor at Marseilles.[c] The new pope, Urban V., who was supposed to have been elected under a special influence of the Holy Ghost,[d] had attained the age of sixty, was respected alike for his sanctity and for his learning, and had exerted himself greatly in the service of the church.[e]

[a] Cc. 20-5. See Olensl. Erläuterungen, 173, seqq.; Hallam, M. A. i. 445-8.

[b] Schmidt, iii. 633, 691; Palacky, II. ii. 339-47; Milm. v. 378.

[c] Baluz. V. P. Aven. i. 363; M. Vill. xi. 26.

[d] Baluz. l. c. See Petrarc. 902-3. The Meaux chronicler says that he was chosen by a compromise between the parties of the last two popes, and that on this was made the line—

"Hunc patrem patrum fecit discordia fratrum." iii. 155.

[e] Baluz. i. 413; Froissart, iv. 149. Cardinal Talleyrand is reported to have said, "Modo habemus papam. Alios

Like his predecessor, he showed himself an enemy to the corruptions of the court, to simony, pluralities, and non-residence. He took away from the houses of the cardinals the privilege of sanctuary, which had been much abused.[f] As pope he retained the monastic dress and the simplicity of monastic habits;[g] but, while thus sparing of expense on himself, he laid out vast sums for the benefit of the church, as on the restoration of the Roman churches and palaces,[h] the erection and endowment of a monastery and a college at Montpellier,[i] and the encouragement of learning by maintaining a thousand students in various universities, and by liberally supplying them with books.[k] He chose his cardinals for their merit alone, whereas the late popes had limited their choice to such persons as were devoted to the French interest.[l] Nor did he fall into the usual fault of enriching his own kindred, whether laymen or clergy, at the expense of the church; for only two of his near relatives were advanced to the prelacy, and of these it is said that both were deserving, and that one was promoted at the special request of the cardinals.[m]

The south of France continued for a time to be infested by the free companies; but at length they were put down under this pontificate.[n] In Italy, however, the evil en-

ex debito honoravimus, at istum necesse est nobis timere et revereri, quia potens est opere et sermone." Baluz. i. 423.

[f] Petrarc. Senil. p. 898-9; Baluz. i. 394.

[g] Ib. 414; Hist. Langued. iv. 423. Yet it was this pope who is commonly said to have added a third crown to the tiara—probably with a symbolical meaning. Schröckh, xxxi. 229. See vol. vi. p. 303.

[h] Baluz. i. 392-4, 396. The Lateran church had been again burnt in 1363. (M. Vill. x. 69.) It is said that when the abbot of St. Paul's without the walls offered a large sum in order to be made a cardinal, Urban took the money, and spent it on the repairing of St. Paul's, leaving the abbot as before. Ib. 415.

[i] Baluz. i. 374, 395, 415.

[k] Ib. 395, 416.

[l] Chron. Meld. iii. 156.

[m] Baluz. i. 397, 417.

[n] Ib. 369. It is said that, in consequence of the pope's curse, those who were slain in an engagement lay "supino corpore, et facie versus terram, in signum maledictionis"; while the soldiers who had fallen on the other side appeared "facie erecta ad cœlum et corpore adverso." Ib. 421.

dured longer,[o] and the country suffered greatly from the power, the tyranny, and the ambition of Bernabò Visconti, who was now the head of his family. Innocent had proclaimed in 1356 a crusade against the Visconti for detaining certain cities which belonged to the church; but the design was marred by the misconduct of the preachers, who endeavoured to make a profit for themselves out of the indulgences which they were authorized to offer, and the payments for exemption from service.[p]

Bernabò showed himself especially hostile to the clergy. For instance, it is said that he seized a priest who had been sent to preach the crusade, put him into an iron cage, and roasted him to death on a gridiron;[q] and that he caused some Franciscans to be shod with iron, like horses, the nails being driven into their feet.[r] He declared himself to be both pope and emperor within his own dominions;[s] he tore up papal letters, and imprisoned the bearers of them; Urban himself, when sent to him as legate by pope Innocent, had been forced to swallow the bull which he carried, with the leaden seal and the string by which it was attached to the parchment;[t] and he compelled a priest of Parma to utter an anathema against Innocent and the cardinals.[u] The pope denounced him excommunicate, authorized his A.D. 1362.

[o] Gregorov. vi. 404-11. Theodoric of Niem probably had these companies in view when, in the beginning of the following century, he recommended a crusade as a means of ridding Italy and the neighbouring countries of "many bad men who are in them." De Necess. Reform. in V. d. Hardt, i. 292.

[p] See Rymer, iii. 509, 623. There is much about Bernabò in Innocent's letters. Martene, Thes. ii.

[q] M. Vill. vi. 28.

[r] Herm. Corner, 1148. See Chron. Reg. in Murat. xviii. 78; Annal. Mediol. ib. xxii. 794; Rayn. 1360. 9; 1362. 12; 1373. 10, seqq.; Froissart, xiii. 339; Gregorov. vi. 400. The Milanese annalist, however, mentions some redeeming qualities; and another writer says, "Est enim Dominus Bernabos veridicus, amans justitiam, constans, impatiens [patiens?], et nimium virtuosus." Pet. Azarius, in Murat. xvi. 385.

[s] Froiss. l. c.

[t] J. Trithem. Chron. Spanh. A.D. 1369; Chron. Rimin. in Murat. xv. 911; Annal. Mediol. ib. xvi. 801. St. Catharine of Siena pathetically entreats Bernabò to leave his evil ways. i. 113.

[u] Rayn. 1360. 9; 1362. 13.

wife to separate from him as a heretic and unbeliever,[x] formed an alliance against him with the emperor and with some Italian states, and put off, in favour of a crusade against Bernabò, one in which king John of France and many of his nobles had enlisted themselves for the recovery of the Holy Land.[y] But Bernabò was able to hold his ground, and the pope was glad at length to conclude a peace with him, by which Bologna was recovered for the papacy, while Urban undertook to mediate for him with the emperor.[z]

Urban before his election had been strongly in favour of restoring the papal residence to Rome, and he was now entreated to act on the desire which he had expressed.[a] The emperor Charles urged him ;[b] the Romans invited him to take up his abode among them ; Peter, a prince of Aragon, who had become a Franciscan, brought the authority of visions in support of the return ;[c] and Petrarch renewed the suit which he had so often made to preceding popes.[d] The poet represents the desolate state of Rome, where the holiest and most venerable buildings lay in heartrending decay, while the pope lived in ease and splendour on the banks of the Rhone.[e] He dwells on the beauty of Italy, which wanted nothing but peace, while he sneers at Avignon as the "native country of the winds."[f] He even argues from Urban's name the

[x] M. Vill. xi. 41 ; Rayn. 1363. 2.

[y] Baluz. i. 401 ; Rayn. 1362. 1. The king of Cyprus visited Avignon in 1363, for the purpose of getting up a crusade. (Froissart, iv. 155, seqq.) He was able to collect only a small force, with which he surprised Alexandria, in October 1375, but could not hold it (Sism. R. I. v. 119). Chaucer says of his knight :—

"At Alisandre he was whan it was wonne."

[z] P. Azar. in Murat. xvi. 401 ; Baluz. i. 402 ; Rayn. 1364. 4. The pope was much blamed for this. Cron. Bologn. in Murat. xviii. 84 ; P. Villani, in continuation of M. Vill. xi. 64.

[a] Petrarc. 902 ; Schröckh, xxx. 221-2.

[b] Palacky, II. ii. 364.

[c] Wadding, A.D. 1366, 11.

[d] Senil. pp. 897 914.

[e] "Lapideis quoque pectoribus suspiria extorquens" (p. 931).

[f] Pp. 908-9, 913. (See De Sade, i. 25.) The violence of the wind at Avignon must be felt in order to be understood.

duty of returning to the city.[g] He endeavours to gain over the cardinals, whom he supposes reluctant to tear themselves away from the wines of Burgundy, by assuring them that Italy too has its delicious wines, and that in any case they will be able to import the other vintages.[h] In a loftier strain Petrarch admonishes Urban by a comparison between the ancient capital of Christendom and the French city which had become infamous for its vices from the time when the popes made it their residence; and, after setting forth the terrors of the judgment-day and of the account to be then exacted, he asks the pope whether he would rather choose to rise with the notorious sinners of Avignon, or with St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Stephen and St. Laurence, and the thousands of other saints whose relics or whose memories were connected with Rome.[i]

On the other hand, Nicolas Orême, an ecclesiastic attached to the French court,[k] argued in behalf of Avignon and of France, insisting especially on the superiority of that country in literary fame.[l] But Petrarch indignantly rejoined that many of the men to whom France owed its renown in letters were of Italian birth, as Peter Lombard, Thomas of Aquino, Bonaventura, and Giles Colonna;[m] and, as he had been blamed for calling Gaul a place of

[g] "Quomodo enim, quæso, et Urbanus diceris, et nominis hujus originem Urbani fugis?" (p. 902). Elsewhere he says, "Fama est esse palatii tui partem quæ Roma dicitur, quam ingressus sponsæ tuæ te redidisse, totumque prorsus implesse Romani papæ officium videare. Noli cum Domino tuo ludere" (p. 913).

[h] Pp. 909, 910. He refers to this at pp. 934-6, 938, 943, 948, 1183-5, 1173. The wine which he represents as the special favourite of the cardinals is the "Besuense"—that of Bèze, near Dijon, or more generally the wine of Beaune; which, says Dr. Henderson, "must now be placed in the second rank." (Hist. of Wines, 162.) It proved, after all, that when the court returned to Rome, the Italian wine was not liked, and Urban had to order supplies of various kinds from France. Gregorov. vi. 416.

[i] P. 914.

[k] He afterwards became bishop of Lisieux. Some of his writings are in the Lyons Biblioth. Patrum.

[l] Bal. iv. 396-412. Cf. "Galli cujusdam anonymi in F. Petrarcham Invectiva," in Petrarch's works, 1169, seqq.

[m] "Contra Galli Calumnias," ib. 1192. Elsewhere he says, "De moribus vulgaribus fateor Gallos et facetos homines, et gestorum et verborum levium, qui libenter ludant, læte ca

exile, he justified the phrase by referring to the banishment of Herod and of Pilate.[n]

In May 1365 the emperor Charles visited Avignon, professedly in order to concert measures for the crusade; but the visit resulted in an agreement that both the pope and the emperor should go to Rome in the next year but one.[o] The cardinals were opposed to the removal of the court; but Urban, who had never been a member of the college, set light by their opposition,[p] and is said to have made two new cardinals by way of showing his power over them. On this they took alarm, and while some of them reluctantly accompanied him, breaking out into lamentations and reproaches as they put to sea, others made the journey by land, although five stubbornly remained at Avignon.[q]

April 30, 1367.

On landing at Corneto he was met by the legate Albornoz, to whose prudence and warlike skill the papacy had been indebted for the recovery of much of its temporal power;[r] but this eminent man died at Viterbo during Urban's stay there. The insolence of a cardinal's servant, who washed a favourite dog in a public fountain, excited the populace of Viterbo to a tumult, in which cries of "Death to the church!" were raised, and it was suspected that the outbreak was contrived by the cardinals in the hope of disgusting the pope with Italy.[s]

July 4.

Aug. 24.

ɑant, crebro bibant, avide conviventur; vera autem gravitas ac realis moralitas apud Italos semper fuit" (p. 907).

[n] Ib. 1190-1.

[o] Cron. Bologn. in Mur. xviii. 477; W. Nang. cont. 137; Baluz. i. 370, 984.

[p] Milm. v. 368. The Bolognese chronicle says that he threatened to depose them, and to make Italian cardinals in their stead (Murat. xviii. 481). Another saying ascribed to him is, "Et siquidem me sine cardinalibus abire permittatis, scitote quoniam in sinu meo mecum gero cardinales sufficientes." Chron. de Melsa, iii. 156.

[q] See Petrarc. pp. 934-7; Baluz. i. 406, 411. In Baluze, ii. 768, seqq., there is an account of Urban's journeys and residence in Italy by an attendant, Garosius de Ulmoisca Vetere.

[r] See Cron. Orviet. in Murat. xv. 692; Baluz. i. 377-8, 404-5; Gregorov. vi. 421-2; Reumont, ii. 949.

[s] Baluz. i. 410; W. Nang. cont. 139; Cron. Bologn. 483; Cron. d'Orvieto, 693; Gregorov. vi. 423.

At Rome, however, he was welcomed with enthusiasm;[t] and within a year from the time of his arrival he received the homage, not only of the queen of Naples and of the king of Cyprus,[u] but of the emperors both of the west and of the east. John Palæologus, whose object was to obtain the aid of the western Christians against the Turks, acknowledged in all points the faith of the Roman church and the claims of the papacy.[x] Charles behaved towards the pope with the deepest show of reverence: he led his horse from the gate of St. Angelo to St. Peter's, and then officiated as deacon at a mass celebrated by Urban, who placed the crown on the head of the emperor's fourth wife.[y] But we learn from an eye-witness that, while the clergy were exulting over this subordination of the temporal to the spiritual dignity, other persons viewed with deep disgust a scene which they regarded as a humiliation of the empire.[z] The pope himself was disappointed at finding that Charles, instead of carrying out an alliance against Bernabò Visconti, made peace with him on condition of receiving a large sum of money.[a] In like manner the emperor allowed himself to be bought off by various cities on his way homewards; and, as after his former

Oct. 24. March, 1368. Oct., Dec., 1368.

[t] Garos. 769; Gregorov. vi. 424. Although the city was then in a melancholy state of decay (see Murat. Annal. VIII. ii. 156), the statement of some writers, that it had only 17,000 inhabitants, is mistaken. Greg. vi. 427, 429. See Hefele, vi. 616.

[u] Urban gave the golden rose to Joanna, "tanquam notabiliori, majori, et excellentiori" of the persons then at Rome." (Baluz. i. 381.) [The golden rose is consecrated on the fourth Sunday in Lent, and is given by the pope to such princes as have rendered signal services to the church. The origin of this custom is uncertain, but is commonly referred to Leo IX. See Herzog, art. *Rose, die Goldene.*]

[x] Baluz. i. 387, 410; Garos. 772-3; Rayn. 1369. 1-4; 1370. 1. See below, c. ix.

[y] Baluz. i. 409; Garos. 771. The emperor, however, did not read the Gospel in the mass, as the privilege of doing so was confined to Christmas. See above, p. 168.

[z] Colluccio Salutati, quoted by Schröckh, xxxi. 225. [Salutati has not yet been published.]

[a] J. Trithem. Chron. Spanh. A.D. 1364; Schmidt, iii. 658.

visit, he returned to Prague with the general contempt of the Italians.[b]

Urban's favourite place of residence was Monte Fiascone, which he preferred to Rome on account of its quiet and of its more salubrious air;[c] and there, in September 1368, he increased the preponderance of the French party among the cardinals by adding six Frenchmen to the college, while of other nations there were only one Italian and one Englishman.[d]

After three years spent in Italy, the pope announced his intention of returning to Avignon. To the Romans, who remonstrated, he expressed gratitude for the peace which he and the members of his court had enjoyed among them, and assured them that he would still be with them in heart; but he alleged the necessity of public affairs[e]—a plea which, although it might have been warranted by the renewal of war between France and England, is supposed to have really meant that the French cardinals would no longer endure to be at a distance from the delights of Avignon.[f] St. Bridget of Sweden, whose oracles exercised a powerful influence on the age, solemnly warned the pope that, if he returned to France, it would be only to die;[g] Peter of Aragon added his monitions

[b] Chron. Est. in Murat. xv. 491; Murat. Ann. VIII. ii. 167; Gregorov. vi. 433.

[c] Cron. d'Orvieto, in Murat. xv. 693. In one respect it may have reminded him of Avignon, "est enim veluti quædam Æoli domus," says Pius II., who could not bear its winds. Gobellinus, Comment. 204.

[d] Garos. 770; Döllinger, ii. 274.

[e] Baluz. i. 424; Garos. 774; Rayn. 1370. 19.

[f] See Petrarc. ed. Fracass. iii. 311; Senil. xiii. p. 1026, ed. Basil.; Schröckh, xxi. 226.

[g] Rayn. 1379. 9; Baluz. i. 414; Gregorov. vi. 436-7. For St. Bridget, see the Acta Sanctorum, Oct. 8; as to her revelations especially, pp. 409, seqq., 513. These were examined by order of Gregory XI. both during her lifetime and after her death, and were approved by him and by later popes. Bridget, who was of the royal blood of Sweden, and had been married to Ulf, prince of Nericia, lived chiefly at Rome from the jubilee of 1350 until her death in 1373, daily visiting churches on foot through all the inclemencies of weather, etc. She founded an order which had its chief seat at Wadstena, in Sweden, but spread beyond the bounds of Scandinavia; and in the headship of this she was succeeded by her daughter

to the same purpose;[h] and these prophetic threats were supposed to be fulfilled when Urban's arrival at Avignon was followed within three months by his death.[i] In his last sickness he formally retracted anything (if such there were) that he might have taught or said contrary to the faith of the church.[k] The general reverence for his character was expressed in a belief that miracles were done at his grave:[l] and it is supposed that his canonization, which was solicited by Waldemar III. of Denmark and others, was prevented only by the troubles which soon after came on the papacy.[m] Dec. 9, 1370.

On the 30th of December, Peter Roger, cardinal of Sta. Maria Nuova, was elected to the vacant chair, and took the name of Gregory XI. He was a nephew of Clement VI., by whom he had been advanced to the cardinalate at the age of seventeen or eighteen;[n] but Clement, "lest he should seem to have conferred with flesh and blood,"[o] had been careful to place the young cardinal under the best tutors, so that Gregory was respected for his learning in civil and in canon law, as well as for his modesty, prudence, and generosity.[p] The chief defect noted in him was that same regard for family interests to which he had owed his own early promotion.[q]

Gregory took an active part in the affairs of Italy,

St. Catharine, The order combined members of both sexes, who lived in separate cloisters, but had their church, their cellar, and their kitchen in common. (Antonin. 414.) Bridget was canonized by Boniface IX. (Rayn. 1391. 29.) Attempts were made to procure from the council of Basel and from Eugenius IV. a formal authorization of her prophecies, but no decided step was taken in consequence. Hefele, vii. 559-60.

[h] Wadd. 1367. 1; 1370. 20; Gobel. Persona in Meibohm. i. 292.

[i] Rayn. l. c. He is reputed to have said on his death-bed, "Merito hoc patior quia reliquimus sedem patrum nostrorum." C. Zantfl. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 292.

[k] Baluz. i. 413.

[l] Ib. 430.

[m] Döllinger, ii. 277.

[n] Baluz. i. 225, 275, 425. Among his preferments was the archdeaconry of Canterbury. Baluz. i. 1061.

[o] (Galat. i. 16); Baluz. i. 47C.

[p] Ib. 425-6, 442-79.

[q] Ib. 441; Schröckh, xxxi. 230.

where Bernabò Visconti and his brother Galeazzo continued to be formidable.[r] In 1372 a bull was issued by which they were excommunicated, their subjects were released from allegiance, and all Christians were invited to take part in a holy war against them.[s] There were serious commotions in the papal states, where eighty towns threw off their subjection to Rome. Robert, cardinal of Geneva, was sent into the Romagna as legate, with a band of Breton mercenaries, whose acts of license excited the detestation of the people.[t] At Cesena a rising took place, in which some hundreds of them were killed,[u] and the rest were driven from the town. The legate, having secured the co-operation of the famous condottiere Sir John Hawkwood, persuaded the citizens to admit him peaceably, allowing that they had received great provocation from his troops, and even (it is said) swearing that no vengeance should be taken if they would lay down their arms. Having thus lulled them into security, he then gave loose to a massacre in which, according to some writers, three thousand perished, while others reckon the number at four, five, or even eight thousand.[x] A thousand women were saved by the

Feb. 1377.

[r] See for a curious character of Galeazzo, Pet. Azarius in Murat. xvi. 403; also his directions for torturing conspirators, ib. 410. A course of forty-two days is ended with "in rota ponatur." A Piacenza chronicler, John de Mussis, defends the Visconti in their relations with the church. It is true, he says, that they tax the clergy heavily and take away their revenues; but this, instead of being the cause, is the consequence, of the wars which the popes make against the family. Murat. xvi. 523.

[s] Cron. Bologn. 492; Baluz. i. 431; Rayn. 1372. 1-2. By one document, all marriage with female members of the family was forbidden; but this proved ineffectual. (Milm. v. 340.) There are two letters against a projected marriage between Albert of Austria and a daughter of Galeazzo (1374). Such a marriage, it is said, would be null beforehand; the children would be illegitimate; and Albert is threatened with anathema if he should go on with it (Mailáth, i. 183). Bernabò offered one of his daughters to Richard II. of England, "cum incredibili auri summa." Walsingh. ii. 46.

[t] Antonin. 380-2; Schröckh, xxxi. 232-3.

[u] The Rimini chronicler says "more than 100" (Murat. xv. 917); the chronicler of Bologna, "more than 300" (ib. xvii. 510), while others make the number 800.

[x] See N. Donati, 253; Th. Niem, ii.

humanity of Hawkwood, who furnished them with an escort;[y] but atrocious acts of cruelty were committed by the infuriated Bretons; and it is said that the cardinal overcame the scruples of Hawkwood and his men by desiring that all the inhabitants might be killed indiscriminately.[z]

The Florentines, for their resistance to the papal authority, against which they had formed an extensive league,[a] were put under ban and interdict in March 1376.[b] It was even declared that they might be made slaves, and advantage was taken of this against many of them who were in England;[c] while their old rivals of Genoa and Pisa, by scrupling to act on the permission, incurred the penalty of interdict against themselves.[d] The Florentines entreated the mediation of St. Catharine of Siena, whose austerities were supposed to be connected with prophetic insight;[e] and she, having repaired to Avignon for the purpose of pleading their cause,[f] used the opportunity to set before the pope the misgovernment of the ecclesiastical states, and to urge his return to Rome.[g] The voice of Petrarch June 1376.

1; Chron. Regiense, in Murat. xviii. 87; Cron. Bolon. 510; Chron. Rimin. 917-18; Annal. Mediol. 764-7; Murat. Ann. VIII. ii. 202; Poggio, in Murat. xx. 235-6. See also a French poem by William de la Perenne, on the exploits of the Bretons in Italy, Martene, Thes. iii. 1467-9.

[y] Cron. Est. 500.

[z] Antonin. 383. Nero Donati says that when Hawkwood, on being asked to co-operate with the cardinal, offered to bring the citizens to a peace, the reply was, "No! blood, blood, and justice!" (252). "Nedum prælatum ecclesiasticum, vices tenentem vicarii Jesu Christi, sed Herodem et Neronem dedecuisset tam sævissima scelestaque vindicta." (Ant. l. c.) The Rimini chronicler says, "Questo cardinale era uomo di Diavolo." (Murat. xviii.)

[a] Annal. Mediol. 761, 763.

[b] Baluz. i. 434; Antonin. 378-9; Rayn. 1376. 1-5; Gregorov. vi. 461.

[c] Walsingh. ii. 323; Chron. Angliæ, ed. Thompson, 111.

[d] N. Donati, 249; Gregorov. vi. 462-3. At Avignon, the Florentines were driven out, and their property was seized. Baluz. i. 452.

[e] Rayn. 1376. 6.

[f] Lettere di S. Cat. 230, 232, etc.

[g] Rayn. 1376. 70; Gregorov. vi. 452, 465. See S. Cat. Lett. 125, 131. 185, etc. In Lett. 229 she exhorts him to come quickly, "da parte di Cristo crocifisso"—"E guardate per quanto voi avete cara la vita, non veniate con sforzo di gente, ma con la croce in mano, come agnello man-

was no longer to be heard in the cause which he had so often advocated;[h] but St. Bridget of Sweden, who had seen the beginning of Gregory's pontificate, had solemnly warned him, on the ground of revelations, that, unless he returned to Rome within a certain time, the States of the Church would be rent asunder, even as her messenger was charged to rend the letter which he conveyed;[i] and her prophetical authority had been inherited by her daughter, St. Catharine of Sweden, who now joined her representations to those of the virgin of Siena.[k]

It is said that Gregory had vowed that, if he should be

sueto!" In Lett. 239 she begs him to disregard the hints of poison; there is poison (*i.e.* wine) on the tables of Avignon and other cities, as well as on those of Rome. There are many other letters of free advice to the pope—*e.g.*, 133, 218, 233, 238, 255, 267. For St. Catharine of Siena, see the Acta Sanctorum, April 30; Hase, 'Caterina von Siena,' Leipz. 1864; Capecelatro, 'Storia di S. Cat. da Siena'; Milman, v. 391-3; Reumont, ii. 973; and her letters, edited by Tommaséo, 4 vols., Florence, 1860. She was the daughter of a dyer whose family name was Benencasa, and was born in 1347. We are told by her confessor, Raymond of Capua (afterwards general of the Dominicans), that she had visions from her sixth year; that in her seventh year she vowed to the Blessed Virgin that she would have no other bridegroom than the Saviour. (Vita, 29, 35-6, in Acta SS.) She refused all offers of marriage, and led a life of extreme asceticism, even for a time abstaining from all food and drink —of which abstinence the biographer says, "non video quod sit possibile per naturam" (60). In later years, she used to live for many weeks without any other sustenance than the holy eucharist; when she ate, it was with pain, and for the sake of overcoming obloquy which her severities raised against her (166-76). She became a sister of penance of the order of St. Dominic (69). Her mystical marriage with the Saviour is related in cc. 114-15; and it is said that she always saw the ring which He placed on her finger, while to others it was invisible. Among other tokens of special favour, we are told that in a vision the Saviour opened her side, took out her heart, and after some days put his own heart in its place—a car being left in witness of the operation (179); that, at communion, she often saw Him entering her mouth in the form of a child (181); and that she received the stigmata, which, although invisible, made themselves known by the pain which they caused (192-4). Catharine died in 1380, and was canonized by Pius II. in 1461 (See the 'Processus,' in Martene, Coll. Ampl. vi. 1237-1386.) On the development of the marvellous in her story, see Hase, xi.-xii., 25. Strange as much of that story is to us, we cannot but admire the spirit of love to God and man which animates her letters.

[h] He died July 18, 1374.

[i] Gobel. Persona, 202; Rayn. 1379. 10.

[k] For St. Catharine of Sweden, see Acta SS., May 24; Gregorov. vi. 446.

chosen pope, he would return to Rome;[l] and, in addition to all other incitements, he was now convinced that his interest in Italy suffered, and was even in danger of being absolutely ruined, through his absence.[m] The Bolognese had driven out the legate and all the papal officials; the sovereignty of the church was hardly anywhere acknowledged throughout the ecclesiastical states.[n] It is said, too, that the pope was much influenced by the repartee of a bishop, who, on being asked by him why he did not go to his diocese, retorted the question on Gregory himself.[o] In 1376 Gregory announced his intention of returning to Rome; and, although it was opposed by the French king, by his own relations,[p] and by many of his cardinals,[q] six of whom refused to leave Avignon, he set out on the 13th of September.[r] After a tedious journey, performed partly by land and partly by sea, he landed at St. Paul's on the 15th of January 1377, and his entrance into Rome was welcomed with great demonstrations of

[l] Baluz. i. 401.

[m] Ib. 437. The Romans are supposed to have designed to set up the abbot of Monte Cassino as antipope. Ib. 1994.

[n] N. Donati, in Murat. xv. 247, who regards this as a just judgment on the faults of the prelates and clergy. Cf. Annal. Mediol., ib. xvi. 761. John de Mussis traces the frequent rebellions to the circumstance that the popes were in the habit of bestowing governments on their own relatives, who, knowing that their tenure would end with the life of their patrons had no other object than to extort as much money as possible within the time. Ib. 527.

[o] Baluz. i. 479.

[p] Charles V. sent the duke of Anjou to Avignon for the purpose of remonstrating. (Froiss. vii. 67.) A biographer says that, as the pope set forth, his mother threw herself down on the threshold of the palace, and, baring her breast, exclaimed in piteous tones, "Whither goest thou, my son? I shall never see thee more." To which Gregory replied, "Corpore tamen trans passum non calcato,"—"It is written, 'Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis.'" ([Ps. xc. 13.] Baluz. i. 481.) But his mother had really been long dead. (Ib. 1234.) Another writer says that he left Avignon in order to escape from the importunities of his kinsmen. Ib. 483.

[q] See Rayn. 1379. 10; S. Cater., Lett. 231.

[r] Baluz. i. 438, and note. In consequence of the assumptions of the elder cardinals, Gregory made twelve new ones. (Ib. 481.) It is said that the pope's horse would hardly allow him to mount, and afterwards refused to move, so that he was obliged to get another; and hence many inferred that he was acting against God's will. Ib. 483.

joy.[s] The "Babylonian captivity" of seventy years was ended.

Gregory, however, soon found that his course was beset with difficulties. Although the hostility of the Visconti had been appeased by a compact that Galeazzo should retain certain towns on consideration of paying a sum of money to the papal treasury,[t] the differences with Florence still remained, and the nobles of Rome and of the ecclesiastical states were insubordinate.[u] The pope could not feel himself at home in his capital. The ruinous state of the walls, the churches, the palaces, and other buildings, depressed him. The long absence of the court, and the anarchy of Rome, had produced an offensive rudeness in the manners of the citizens.[x] Even his want of acquaintance with the language of his subjects —the meaning of which he could only guess at by the help of Latin, French, and Provençal—aggravated not a little the discomfort of Gregory's position.[y] It is believed that he meditated a return to Avignon, when he was seized with an illness, which, acting on a weak constitution, carried him off on the 27th of March 1378, at the age of forty-seven.[z] His feeling towards the saints whose prophetical admonitions had influenced him in his removal to Rome is said to have been remarkably shown on his death-bed, when, holding the holy eucharist in his

[s] Baluz. i. 438, 455. There is a strange poem (?) by Peter, bishop of Sinigaglia, entitled 'Itinerarium D. Gregorii Papæ XI.'—of which a small specimen will be enough:—

"Facta visitatione S. Pauli palatii, ordinataque processione domum Præsul egreditur,
Via incepta obviant pontifici histriones, cum filozis [*distaffs*] via tractatur,
Luta sunt nimia, infinitus est apparatus, chorizantes in jubilo omnes progrediuntur,
Tuba cangente, convocataque acie mirabili, vexilla eriguntur."

(Ciacon. ii. 585, or Murat. III. ii. 690, seqq.) As to the *histriones*, see Gregorov. vi. 471-3.

[t] Schröckh, xxxi. 233.

[u] Baluz. i. 439.

[x] "Labefactati etiam ita civitatis mores erant ut nihil urbanitatis habere viderentur; utque illi mores aliunde petendi essent quæ totum orbem quondam ad urbanitatem redegerat." Platina, 266.

[y] Tommaséo, n. on S. Cater. iii. 284.

[z] Baluz. i. 441-2; Gregorov. vi. 482.

hands, he warned those who stood around against the pretensions of enthusiastic men or women who uttered as revelations the fancies of their own brains.[a]

A Florentine embassy had been well received at Rome but the terms of reconciliation which Gregory proposed were too severe to be accepted; and when the pope in turn sent some envoys to Florence, the citizens not only refused to submit to their proposals, but compelled the clergy to defy the interdict, which had until then been so far respected that the offices of religion had been performed with closed doors.[b] The pope retaliated by aggravated denunciations; but at length certain terms of peace had been agreed on, when the death of Gregory put an end to the negotiation.[c]

The eagerness of Charles IV. to secure the imperial crown for his own family had furnished Gregory with an opportunity for asserting the papal claim to a control over elections to the empire. On the emperor's proposing that his son Wenceslaus, then only seventeen years of age, should be chosen as king of the Romans, some of the electors (perhaps from a wish to hide their own dislike of the scheme) expressed an apprehension that the pope might object; and Charles, in contradiction to the principles asserted by the union of Rhense in 1338,[d] and afterwards in his own golden bull,[e] applied for the pope's consent.[f] The election of a son during his father's lifetime was opposed to the Roman policy, which discouraged the idea of inheritance in the imperial crown, and even Rudolf of Hapsburg had failed in a similar request.[g] But Gregory, in consideration of A.D. 1376.

[a] Gerson, Opera, i. 16 (who has much to say against such prophecies). Mansi questions the story (n. in Rayn. t. vii. 299). Boniface IX. regards the deaths of Urban and Gregory as tokens of Divine Providence in favour of Rome. Dach. Spicil. i. 767.

[b] N. Donati, 256.

[c] Antonin. 384-8; Baluz. i. 441; Chron. Rimin. 918.

[d] See above, p. 134.

[e] See above, p. 183.

[f] Baluz. i. 439, 1202; ii. 793; Rayn. 1376. 13.

[g] See vol. vi. p. 293.

the advantage which the papacy might derive from the acknowledgment that his sanction was necessary, assented after some delay, although with the warning that his assent was not to become a precedent.[h] Although Charles himself, in his golden bull, had charged the electors to give their votes gratuitously, and had prescribed that they should swear to do so, he was obliged to pay heavily, both in money and in capitulations, for his son's election, and even to pledge or alienate some cities and territories which belonged to the imperial crown.[i]

In another quarter Gregory obtained a success which was rather apparent than real. The long contest between the Angevine dynasty of Naples and the house of Aragon for the possession of Sicily was ended in 1372 by a treaty which Frederick of Sicily concluded with Joanna and her husband Lewis. By this, the island was to be held under the Apulian crown, on condition of paying tribute, and of furnishing soldiers in case of war; and the title of king of Sicily was to belong to the sovereign of Apulia, while the actual ruler was to style himself king of Trinacria. The "Sicilian monarchy,"[k] which, although originally sanctioned by a pope, had been a grievous offence to his successors, was to be abolished; and in other respects the treaty was greatly in favour of the papacy.[l] But these terms were never carried into effect. The papal confirmation was not sought either by Frederick or by his daughter Mary, who succeeded him in 1377. Sicily never performed the feudal obligations which had been stipulated; and its sovereigns, so long

[h] Rayn. l. c.; Schröckh, xxxi. 236-7; Giesel. II. iii. 96; Palacky, II. ii. 388. For the election, see Baluz. ii. 794.

[i] Æn. Sylv. Hist. Boh. c. 33; J. Trithem. Chron. Spanh. A.D. 1378; Theod. Niem, ii. 25. As to the expenses incurred by Charles, "pro ignavissimæ pecudis, filii sui Wentzlai, provectione," see Krantz, 'Saxonia,' 285.

[k] See vol. iv. p. 419.

[l] Baluz. i. 431; Giesel. II. iii. 96. See M. Vill. iv. 3, as to an earlier treaty.

as the island remained a separate kingdom, bore in their title the name, not of Trinacria, but of "Sicily beyond the Strait."[m]

CHAPTER V.

THE GREAT SCHISM OF THE WEST, TO THE END OF THE COUNCIL OF PISA.

A.D. 1378-1409.

AT the death of Gregory XI. the Romans were resolved to put an end, if possible, to the residence of the popes in France, by insisting that one of their own countrymen should be chosen.[a] Gregory, foreseeing the danger of a schism, had, in the last days of his life, made a decree that a pope chosen by a majority of the cardinals should be acknowledged, whether the election were made in Rome or elsewhere, and although the usual formalities of the conclave were not observed.[b] But the Romans were bent on carrying out their purpose. In order that the cardinals might not escape from the city, they took the keys of the gates from the officials of the church, and replaced the sentinels by partisans of their own; they expelled the nobles, and, with a view to overawing the electors, they called in a multitude of armed and half-savage peasants from the neighbouring mountains,[c] while Italian prelates, within and without the

March 19.

[m] Giann. iv. 92; Schröckh, xxxi. 239.

[a] Platina, 267.

[b] Baluz. i. 442; Rayn 1378. 2; Gregorov. vi. 480; Cartwright on Conclaves, 81.

[c] "Rusticos homines effrænatos, utique bestiales ac ratione carentes, eorum vocabulo *montanarios* appellatos." Baluz. i. 444-5.

city, were busily employed in stirring up the people.[d] The number of cardinals then at Rome was sixteen—four Italians, a Spaniard (Peter de Luna), and eleven Frenchmen, of whom seven were Limousins; while of the other seven members of the college one was employed as legate in Tuscany, and the rest had remained at Avignon.[e] It was with difficulty that the electors were able to make their way through the threatening crowd which beset the Vatican, and, as they entered the chamber appointed for the conclave, they were alarmed by a violent thunderstorm,[f] which seemed like an omen of coming evil. But they were yet more terrified by the behaviour of the multitude, which had forced its way into the palace, furiously clamouring, "We will have a Roman, or at least an Italian!"[g] After a time the greater part were turned out, but about forty persisted in remaining; they searched the beds of the cardinals and the most secret corners of the apartment, in order to discover any men who might be hidden, or any private outlet by which the electors might escape; and, as the Romans had not allowed the usual form of walling up the entrance to be observed, the intruders were able to terrify the cardinals by their menaces and by their display of force.[h]

April 17.

The French cardinals, although more than twice as many as all the rest, were weakened by a division among themselves; for the Limousins, who for six-and-thirty years had enjoyed the papacy and its patronage, wished to choose one of their own number, while the other section, headed by Robert of Geneva, was resolutely

[d] Letter of cardinals, Aug. 2, in Baluz. ii. 824-5.

[e] Ib. 825-6; Th. Niem de Schismate, i. 1. There are many documents relating to this time in Rayn. A.D. 1376, in Martene, Thes. iii., and in Du Boulay. The various accounts are carefully compared by Bp. Hefele, vi. 630, etc., although perhaps with something of a bias in favour of Urban. See, too, Schwab, 'Joh. Gerson,' i. 3.

[f] Baluz. i. 456; Theod. Vrie, in V. d. Hardt, i. 39.

[g] Baluz. i. 445.

[h] Ib. 457; ii. 826.

opposed to the election of a Limousin. Each of these factions, if unable to carry a candidate of its own, would have preferred an Italian to one of the rival French party; and thus the Italians, although few, found that they held the balance in their hands.[i]

As the tumult increased, two bannerets of Rome (the chiefs of the regions into which the city was divided) asked admittance, and urged the expediency of yielding to the wishes of the people. But they were told that the election was a matter with which no personal regards must interfere; that the cardinals, after having celebrated the mass of the Holy Ghost on the morrow, would be guided by Him alone in their choice.[k] All through the night the uproar waxed wilder and wilder. The ruffians who had remained in the palace, after having unwillingly consented that the conclave should be shut, took up their position in the room below; they plundered the papal stores of food and wine;[l] in their heightened excitement, they dashed their swords and lances against the ceiling, so as to add to the terror of the cardinals, and even made preparations as if for burning the palace; while the multitude without kept up their cries for a Roman or an Italian, mingled with shouts of "Death to the cardinals!"[m] The great bells of St. Peter's and of the Capitol were beaten with hammers as if the city were on fire.[n]

In the morning the numbers of the mob were greater than ever. When the cardinals were at mass, the words of the service could not be heard for the noise without; and now the cry was for a Roman only.[o] The cardinals again met for the election, while the door of the conclave was assailed with violent blows, April 8.

[i] Pileus de Prata, in Dach. Spicil. iii. 744; Sism. iv. 180; Schwab, 107.
[k] Baluz. i. 446-7, 459.
[l] Th. de Acerno (Bp. of Luceria) in Murat. III. ii. 720.
[m] Baluz. i. 447; ii. 826-7.
[n] Ib. 840; i. 461.
[o] Ib. 448, 460; ii. 827.

and the noise became louder every moment.[p] It was suggested that some one should be declared pope, in order to appease the multitude, and that another should be privately chosen, with a view to his being afterwards substituted for the first.[q] The cardinal of Florence proposed Francis Tibaldeschi, cardinal of St. Sabina[r] and archpriest of St. Peter's, the oldest member of the college; but the motion met with no support; and on a second vote, all, with the exception of James Orsini, who declined to act under such coercion,[s] agreed in the choice of Bartholomew Prignani, archbishop of Bari, who was not a cardinal, but, as being at once an Italian and a subject of the French sovereign of Naples, might be supposed to be acceptable to both parties. On the announcement of the election an accident led the multitude to believe that it had fallen on Tibaldeschi. They plundered his palace, according to the custom on such occasions, forced a way into the conclave, and overwhelmed the old man with violent congratulations, while he strove to make them understand their mistake, and desired them, even with curses, to let him go.[t] In the meantime the cardinals dispersed in terror, leaving their hats and cloaks behind them, and some of them were severely handled by the mob.[u]

Next day, however, they met again; and, although the announcement of the archbishop of Bari's election caused some tumult, as his title was mistaken for the name of James of Bar, a Limousin of the papal household,[x] he was peaceably invested with the

April 9.

[p] Baluz. i. 449.

[q] Antoninus (iii. 389) ascribes this suggestion to the archbishop of Bari himself.

[r] Ciacon. ii. 570.

[s] Thom. de Acerno in Murat. III. ii. 719. Yet Orsini is charged with having originally got up the cry for an Italian (Th. Niem, i. 2). The cardinal of Florence, finding the archbishop of Bari chosen by the rest, joined in the election. Th. de Acerno, 720, 722.

[t] Baluz. i. 461; ii. 842, 1093; Pileus de Prata, in Dach. Spicil. iii. 744.

[u] Baluz. i. 462-3; ii. 842; Pileus, l. c.

[x] Baluz. ii. 829, 1215; Theod. Niem. i. 2.

mantle of office. It is said that, in answer to his doubts as to the validity of his election, the cardinals assured him that all had been rightly and fairly done.[y] He received their homage, and they all took part in his coronation, which was solemnly performed on Easter-day.[z] The election was announced to the sovereigns of Europe, not, as had been usual, by the pope himself, but by the cardinals; and they also reported it to their brethren at Avignon in a letter which declared that their choice had been made unanimously, and (as they professed to believe) under the direction of the Holy Spirit.[a]

Urban VI. (as the new pope styled himself) was a Neapolitan of humble birth, and a man of strictly ascetic life. He was deeply read in ecclesiastical law, but was more especially respected for his devotion to the study of Scripture, and for the humility, the disinterestedness, the equity, and the compassion which were supposed to mark his character.[b] But almost immediately after his elevation, it began to appear that some of the virtues by which he had been hitherto distinguished were exchanged for qualities of an opposite kind. He was open to flattery, while, in dealing with his cardinals and with other high ecclesiastics, he behaved with a haughtiness

[y] Pileus, in Dach. Spicil. i. 744.

[z] Ib. 744-5; Baluz. i. 463; Theod. Niem, i. 3 Th. de Acerno, 723.

[a] Baluz. i. 540 2; Dach. Spicil. i. 764.

[b] Theod. Niem, i. 1. Theodoric or Dietrich of Niem (Neheim, in the diocese of Paderborn), one of the chief authorities for this time, was secretary for briefs to Gregory XI., whom he accompanied from Avignon to Rome, and continued to hold his office under popes of the Roman line until 1410. Boniface IX. appointed him to the see of Verdun, but he was kept out by a rival; nor was he able to get possession of Cambray, to which he was afterwards nominated. He accompanied John XXIII. to the council of Constance, and died while it was sitting. He wrote four books, 'De Schismate'—the IVth, which bears the title of 'Nemus Unionis,' being subdivided into six tracts; also a 'Life of John XXIII.,' which is printed by Von der Hardt (Magn. Concil. Constant. t. ii.). The first three books on the Schism are here cited without the title. Chron. Epp. Verdun. in Leibn. ii. 221; Lenfant, Hist. du Conc. de Const. i. 577 (where the identity of the writer with the bishop designate of Verdun is questioned); Herzog, art. *Dietrich von Niem.*

and a rudeness which were felt to be intolerable, and called forth open remonstrances.[c] Even his good actions were so done as to produce an unfavourable impression. He announced reforms of an unpopular kind, without any consideration for the prejudices or the interests which might be affected by them. He threatened to reduce the luxurious cardinals[d] to one dish at table, after his own example; to overwhelm the French influence in the college by the addition of Romans and Italians;[e] and he further provoked the French cardinals by absolutely refusing to go to Avignon. Preaching in his own chapel, he denounced the bishops who were at the court as perjured for neglecting their dioceses; to which the bishop of Pampeluna immediately replied that the charge was in his case untrue, as he was there on diocesan business.[f] The pope desired the cardinals to repair to the churches from which they took their titles, and to reside at them. At a consistory he charged such of them as had been sent on embassies with having allowed themselves to be bribed; to which James de la Grange, cardinal of St. Marcellus, retorted, "As archbishop of Bari you lie!" and the cardinal, who was one[g] of the French king's councillors, went off to use his influence with Charles V. in opposition to Urban.[h] Joanna of Naples had celebrated the election of the Neapolitan pope by public festivities;[i] she sent him magnificent presents of money, food, and

[c] Th. Niem, i. 1; Gobelin. Persona, 295: "Fuit in homine illo natura inquieta et dura. Nulla patribus gratia qui se potissimum delegissent, nulla humanitas, nulla conciliatio animorum; sed contumax et minabundus et asper, malebat vitari et metui potius quam diligi." Letter of the cardinals in Baluz. ii. 839.

[d] There is a curious invective against the habits of the cardinals by a writer on Urban's side, John de Lignano, in Rayn. t. vii. 636

[e] Th. Niem, i. 5; Sism. R. I. iv. 188, etc.

[f] Th. Niem. i. 4.

[g] Ad. Murimuth. Cont. 231.

[h] Walsingh. i. 381-2. One version of the saying is that given in the text; another is—"I cannot answer you as pope; but if you were still the *archiepiscopellus* of Bari, I would tell the archbishop that he lied in his throat." See Baluz. i. 1158-9.

[i] Gobel. Pers. 296.

wine, and deputed her husband, duke Otho of Brunswick,[k] to convey her congratulations and respects to him; but Urban, although he had formerly been on terms of friendship with the duke, now treated him with such discourtesy that Otho returned to Naples indignant and alienated.[l] St. Catharine of Siena, although she adhered zealously to Urban in the differences which afterwards arose, found herself compelled to remonstrate with him on his irascibility and on the impolicy of his behaviour.[m]

The majority of the cardinals, angry and disgusted at his treatment of them, and the more so because they saw that he endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the people of Rome, began to question the soundness of the pope's mind,[n] and to consider how they might rid themselves of him. One by one they made their way out of the city, and assembled at Anagni, where they invited Urban to join them.[o] Instead of complying with this request, he summoned them to Tivoli, where he was with the four Italian cardinals; but they answered that they could not conveniently leave Anagni, as they had laid in large stores of provisions there.[p] Their design, which had probably been nothing more than to draw Urban into a capitulation, was now carried further. In the presence of three of their Italian brethren, who had conveyed the pope's invitation, they swore on the Gospels that their consent to Urban's election had been extorted only by the fear

[k] For the queen's fourth marriage, A.D. 1376, see Murat. Ann. VIII. ii. 194, 199. As to Otho, Leibn. ii. 47, seqq.

[l] Th. Niem, i. 6-8, who styles Otho "ille quondam pater principum et norma nobilium." A Neapolitan diarist, however, says that Otho was well received, but was provoked by the pope's refusal to let him be crowned (Murat. xxi. 1039). Otho is said to have revived the old joke of calling Urban *Turban*. (See vol. iv. p. 372.) Th. Niem, i. 8; cf. Baluz. i. 433.

[m] *E.g.*, Lett. 305-6, 370. Döllinger, ii. 277; Gregorov. vi. 497. She is said to have predicted the schism, which she ascribed to the unwillingness of the clergy to endure correction. Raym. Capuan. Vita S. Cath. c. 286 (Acta SS., April 30); cf. cc. 287, 333-4.

[n] Th. Niem, i. 7.

[o] Baluz. ii. 464; Chron. Rim. in Murat. xv. 919; Theod. Niem, i. 7.

[p] Baluz. ii. 464; Th. de Acerno, 727.

of death ;[q] and on the 9th of August, after having celebrated a solemn mass, they sent forth a letter in which they renounced him as an apostate and a deceiver—professing to have chosen him in the trust that, as a man of integrity and acquainted with the canon law, he would feel himself bound to regard as null an election which had been made under constraint, and to take the earliest safe opportunity of declaring its nullity.[r]

Yet, although the election had unquestionably been influenced by fear of the Roman populace,—although the cardinals, if they had been free, would probably have chosen otherwise,—their choice of Urban had really been rather a compromise than a compliance with the will of the multitude, who had cried out for one of their own fellow-citizens, and, far from wishing for the archbishop of Bari, had been eager to enthrone the cardinal of St. Peter's.[s] And, whatever might have been the original defects in Urban's title, the cardinals appear to have debarred themselves from insisting on these. They had, it would seem, gone through a second form of election, in order to make the matter sure ;[t] they had accepted him after the restoration of peace in the city ; they had with apparent willingness taken part in all the forms which were necessary in order to put him completely into possession of the papacy ; they had announced his elevation to the Avignon cardinals and to the sovereigns of Christendom as having been made in due form, and even under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.[u] They

[q] Bul. iv. 587 ; Hefele, vi. 667.

[r] Baluz. i. 450, 465-72 ; ii. 831 ; Dacher. Spicil. i. 764 ; see Hefele, vi. 656. For an earlier declaration (Aug. 2) see Baluz. ii. 822, and cf. Bul. iv. 467.

[s] See Baluz. i. 544 ; and a letter of 1407 in Murat. Coll. Ampl. vii. 749.

[t] See Hefele, vi. 657.

[u] See Baldus in Append. to Rayn. t. vii. They afterwards said that Urban had forced them to this, and that their continued insecurity made them submit to him (Baluz. ii. 931 ; Th. Vrie, in V. d. Hardt, i. 41) ; but their whole proceedings are inconsistent with the assertion (Dölling. ii. 277). Cardinal Zabarella speaks of their "longa, dissimulata, tardaque allegatio sui metus." V. d. Hardt, i. 511.

had assisted at his celebration of the most solemn rites. They had solicited and received preferment at his hands, for themselves or their friends, even since their withdrawal to Anagni.[x] In all possible ways they had acknowledged him, until driven by his outrageous behaviour to seek for pretexts which might warrant them in forsaking and superseding him.[y]

The cardinals now hired a band of Breton and Gascon soldiers to protect them.[z] They got possession of the papal jewels and insignia, which had been deposited in the castle of St. Angelo.[a] They entered into an understanding with the queen of Naples, and removed from Anagni to Fondi, within the Neapolitan territory, where the count of the place, a turbulent man of the Gaetani family, who had long held the government of Campania under the Roman church, was induced by his enmity against Urban to support them.[b] They persuaded three out of the four Italian cardinals to join them—it is said, by holding out to each the hope of being chosen as pope.[c] They endeavoured to fortify their cause by procuring the opinions of eminent lawyers; but in this their success was imperfect, as the jurists in general held that the election of Urban had been regular, or that, if it were not so, the power of amending it belonged, not to the cardinals, but to a general council.[d]

Aug. 27.

[x] Th. de Acerno, 724; Pileus de Prata, in Dach. Spicil. i. 745; Gobel. Pers. 294.

[y] Planck, v. 319-23; Hefele, vi. 644, 659-60. "This," says Mr. Hallam, "opens a delicate question in jurisprudence: namely, under what circumstances acts, not only irregular, but substantially invalid, are capable of receiving a retro-active confirmation by the acquiescence and acknowledgment of parties concerned to oppose them" (Middle Ages, ii. 39). But the final criterion in all questions of papal legitimacy had been that of general acknowledgment by the church; so that, if no objection had been raised against Urban in his own time, he would have been an undisputed pope for ever.

[z] Froiss. vii. 194.

[a] Urban in Mansi, xxvi. 612.

[b] Baluz. i. 477; Th. Niem, ii. 7; Giorn. Napol. in Murat. xxi. 1039; Sism. v. 189; Hefele, vi. 670.

[c] Theod. Niem, i. 9.

[d] Rayn. 1378. 30-9; Append. to vol

The aged cardinal of St. Peter's was the only member of the college who still adhered to Urban; but he did not long survive.[e] Urban now announced an intention of creating nine cardinals; but in the Ember-week of September he proceeded to bestow the dignity at once on twenty-nine persons—a number which exceeded that of the French and the Italians together. Many of these were Neapolitans like himself, and recommended by powerful family connexions, or by other circumstances which might enable them to exercise an influence in his favour among their countrymen.[f]

Sept. 18.

On the 20th of the same month, the rebellious cardinals at Fondi renewed their declarations against Urban, and, although the Italian members of the college withdrew before the election, chose as pope Robert of Geneva, cardinal of the Twelve Apostles and bishop of Cambray, who took the name of Clement VII.[g] The antipope, who was recommended to them by his enterprising spirit, as well as by his birth—which connected him with almost all the chief princes of Europe—was only thirty-six years of age. His qualities were rather those of a warrior than of a prelate; he had been the leader of a company of Breton mercenaries, and had been deeply concerned in the massacre of Cesena, and in other barbarities by which

vii. (for John of Lignano and Baldo); Dölling. ii. 278. The famous Baldo, of Perugia, gave an opinion favourable to Urban (Mansi in Rayn. t. vii. 321; Append. ib. 613), but is commonly said to have afterwards gone over to the other side. (Giesel. iii. 134; Milm. v. 404.) Savigny, however, denies this change, and says that a second opinion, two years later, agreed with the first. vi. 207-9.

[e] He died on the 7th of September. Hefele, vi. 671.

[f] Some make the number 26 or 27. See Baluz. i. 478; Theod. Niem, i. 12; N. Donati in Murat. xv. 261; Chron. Est. ib. 503; Annal Mediol. ib. xv. 770-1; Chron. Rimin. xv. 9-20. Among the new cardinals was one Englishman, Adam Easton (Godwin, 793). Some of them soon dropped the title (Baluz. i. 489). St. Catharine, although she is said to have suggested the creation of these cardinals (Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. xv.), speaks unfavourably of some of them. Lett. 364.

[g] Baluz. i. 477-8.

the late contests of Italy had been stained.[h] The election of Clement was accepted by the cardinals of Avignon ;[i] and thus was begun the great schism of the west, which for nearly forty years distracted Latin Christendom, between rivals who hurled against each other the spiritual weapons of excommunication and anathema,[k] while each loaded the other with charges of the worst of crimes. France declared for Clement, although not until 1379, when Charles V. requested the university of Paris to give a judgment on the question. May 22, 1379. The faculties of theology, law, and medicine, with the French and Norman nations in the department of arts, pronounced in favour of Clement, and the neutrality of the English and Picard nations of "artists" was overpowered.[l] England was on the side of Urban, because France was with Clement; and Scotland was for Clement, because England was with Urban.[m] Germany and Bohemia,[n] Hungary, Poland, and Portugal, tired of the long series of French popes, were in favour of Urban ; so, too, was all Italy except the Neapolitan kingdom, which he had alienated by his behaviour to queen

[h] Baluz. i. 488, 1084-5; ii. 837; Cron. di Bologna in Murat. xviii. 505, 510; Urban in Mansi, xxvi. 611; Antonin. 382. "Giovane uomo, e bello di sua persona, salvo che era alquanto zoppo e un poco guercio." (Chron. Rim. in Murat. xv. 920; cf. Chron. Est. 503.) He took great pains to conceal his lameness. Th. Niem, ii. 1.

Baluz. ii. 845-7.

[k] Ib. i. 496; Urb. in Rayn. 1378. 103-11, etc.

[l] Bul. iv. 566. The French king allowed the English nation in the university to acknowledge the pope who was owned in England (Bul. v. 65 Giesel. II. iii. 134). See decrees of the university of Paris in favour of Clement n Baluz. ii., Nos. 220-1 ; Wilkins, iii. 138; and see the invective against the French king for taking part with Clement, in Walsingh. i. 393. The abbot of Cîteaux was for Clement, and the popes of the Roman line found themselves obliged to devise means for holding the general chapters of the order, and keeping up discipline in it. See Rymer, vii. 523 ; Chron. Mels. iii. 258, 266.

[m] See Edward III.'s letter in Baluz. i. 557. The marriage of Richard II. with Anne of Bohemia had also a share in determining the policy of England. (Th. Niem, i. 17.) Richard, in 1379, granted to the pope two-thirds of the income of benefices held in England by the rebel cardinals, the remaining third being retained for repairs, etc. Rym. vii. 222.

[n] See Baluz. i. 557 ; Schröckh, xxxi. 259; Palacky, III. 1.

Joanna's husband, and by showing an inclination to favour the pretensions of Charles of Durazzo as a rival claimant of her throne.[o] Castile and Aragon were brought, after some delay, to declare for Clement—in great measure through the skilful negotiations of his legate, cardinal Peter de Luna.[p]

Within a short time after the beginning of the schism, changes occurred by which the chief thrones of Europe were transferred from experienced sovereigns to princes whom a writer of the time describes in general as voluptuous youths,[q] and whose authority was not such as to exercise much influence in the question.

Sept. 16, 1380.

In France, Charles V., a king distinguished for his prudence and for his love of learning and the arts,[r] was succeeded by his son Charles VI., a boy of fourteen, who from his early manhood became subject to fits of lunacy, in consequence of which the kingdom fell a prey to the rivalries of the princes of the blood.[s] In England, Edward III. had been succeeded in 1377 by the young and feeble Richard II. In Germany and Bohemia, Charles IV. was succeeded by his son Wenceslaus, whose slender capacity was obscured

Nov. 1378.

[o] Froiss. vii. 5-7; x. 35-6; Gobel. Pers. 297; Baluz. i. 472. Theodoric of Niem says that Joanna joined Clement against her husband's will. i. 17.

[p] Martene, Thes. ii. 1083-98; Coll. Ampl. vii. xx. See Baluz. i. 493, 502-3, 517-19, 1283; ii. 920-8; Mansi, xxvi. 659, 684, 733; Mariana, l. xviii. 4; etc. John of Aragon, in giving his adhesion to Clement, Feb. 24, 1387, says that he had been restrained from publicly doing so while his father lived. Baluz. Collect. No. 227.

[q] Th. Niem, i. 18. In the letter of advice addressed by the count palatine Rupert to Wenceslaus, when about to go to a conference at Reims (see below, p. 234), it is said that, as Charles was a widower, the cardinals offered him the papacy. Martene, Thes. ii. 1174.

[r] Sism. xi. 3, seqq.; Martin, v. 239 242-3, 299, 300; Hallam, i. 61. See the "Livre des Fais et bonnes Mœurs du sage roy Charles V.," by Christine de Pisan, in Petitot, v., vi.

[s] Martin, v. 434, 441; Hallam, i. 61, 66. These fits began in 1392. (Mon. Sandionys. l. xiv. 5; Juv. des Ursins, 91.) "Et n'y trouvoit on remède si non prier Dieu. Et estoit belle chose et piteuse des devotions qu'avoient toutes gens; et faisoit-on aumosnes à eglises, hostels-Dieu, et pauvres gens" (Juv. des Ursins, 117). For the miseries of France, see Nic. de Clemangiis, 'De Lapsu et Reparatione Justitiæ.'

by continual debauchery.[t] Nor, while the power of sovereigns was thus ineffective, was there any predominant saint who, like Bernard in an earlier age, could, by throwing his influence into the scale of one of the claimants of the papacy, have made the other to be generally regarded as an antipope. On each side there were saints and prophets whom their contemporaries regarded with veneration: while Urban had with him Catharine of Siena,[u] Catharine of Sweden,[x] and the royal friar-prophet, Peter of Aragon,[y] Clement was supported

[t] "Ineptus, probrosus, sævitia et ignavia infamis" (Avent. 640); "Voluptatum sequax et labores refugiens, vini quam prorsus regni curiosior" (Æn. Sylv. Hist. Bohem. c. 34). Cf. Andr. Ratisb. in Pez, IV. iii. 591-3; Palacky, III. 12, 67-9. The Jesuit biographer of St. John of Nepomuk says:—"Qui cum princeps esset ignavissimus idemque in luto sanguine macerato sederet, *i.e.*, libidinose et crudeliter regnaret, etc." (Acta SS., Mai. 16, p. 668.) As to this very popular saint, see Pressel in Herzog, art. *Joh. v. Nepomuk*, and Hefele, vi. 694. The only foundation for the common story appears to be that Wenceslaus is said to have caused John of Pomuk, doctor of canon law and vicar-general of the archbishop of Prague, to be tortured and afterwards thrown into the Moldau. (Andr. Ratisb. in Pez, IV. iii. 592.) This John, however, seems really to have suffered for being a partisan of the archbishop, with whom Wenceslaus had quarrelled; and the circumstances of the legend of St John of Nepomuk,—that he suffered for refusing to disclose to Wenceslaus the queen's confession, etc.,—are imaginary. Moreover, the date of the saint's supposed martyrdom is placed in 1483, whereas that of the vicar-general's death was ten years later. Dr. Pressel states the various theories as to the origin of the legend, and is inclined to think, with Otto Abel (whose book was published at Berlin in 1855), that it was got up by the Jesuits after the triumph of Romanism in Bohemia in the thirty years' war, with the view of supplying a national hero in opposition to John Hus. It is said that many statues, etc., which bear the name of St. John Nepomuk were originally meant for Hus (Pressel, 752). In favour of the story, see Mansi in Rayn. t. viii. 74. [An interesting essay on the subject has been lately published by the Rev. A. H Wratislaw (Lond., 1873), who gives Dr. Palacky's authority for believing the saint to be merely legendary, although the historian had been restrained by fear of the Austrian censorship from speaking clearly when engaged on the story of the period, many years ago. pp. 76-7.]

[u] See above, p. 194; also later letters, 310, 312, 313, 350, 351, 357, 362, 368, etc.; Rayn. 1379. 22, 55, 59, etc.; Hase, 'Cat. v. Siena,' 236. She died April 29, 1380.

[x] St. Catharine of Sweden died in 1381. (Acta SS., Mart. 24; Rayn. 1381. 45.) See her evidence as to the election. (Ib. 1379. 28.) Her mother, St. Bridget, is said to have foretold the schism. Ib. 8.

[y] See above, p. 186; Wadd. 1380. 36-7; Bul. iv. 581; Mansi, xxvi. 657. In Pez, ii. 507, seqq., is a treatise by Henry of Hesse against a hermit named Telesphorus, who professed to have had a vision directing him to the book's

by the great Spanish Dominican preacher, Vincent Ferrer, and by a prince of Luxemburg, Peter, bishop of Metz and cardinal, who, although he died at the age of eighteen in 1387, continued after death to throw over the cause of the Avignon popes the lustre of innumerable miracles.[z] Nor has the question as to the legitimacy of the two popes, and of the lines founded by them respectively, been ever decided by any authority which is regarded as final. It was carefully avoided by the councils which were assembled with a view to healing the schism; and in later times, while writers of the Roman communion in general have been in favour of the Italian popes,[a] the Gallicans have maintained the title of the French line.[b] As to the practical question of communion with the popes of one or the other party, the judgment of St. Antoninus of Florence appears to be commonly accepted—that, while Christians in general are not bound to have such knowledge of canon law as would qualify them to judge of the elections, they are safe in following those who are set over them in the church.[c]

of Cyril and Joachim (c. 9). Henry says that many persons had taken occasion from the schism to set up for prophets, and to utter oracles which were soon falsified by time (cc. 6-8). These prophets had said that the schism would be ended in 1393 by the slaying of the pseudo-pope [*i.e.* Urban] at Perugia (c. 25). It appears to be uncertain who was meant under the name of Cyril. c. 12.

[z] Peter d'Ailly, when sent to Avignon in 1389, to urge in the name of the king, the university, and the church of Paris, the canonization of this young saint, stated that 2128 miracles were already recorded as having been done by him, and that among them were 73 raisings of the dead! See Bul. iv. 655, 666, etc.; Mon. Sandion. t. i. p. 478; Juv. des Ursins, 61; Mart. Coll. Ampl. VII. Præf. xxix.; viii. 815; Ciacon. ii. 684; Acta SS., Jul. 2, pp. 428, seqq.; Hard. viii. 1615. After many delays Peter was beatified by Clement VII. in 1527. Acta SS. 433.

[a] *E.g.*, Rayn, 1409. 8. The names of Clement VII. and Benedict XIII., which were assumed by Avignon popes, have since been repeated in the undoubted series (Giesel. II. iii. 136). On the other hand, Alexander V., the pope chosen by the council of Pisa, seems to be acknowledged by the numbering of the next Alexander as the VIth. But Rinaldi makes light of this. 1409. 80.

[b] Schröckh, xxxi. 252-6.

[c] Antonin. 390; Schröckh, xxxi. 352. See Giannone, iv. 118-19

Soon after his election Clement proceeded to Naples, where he was received with great honour by the queen.[d] But the people were on the side of Urban, as being their countryman, and he had strengthened his interest by including several Neapolitans in his late creation of cardinals.[e] Cries of "Death to the antipope and the queen!" were raised in the streets;[f] and Clement, after a time, found it expedient to make his way by Marseilles to Avignon, where he settled under the protection of the king of France, and found himself obliged to endure the miseries of a dependent position.[g]

In the meantime Urban was successful in Italy. A mercenary force which he engaged, under a native captain, Alberic of Barbiano, defeated and broke up the Breton and Gascon bands which were in the pay of the opposite party.[h] The castle of St. Angelo, which had been held for the cardinals, was now for the first time assailed by artillery, and fell into the hands of the Romans, who dismantled it and barbarously mutilated it by pulling down a large part of the marble facing, and employing the stones in paving the streets.[i] April 29.

Urban was resolved to make Joanna feel the weight of his enmity. He stirred up Charles of Durazzo, the last

[d] Baluz. i. 494.

[e] Cardinal de Gifuni, who had received his hat from Clement, burnt it and his robes publicly at Naples, as having been given by a pretender. Giorn. Nap. in Murat. xxi. 1044.

[f] Cron. Bologn. in Murat. xviii. 520; N. Donat. 263.

[g] Baluz. i. 494-5. "Quid Clemente nostro, dum advixit, miserabilius? qui ita se servum servorum Gallicis principibus addiceret ut vix minas et contumelias quæ illi quotidie ab aulicis inferebantur, deceret in vilissimum mancipium dici. Cedebat illi furori, cedebat tempori, cedebat flagitantium importunitati, fingebat, dissimulabat, largiter promittebat, diem ex die ducebat, his beneficia dabat, illis verba; omnibus quos aut ars assentatoria aut ludicra in curiis acceptos fecerat summopere placere studebat, eosque beneficiis promereri quo talium patrocinio dominorum gratiam et favorem assequeretur," etc. De Ruina Eccles., c. 42, in Von der Hardt, I. iii. 46.

[h] N. Don. 263; Sism. v. 213.

[i] Benven. Imol. in Murat. Antiq. Ital. i. 1070; Walsingh. i. 396; Froiss. vii. 199; Theod. Niem, i. 20; Gregorov. vi. 504-5. Boniface IX. repaired the damage with brick. Th. Niem, l. c.

representative of the Angevine dynasty, to make an attempt on the Apulian crown, instead of waiting until the course of nature should give it to him. The enterprise was favoured by the oracular utterances of St. Catharine of Siena,[k] and in order to contribute to the expenses of it, Urban sold the plate, the jewels, and other precious ornaments of churches, and even alienated ecclesiastical property without regard to the will of the incumbents.[l] In April 1380 he pronounced Joanna, as a heretic and schismatic, to be deprived of her kingdom and of all fiefs held under the Roman see, released her subjects from their allegiance, and proclaimed a crusade against her.[m] Charles was received at Rome with great honour, was anointed as king of Sicily, and was invested in the dominion of all southern Italy, except the papal city of Benevento, with Capua, Amalfi, and other places, which Urban wished to form into a principality for his nephew, Francis Prignano.[n] On the other hand, Joanna resolved to call in to her assistance Lewis, duke of Anjou, a prince of warlike character, whom she adopted as her heir; and the Avignon pope not only sanctioned this,[o] but professed to bestow on Lewis a portion of the papal states, which was to be styled the kingdom of Adria, on condition that neither he nor his successors should accept an election to the German crown, or to the lordship of Lombardy.[p] The gift was one which cost Clement

June 1, 1381.

June 29, 1380.

[k] Rayn. 1380. 5; Giannone, iv. 108; Catharine had in vain admonished the queen. Lett. 312, 317, 348, etc.

[l] Theod. Niem, i. 22; Milman, from MS. Brit. Mus. v. 411.

[m] Th. Niem, i. 19; Rayn. 1380. 2.

[n] There were certain conditions, by faiiure as to which the kingdom was to revert to the Roman see; *e.g.*, that it should not be in the same hands with the empire, that tribute should be paid, etc. (Rayn. 1381. 3-23). Theodoric of Niem says that Urban intended to make his nephew king of Trinacria. i. 8.

[o] Mart. Thes. i. 1380; Baluz. i. 501; Antonin. 399.

[p] The bull is in Dachery, iii. 746. See Giann. iv. 110; and for the honours paid to Lewis at Avignon, Mon. Sandion. i. 160; Juv. des Ursins, 22.

nothing, as the papal territory was in the hands of his rival, and there was a hope that, by professing to give a part, he might gain the assistance of Lewis towards the acquisition of the rest.[q] But the plan failed. While Lewis remained in France, busily engaged in securing the inheritance which had fallen to him by his brother's death,[r] Charles invaded southern Italy.[s] Otho, although distinguished for his military skill, was without money, and was unsupported by the people, who had been irritated by the demand of a heavy war-tax; and Charles, after having defeated him at San Germano,[t] got possession of Naples. The queen was compelled to surrender herself to the victor, and it is commonly believed that by his command she was smothered or strangled in prison.[u] Her death and the manner of it are said to have been determined by the advice of king Lewis of Hungary, who thus avenged, even in its very circumstances, the murder of his brother Andrew.[x] When at length Lewis of Anjou was able to enter Italy at the head of a powerful and brilliant army,[y] he found that the policy of Charles had raised up difficulties which beset him in his passage through Lombardy.[z] His troops suffered severely from the want of provisions and from the inclemency of the weather, while Charles declined meeting him in the field,

Jun. 28, 1381.

Aug. 26.

May, 1382.

[q] Schröckh, xxxi. 267.

[r] Schwab, 117.

[s] Giorn. Napol. 1041; Giann. iv. 111.

[t] It was supposed that the victory was gained by the help of sorcery. Theod. Niem, i. 24.

[u] Baluz. i. 501, 506; N. Donati in Murat. xv. 274. There are various accounts of Joanna's death. (See Gobel. Pers. 298; Giann. iv. 115-16; Murat. Ann. VIII. ii. 231, 236; Gregorov. vi. 514.) The Neapolitan diarist, in Murat. xxi. 1045, says that her body was publicly displayed, and that many persons nevertheless believed her to be still alive; but he says nothing of violence. According to Theodoric of Niem, she was strangled when at her devotions in a chapel (i. 25). As to the judgments passed on her character, see Milman, v. 413.

[x] "Nell' istesso modo." Giann. iv. 116.

[y] Froiss. ix. 105, 125-7; Gobel. 299; Giorn. Nap. 1046.

[z] Juv. des Ursins, 22.

and left these enemies to do their work,[a]—so that the soldiers, according to the expression of a contemporary, "died like dogs,"[b] and Lewis himself was carried off by a fever at Bari.[c] His force was utterly broken up, and gallant nobles, who had accompanied him in full confidence of victory,[d] were obliged to beg their way in rags back to France, while Charles remained undisputed sovereign of Naples.[e]

Sept. 21, 1384.

To Urban it seemed that the new king, of whose success he regarded himself as the author, was slow in showing the expected gratitude for his support, and especially in contributing to provide a territory for his nephew, Francis (who was commonly called Butillo).[f] He therefore resolved to go in person to Naples, and when his cardinals endeavoured to dissuade him, he burst into a fury, which seemed to confirm their suspicions of his sanity, and threatened to depose them.[g] At Aversa he was met by Charles, who received him with a show of honour, and acted as his esquire;[h] but both at Aversa and Naples he was closely guarded, from fear that he might engage in political intrigues;[i] and when this restraint was about to be relaxed, a difficulty was caused by the misconduct of the foolish and profligate Butillo, who seduced and carried off a noble and beautiful nun of the order of St. Clare.

Oct. 1383.

[a] Mon. Sandion. i. 335-6; Sism. Hist. Fr. xi. 447-9.

[b] Giorn. Napol. 1047.

[c] Mon. Sandion. i. 336; Giann. iv. 125-8. His will, dated Sept. 20, is in Martene, Thes. i. 1594, seqq.

[d] Mon. Sandion. i. 164.

[e] Baluz. i. 505, 510; Juv. des Urs. 44; Mon. Sandion. i. 338; Antonin. 391, 401; Sism. v. 267; Martin, v. 410. The English device of designating parties by red and white roses was anticipated by the factions of southern Italy at this time. Gobel. Pers. 304.

[f] Chron. Regg. in Murat. xviii. 91; Sism. v. 268. Theodoric of Niem says that Urban would even have made his nephew sultan of Babylon. Nemus Unionis, vi. 39.

[g] Th. Niem, i. 28; Baluz. i. 1270; Walsingh. ii. 105, 121.

[h] "Rex vero præcedens pontificem egit officium scutiferi." Theod. Niem, i. 29; cf. Giorn. Napol. 1048.

[i] Th. Niem, i. 31-2; Gobel. Pers. 299. Walsingham probably exaggerates the circumstances. ii. 121.

For this he was condemned to death by the king's court of justice; but Urban (who usually excused his nephew's excesses by the plea of youth, although Butillo had reached the age of forty),[k] declared that he himself was suzerain of the Apulian kingdom, and that in his presence no other tribunal had jurisdiction over a grandee.[l] Charles was unwilling to carry matters to an extremity, as the French invasion had not yet passed away.[m] The cardinals, therefore, were able to compound the dispute, by arranging that Butillo should marry a lady related to the king, and Urban withdrew with all his cardinals to Nocera.[n] May 16, 1384.

During his stay at Naples, Urban had deprived all such clergy of that city as were suspected of leaning to the opposite interest, and, in filling up the vacancies, he had put many low men into dignities for which they were grossly unfit. He had promoted at once thirty-two Neapolitans to archbishopricks and bishopricks.[o] He now resolved on a new creation of cardinals, among whom he wished to include the three ecclesiastical electors of Germany; but these all declined to bind themselves to his fortunes by accepting the doubtful honour.[p] And when he offered it to a number of the Neapolitan clergy, he had the double mortification of finding that they refused from fear of offending the king, and that the cardinalate was discredited in the general estimation by the characters of those whom he had thought worthy of it.[q]

Charles invited Urban to a conference, but was told in answer that it was for kings to wait on popes, not for popes to wait on kings; and he was charged to relieve his subjects from the heavy taxes which he had imposed on them. On hearing this he indignantly exclaimed that

[k] Th. Niem, i. 33.
[l] Ib. 34.
[m] Hefele, vi. 683.
[n] Giorn. Nap. 1052; Theod. Niem, l. c. Theodoric's descriptions of Nocera (cc. 38-40) and of Naples (ii. 22 are remarkable.
[o] Ib. 26.
[p] Gobel. Pers. 316.
[q] Theod. Niem, i. 44

the kingdom was his own,—that the pope had no concern with the government of any but the priests; and that he would go to Urban, but at the head of an army.[r] For some weeks the pope was besieged in Nocera, where he showed himself at a window three or four times a-day, pronouncing with bell and lighted candle the sentence of excommunication against his besiegers.[s] He even talked of deposing Charles in punishment for his ingratitude. The old man's perverseness, self-will, and irritability became intolerable even to the cardinals of his own promotion; and some of them submitted to an able, but somewhat unscrupulous, lawyer, Bartoline of Piacenza,[t] a set of questions, among which was this—whether, if a pope should conduct himself in such a way as to endanger the weal of Christendom by negligence, obstinacy, and engrossing all power, to the exclusion of the advice of the cardinals, these would not be warranted in placing him under the charge of curators.[u] Bartoline replied in the affirmative, and other opinions to the same effect were obtained, although some of those who were consulted thought otherwise. Urban, on being informed of this proceeding by a cardinal who was not concerned in it, caused six of the cardinals to be thrown into Jan. 11, 1385. a dungeon which had been formerly used as a cistern,[x] and after a time brought them to trial before his consistory. By the application of torture, they were driven to confess anything that was required; and while Butillo stood by, laughing immoderately at their agonies and shrieks, his uncle walked up and down in the adjoining garden, calmly reciting his canonical hours in a loud

[r] Giorn. Napol. 1052.

[s] Ib. 1052; Gobel. Pers. 299; Antonin. 402; Giann. iv. 128-9.

[t] "Audaci et ingenioso, qui solitus erat plerumque defendere iniquas causas ut quomodolibet lucraretur." Th. Niem, i. 42.

[u] Ib. St. Antoninus says that they spoke of deposing him (402). Gobelin Persona says that they had a scheme for bringing him to trial, and burning him as a heretic. 300-1.

[x] See C. Zantfliet in Murat. Coll. Ampl. v. 326; Walsingh. ii. 122-3.

tone, so that the executioners might be aware of his presence, and might do their work with vigour.[y] The cardinals were then remanded to their prison, where they suffered from hunger and thirst, from darkness, stench, and vermin; one of them, De Sangro, whose place of confinement was seen by Theodoric of Niem, had not room to stretch himself in any direction.[z]

At length Urban, for whose surrender 10,000 florins had been offered,[a] was rescued from his uneasy position by Thomas of San Severino,[b] and hurried, with his prisoners, across the country to a place on the Adriatic coast, between Trani and Barletta,[c] where he had arranged that a Genoese fleet should be ready to receive him.[d] The bishop of Aquila, who was unable from illness to ride so fast as the rest of the party, was killed on the way by the pope's command.[e] The six cardinals were carried to Palermo, and thence to Genoa;[f] and there five of them were put to death, with circumstances of mystery which have given rise to a variety of reports—that they were beheaded in prison, that they were buried alive, or that they were put into sacks and cast into the sea.[g] The sixth, Adam Easton, cardinal of St. Cecilia, was spared at the intercession of his sovereign, Richard II., but was degraded from his dignity, and was kept in rigorous imprisonment until

Sept. 14, 1385.

[y] Theod. Niem, i. 51-2. Walsingham says that they were afterwards brought out in the public consistory, where all avowed the conspiracy except the cardinal of England, who admitted only that he had complained of the pope's pride. ii. 124.

[z] Th. Niem, i. 43, 45, 50.

[a] Baluz. Collectio Nova, 225.

[b] Antonin. 391, 402.

[c] This flight is fully related by Gobelin Persona, who joined Urban on the way. 302-7.

[d] In consideration of this assistance, Urban had promised a gift of some lands, which Theodoric questions his right to alienate (i. 53). Gobelin says that the ships touched at Corneto, and that "the pope gave that place to the Genoese." 308.

[e] "Sed si papa potest mandare aut facere aliquem interfici absque irregularitatis nota, non recolo me legisse." Th. Niem, i. 56.

[f] G. Stella in Murat. xvii. 1127-8.

[g] See Th. Niem, i. 60; Gobel. Pers. 310; Giorn. Nap. 1052; Vit. I. Clem. VII. ap. Baluz. 513; Annal. Janu-

after the death of Urban,[h] by whose successor he was reinstated. Two other cardinals, alarmed by the fate of their fellows, made their way from Genoa to Avignon, where they were admitted into the rival college by Clement;[i] one of them, Pileo de Prata, archbishop of Ravenna, having publicly burnt his official hat at Pavia.[k]

Within little more than a year after his arrival at Genoa, Urban quarrelled with the doge, to whom he had been indebted for his safety; and he left the city in the middle of December 1386 for Lucca. There he was urged by envoys from the princes of Germany to take measures for ending the schism; but he answered that he was the true pope, and could not throw doubt on his title.[l] From Lucca he removed to Perugia, but he was compelled to leave that place by the scandal which had been occasioned

enses, in Murat. xvii. 1127; Schröckh, xxxi. 274-5.

[h] Theod. Niem, i. 57; Walsingh. ii. 197. Easton is described as learned not only in Greek, but in Hebrew, and as a voluminous writer. He has been styled bishop of London and of Hereford, but wrongly. In an intercessory letter from the Benedictines of England, whose order he had belonged to (Letters from Northern Registers, Chron. and Mem. 424), he is styled "Quondam cardinali Norwycensi," which may mean that he was born at one of the Eastons in the diocese of Norwich, although Bishop Godwin doubtfully refers his birth to Hereford. (Godwin, 793; cf. Ciacon. ii. 648-9.)

[i] Baluz. i. 515.

[k] Gobel. Pers. 309; see Mansi in Rayn. t. vii. 491. There is a letter from Pileo and four other cardinals to the Roman clergy, of date 1385, in Baluz. Coll. Nova, No. 226, setting forth Urban's misdeeds—"ut videatur insano similis et furenti,"—and promising to come speedily to Rome, and take measures for healing the disorders of the church by a general council or otherwise. After Urban's death, Pileo was sent into Italy to oppose Boniface IX., but went over to him, and, from being once more created a cardinal, was styled the three-hatted. "Cardinalis de Tricapelli, hoc est, trium capellorum, id est, a tribus capellatus," says one of Clement's partisans, who adds, "Utinam adhuc exstans sit a quarto, sic tamen quod capellus sibi tradatur de chalybe, ære, vel ferro candenti, ut sic extinguatur ejus ambitio, et protervitas confundatur" (Vita I. Clem. 524. See Baluz. i. 1359; Antonin. 414; Ciacon. ii. 63). The other cardinal, Galeotto Tarlati, of Pietra Mala, died of the stone, and thus became the subject of an epitaph by Nicolas of Clemanges:—

"Cui Mala Petra dedit nomen, petra morbida, læthum,
Nunc petra dat tumulum da, petra Christe, polum."—Nic. Ep. xii p. 50.

[l] Th. Niem, i. 66. While at Lucca he forcibly translated Serafino, bishop of Reggio, to a poorer see, in punishment of misconduct, which is remarkable as related in the Reggio Chronicle, Murat. xviii. 95.

by his nephew Butillo's licentiousness,[m] and in August 1388 he returned to Rome.

Charles of Durazzo, having firmly established himself in the kingdom of Naples, set off, in compliance with an invitation from a party in Hungary, to assert his claims to the throne of that country, where Mary, the daughter of king Lewis, notwithstanding a law which excluded females from the crown, had been chosen "king" on her father's death in 1382.[n] Charles had sworn that he would not disturb the daughters of Lewis in their inheritance; but Mary was persuaded to resign, and he was solemnly crowned in her stead. He was not, however, long allowed to enjoy his new acquisition. Through the contrivance of the late king's widow he was treacherously attacked by assassins, and he died of his wounds soon after; when the Hungarian crown again fell to Mary, who had been betrothed to Sigismund, son of the emperor Charles IV.[o] Feb. 1386. Urban made difficulties as to allowing Christian burial to Charles, and refused to invest his son Ladislaus, a boy only ten years old, in the Neapolitan kingdom;[p] but by thus indulging his enmity against Charles and his family, he encouraged the interest of his own rival, who favoured the claims of the younger Lewis of Anjou to the Neapolitan crown. The kingdom was for a time a prey to anarchy, while the effect of the schism in weakening the papacy aided the designs of John Galeazzo Visconti—a deeply politic and utterly unscrupulous man, who had deposed and poisoned his uncle Bernabò[q]—to gain a predominating influence in Italy.[r] A.D. 1383. Urban, on his return to Rome, had been coldly received, and he afterwards in-

[m] Th. Niem, i. 67. For Butillo's end, see ib. ii. 31.

[n] Mailáth. i. 102-9.

[o] Cron. Est. in Murat. xv. 512; Rayn. 1386. 1; Giann. l. xxiv. c. 2; Mail. i. 110-12; Aschbach, i. 31.

[p] Giorn. Nap. 1053; Giann. iv. 139; Schröckh, xxxi. 376.

[q] Annal. Mediol. in Murat. xvi. 147; Cron. Bologn. ib. xviii. 525; Theod. Niem, i. 57.

[r] See Annal. Mediol. in Murat. xvi. 788, 821-30, etc.; Sism. R. I., v. 292-3,

creased his unpopularity with the citizens. With a view at once of conciliating them[s] and of bringing money into the treasury of the church, he announced a jubilee. Out of tenderness (as he professed) to those who might be too severely tried by the interval of fifty years between such solemnities, the time was to be reduced to thirty-three years, the length of the Saviour's earthly life; and by this calculation he determined that the next celebration should fall in the year 1390.[t] But some weeks before the beginning of that year, the pope, who had been severely shaken by a fall from his mule, died;[u] and the benefits of his preparations were reaped by his successor.

Oct. 15, 1389.

From time to time attempts had been made to put an end to the schism. Thus in 1381 the university of Paris, disgusted by Clement's proceedings, gave an opinion that a general council should be called for this purpose.[x] In 1387, Clement, feeling himself pressed by the authority of the university, professed himself willing to refer the question to a council, and offered, if Urban would submit to him, to give him the highest place among the cardinals.[y] Urban also professed his readiness to submit to a council; but he added a condition which made the offer nugatory—that he himself should in the meantime be acknowledged as the only pope. Clement is said to

351-3. Wenceslaus, finding that he could not form a league against John Galeazzo, gave him a legitimate title by erecting Milan into a duchy, which was a fief of the empire, A.D. 1395. (Th. Niem, ii. 25; Antonin. 438.) This affair was partly negotiated for Galeazzo by Peter, bishop of Vicenza, who afterwards became Alexander V. (Ann. Mediol. in Murat. xvi. 821.) A [illegible] sermon on the duke, by an Austin friar (in Murat. xvi. 1038-50), is a remarkable specimen of eulogy, and there is a curious character of him by the Monk of St. Denys, l. xxiv. c. 8. He used to say that a maiden might safely carry gold in her hand throughout his territories—he himself being the only robber in them. Ib.

[s] Antonin. 404.

[t] J. de Mussis, in Murat. xvi. 540; Th. Niem, i. 68; Thorn, in Twysd. 2195. The bull is in Andr. Ratisb., ap. Pez, IV. iii. 587.

[u] Th. Niem, i. 69; Antonin. 404.

[x] Henr. de Hassia, 'Concilium Pacis,' c. 13, in Gerson Opp. ii. 826.

[y] Bul. iv. 618.

have induced persons of influence in the French court, by frequent and costly presents, to refrain from exerting themselves for the closing of the schism ;[z] and, as the princes of Latin Christendom had been guided by their former political connexion in the choice of sides as to the question of the papacy, it is remarked by a writer of the time, Richard of Ulverstone, that but for the quarrels of nations the schism would neither have been so lightly begun nor so long kept up.[a]

On the 1st of November the cardinals of Urban's party chose as his successor Peter Tomacelli,[b] cardinal of St. Anastasia, who took the name of Boniface IX. The new pope, according to some authorities, was only thirty years of age ; but others, with greater probability, make him fourteen years older.[c] He is described as possessed of some showy personal qualities, but without any learning or any such knowledge of affairs as would have fitted him for his position—although this last defect was afterwards in some degree remedied by experience.[d]

The schism, by throwing on western Christendom the cost of maintaining a second pontifical court, added greatly to the burdens which had before been matter of complaint. Clement VII. endeavoured to swell his income by the most unscrupulous means, and the grievances of his administration excited loud outcries from the church of France. He surrounded himself with a body of no less than thirty-six cardinals, for whom he provided by usurping the patronage of all the church-preferment that he could get into his hands.[e] A new kind of document

[z] Bul. iv. 685; Lenfant, Conc. de Pise, i. 65.

[a] Ap. V. d. Hardt, i. 1170.

[b] C. Zantfliet calls him *Tornacellus* (*i.e.* a whipping-top), and plays on the name.

[c] Th. Niem, ii. 6. St. Antoninus says that he was thirty-four. See Rayn. 1389. 12; Schröckh, xxxii. 90; Gregorov. vi. 528.

[d] Th. Niem, ii. 6; Vita I. Clem. ap. Baluz. 524.

[e] Juv. des Ursins, 51; Mon. Sandion. i. 82, who says that in Urban's obedience churches were exempted from tithes and had free elections, and

was introduced under the name of *gratiæ exspectativæ*, by which the reversion of a benefice was conferred, and the receiver was authorized to take possession as soon as a vacancy should occur.[f] The old resources—such as reservations, tenths, dispensations of all kinds, and the *jus exuviarum* (which was now exercised on the property of abbots as well as on that of bishops)—were worked to the uttermost, and were developed in ways before unknown.[g] Promotion was bestowed for money or other improper considerations, without regard to the merit or fitness of the receivers; and, as learning was no longer regarded as a qualification for preferment, schools and colleges were broken up, and even the university of Paris found itself comparatively deserted by students.[h] While the French church and people groaned under these evils, the pope, by bestowing a part of the spoil on princes and powerful nobles, contrived to secure their connivance;[i] but a royal edict of 1385 in some degree, although very imperfectly, corrected the abuses which had arisen.[k]

While the French pope was endeavouring to swell his revenues by simony and rapacity, Urban VI. was honourably distinguished by his freedom from such practices;[l] and his successor, Boniface, is said to have so far regarded the opinion of the elder cardinals that for the first seven years of his pontificate he refrained from open simony.

that there was no interference with the rights of patrons, while Clement was allowed by the king and nobles to oppress the church of France.

[f] Schröckh, xxxi. 279.

[g] Mon. Sandion. i. 82-3, 86, 398, 696; Gieseler, II. iii. 141-2; Dacher. Spicil. i. 780. As to annates, see V. d. Hardt, i. 764.

[h] Mon. Sandion. i. 86; Juv. des Urs. 11; Bul. iv. 884; Giesel. II. iii. 141; Martin, v. 349.

[i] De Corrupto Eccl. Statu, xxvii. 4, in Nic. de Clemangis Opera, p. 26 (but perhaps wrongly ascribed to him—see Giesel. II. iii. 208, although Schwab maintains the old opinion, 493-4); Baluz. i. 537; Mon. Sandion. i. 88.

[k] Lib. de l' Egl. Gall. ii. 560; Mon. Sandion. i. 398. Charles himself taxed the clergy heavily, under the pretext that the schism put him to great expenses for embassies, etc. Hefele, vi. 742.

[l] See above, note *

But when the old men were dead, he entered on a course of rapacity grosser and more shameless than anything that had ever been known.[m] Boniface reserved to himself the first year's income of all bishopricks and abbeys. Persons who aspired to preferment of this kind were required to pay for it in advance, and, if unprovided with ready money, they were obliged to borrow at extravagant interest from the brokers who hung about the papal court.[n] Unions of benefices were simoniacally made,[o] and men utterly ignorant were allowed, if they paid sufficiently, to be exempt from the laws against pluralities.[p] Spies were sent throughout Lombardy and other countries of Boniface's obedience, to discover whether any incumbents of rich benefices were ill, and to give early notice of any vacancy to their employers.[q] The "spoils" of prelates and cardinals were plundered before the owners were actually dead. The same reversions were sold repeatedly, the last buyers having their papers marked for preference;[r] but as this practice became so well known that after a time purchasers could not be found on such terms, a form of precedence over all other preferences was devised in order to attract and assure them, and was, of course, sold at a much higher price.[s] The pope affected to check these abuses by enacting rules, and found a new

[m] Th. Niem, ii. 7; Antonin. 404. "Erat enim insatiabilis vorago, et in avaritia nullus ei similis . . . nec credo quod unquam adeo inverecundus et ingeniosus quæstor pecuniarum repertus fuerit prout erat pontifex Bonifacius." (Th. Niem, 11.) It has been supposed that this writer, who had been the pope's secretary, was actuated by private malice in describing Boniface's character; but the suspicion appears to be groundless. As to the exactions of the curia, with its multitudes of officers, see the "Aureum Speculum Papæ," in Fascic. Rer. Exp. et Fug. i. 94-5. The writer thinks "quod tota Romana curia est in via damnationis . . . omnis enim curtisanus ipso facto sui officii videtur particeps simoniæ."

[n] Th. Niem, ii. 7; Id. Vita Joh. XXIII. in V. d. Hardt, ii. 345-7.

[o] Th. Niem, ii. 7.

[p] Gobel. Pers. 317.

[q] Th. Niem, ii. 8. This practice had been anticipated by Clement. Bul. iv. 582.

[r] "Anteferri." Th. Niem, ii. 8, 9. Juvenal des Ursins speaks of this as practised by Clement also. 11.

[s] Th. Niem, ii. 9.

source of profit in granting exemptions from his rules.[t] By a like policy he revoked the indulgences, privileges, and other benefits which he had irregularly bestowed, and made the revocation a ground for fresh exactions.[u] Even after the first year's income of a benefice had been paid in order to secure the presentation, the purchaser was liable to see it carried off by a later comer who was willing to pay more highly; for in such cases the pope professed to believe that those who had made the lower offers intended to cheat him.[x] The system of corruption became continually more ingenious and refined.[y] Members of mendicant orders were allowed, on payment of a hundred gold florins, to transfer themselves to orders which did not profess mendicancy; and the world was astonished at seeing such payments made by persons who were bound by their rules to possess nothing.[z] The traffic in indulgences was carried out more thoroughly than before.[a] The pope himself was not above accepting the smallest gains,[b] and his mother, who is described as the greediest of women, with his three brothers, found opportunities of enriching themselves.[c] The theory which some had maintained at an earlier time,[d] that a pope could not become guilty of simony, was brought forward by Boniface's friends as the only plea by which his practices could be justified.[e] Among those who obtained preferment by such means as were then necessary were many worthless and unfit persons,[f] and for a long time afterwards the clergy of the "Bonifacian plantation, which the heavenly Father planted not," were

[t] Schröckh, xxxi. 294.
[u] Gobel. Pers. 321-3.
[x] Th. Niem. ii. 9.
[y] Ib. 11-12.
[z] Gobel. Pers. 317.
[a] Antonin. 414.
[b] Th. Niem, ii. 12; Gregorov. vi. 529.
[c] Th. Niem, ii. 13. St. Antoninus says that the sons of the brothers came to poverty, "ut eorum exemplo discant cæteri de patrimonio Crucifixi nolle ditari." 414. Cf. Platina, 277; Rayn. 1397. 4.
[d] See vol. v. p. 373.
[e] Th. Niem, ii. 32; see Giesel. II. iii. 149.
[f] Th. Niem, ii. 12.

noted as the least reputable of their class.[g] In some countries, such as England or Hungary, the extravagance of the charges exacted by the Roman court on appointment to ecclesiastical dignities produced an effect which Boniface had not reckoned on, as the clergy of those countries ceased to resort to Rome, and the connexion of the national churches with the papacy was practically suspended.[h]

Boniface, at his accession, found the jubilee of 1390 prepared for him by his predecessor; and, notwithstanding the difficulties of the time—the separation of France from the Roman papacy, and the consequent absence of French pilgrims, with the disturbed state of affairs, which placed extraordinary hindrances in the way of travellers—a large number of visitors appeared, and great sums were contributed to the papal treasury. In consideration of the impediments which made the journey hazardous, Boniface sent emissaries into the kingdoms which acknowledged him, with a commission to offer the benefits of the jubilee and a dispensation from the necessity of visiting Rome in person; and although it is said that much of the money paid for this indulgence was embezzled by the collectors, it brought in a large addition to the profits of the jubilee—which, while a portion of them was bestowed on the repairs of the Roman churches, were mostly retained for the pope's own use.[i] The difficulty as to

[g] Gerson de Modis Uniendi, etc., Ecclesiam, Opera, ii. 194.

[h] Th. Niem, de Necessitate Reformationis, in V. d. Hardt, i. 284-5. The English were especially irritated by the system of making the vacancy of a high dignity a pretext for promoting five or six persons—each gaining a step, and paying the dues on it. See Rymer, vii. 672; Eulog. Hist. iii. 368.

[i] Th. Niem, i. 68, who says that the "quæstuaries" who were sent to hawk about the indulgences sold them to the credulous people without requiring any condition of repentance. Some of them were enriched, but many came to bad ends: "Justum enim erat ut hi qui taiter Christianum populum deceperunt eorum avaritiæ consulentes male perderentur." For a later preaching of indulgences under Boniface, see the same writer's Life of John XXIII., in V. d. Hardt, ii. 340-4.

Naples, which Urban had left to his successor, was overcome by Boniface's acknowledging Ladislaus as king, and thus securing himself against the risk that the kingdom might fall under the spiritual obedience of the Avignon pope, who had crowned the younger Lewis of Anjou as its sovereign.[k] Boniface also complied with the wishes of Ladislaus by sanctioning his groundless and scandalous divorce and re-marriage,[l] and by crowning him as king of Hungary. But in that country Mary and her husband Sigismund were so firmly established that Ladislaus withdrew from the attempt to dispossess them.[m]

Nov. 1, 1389.

With his own subjects Boniface had serious discords, which obliged him to leave Rome for Perugia in 1393; and from that time he lived in provincial towns until the approach of the jubilee of 1400, when the Romans, considering that the absence of the pope would probably reduce the number of pilgrims and the profits of the celebration, made overtures for his return. Boniface, although he had already benefited by the calculation which fixed a jubilee for 1390, was very willing to fall back on the scheme which allowed him to celebrate a second jubilee within ten years; and, feeling the importance of his presence to the Romans, he took advantage of it to make stipulations which, among other things, removed the democratic bannerets from a share of the government and placed the control of it in the pope's own hands.[n] The jubilee was attended by great multitudes; the French had been eager for it,[o] and flocked to Rome, notwithstanding their king's prohibition,[p] and in defiance of the dangers with which the journey was beset from robbers and from the rude and licentious soldiery who

[k] Baluz. i. 523; Th. Niem, ii. 14-17.
[l] Gobel. Pers. 323.
[m] Th. Niem, ii. 17; Antonin. 458.
[n] Platina, 275; Gregorov, vi. 533-4, 537-8.
[o] Th. Niem, ii. 28.
[p] Lenfant, Conc. de Pise, i. 125. The prohibition is in Lib. de l'Égl Gall. ii. 462.

swarmed in Italy.[q] From those who were unable or unwilling to undertake the expedition, Boniface contrived to draw large contributions by allowing them, on the payment of offerings, to commute it for the visitation of certain churches in their own neighbourhood.[r] By the wealth derived from the jubilee, and by the produce of the exactions already described, the pope was enabled to repair the fortress of St. Angelo and the harbour of Ostia, to fortify the Capitol and the Vatican, to recover some portions of the papal territory, and to gain such a power over Rome itself as no one of his predecessors in late times had enjoyed.[s]

Early in his pontificate Boniface endeavoured, by repeated letters and missives, to draw the French king into renouncing the obedience of Clement.[t] The university of Paris was diligent in endeavouring to heal the schism, and in January 1394 obtained leave from the duke of Berri, who was then in power during one of the king's attacks of lunacy, to give its judgment on the subject. A chest was set to receive the opinions of members of the academic body, and it is said that upwards of ten thousand papers were thrown into it.[u] The plans proposed in these opinions were found to be reducible to three—that both popes should abdicate; that they should agree, by a compromise, on a list of persons to whose arbitration the matter should be committed; and that it should be referred to a general council.[x] On

[q] Th. Niem, ii. 28. From the concourse at this jubilee a plague was spread all over Europe. Monstrel. i. 80; Bardin, in Preuves de l' Hist. de Langued. iv. 32.

[r] This was, for example, first allowed as to Cologne, and afterwards was extended to insignificant towns or monasteries of Germany (Gobel. Pers. 320). For the special privilege granted to the Bolognese, see Cron. Bologn. in Murat. xviii. 553-4.

[s] Th. Niem, ii. 13-14; Antonin. 414; Gobel. Pers. 316; Gregorov. vi. 540, 547-8, 677.

[t] Dach. Spicil. i. 768-70 (A.D. 1391-3).

[u] Mon. Sandion. xiv. 10; Dach. Spicil. i. 769 (where there is a blank for the number); Schröckh, xxxi. 283.

[x] Dach. Spicil. i. 777-8; Mon. Sandion. l. c.

this basis the judgment of the university was drawn up by Nicholas of Clemanges (who was styled the "Cicero of his age"), with the assistance of Peter d'Ailly and Giles Deschamps; and it was submitted to the king, who had again become capable of attending to business.[y] But Charles, although he thanked the members of the university for their pains, was persuaded by cardinal de Luna and other friends of Clement to desire that they would not concern themselves further with the matter; and the professors suspended their teaching until their representation should receive due attention.[z] The judgment was forwarded to pope Clement,[a] who declared it to be defamatory of the apostolic see, full of venom and detraction, and unfit to be read; but on finding that his cardinals were inclined to the opinion of the university, he was thrown into an agitation which in a few days put an end to his life on the 16th of September 1394.[b]

June 30, 1394.

On this, Charles of France, at the instigation of the university of Paris, and with the hope of bringing the schism to an end, wrote two letters to the cardinals of the Avignon court, desiring that they would not be in haste to elect a new pope.[c] But his first letter found them already assembled in conclave, although not yet shut in; and suspecting its purport, they resolved to leave it unopened until the election should have been decided.[d] Each member of the college took an oath that, if elected, he would labour for the extinction of the schism, even to the extent of resigning, if such a step should be for the benefit of the church, or if the cardinals, or a majority of

Sept. 22-4.

Sept. 26.

[y] Mon. Sandion. xv. 3; Dach. Spicil. i. 777, seqq.; Bul. iv. 687.
[z] Mon. Sandion. xv. 4; Bul. iv. 710.
[a] Spicil. i. 785; Bul. iv. 699-700.
[b] Mon. Sandion. xv. 5. See Bul. iv. 701.
[c] Mon. Sandion. xv. 6, 7; Dach. Spicil. i. 770; Lenfant, i. 73.
[d] Mon. Sandion. xv. 8; Dach. Spicil. i. 771.

them, should think it expedient;[e] and they chose Peter de Luna, cardinal of St. Mary in Cosmedin, who styled himself Benedict XIII.[f] The Sept. 28. new pope, a Spaniard, had been noted for his ability as a negotiator; he had obtained for Clement the adhesion of Castile, and at Paris had raised up a party in opposition to the university.[g] Although he was one of those who had begun the schism by the election of Clement at Fondi, he had been accustomed to lament that step, to blame Clement for the policy by which the separation was continued, and to profess an eager desire for the reunion of the church at whatever sacrifice.[h] But it soon became evident how little he was disposed to act sincerely on his former professions. He had at the election avowed an opinion that the oath which was proposed could not bind the pope except so far as every Catholic was bound by right and conscience;[i] and although he still continued to speak as before—declaring that, if he himself only were concerned, he would put off the papacy as readily as if it were a cloak, that he would rather spend his remaining days in a desert than give occasion for prolonging the schism[k]—he was now able to put his own interpretation on his late engagement.

The university of Paris took continually a more active part in endeavouring to heal the schism. It offered its

[e] Dach. Spicil. i. 771; Baluz. i. 567. Lenfant remarks that these conditions left room for evasion. Conc. de Pise, i. 75.

[f] Dach. Spicil. i. 771; Mon. Sandion. l. xv. 8. Froissart says that the election was made subject to the French king's approval, and cries out against the subserviency to which the church had been reduced. (xiii. 190.) The election had taken place a fortnight, when Boniface wrote from Rome, to beg that the French king would prevent such a proceeding. Dach. Spicil. i. 787.

[g] See above, pp. 210, 230; Mariana, t. ii. 209; Baluz. ii. 925-6, 1182, seqq.

[h] Th. Niem, ii. 33; Lenf. Conc. de Pise, i. 70.

[i] Baluz. ii. 1107-8. "Whatsoever promises might be made [at elections], the pope could never be bound by the oaths of the cardinals." Gibbon, vi. 397.

[k] Mon. Sandion. l. xv. 9; Joh. Parvus, ap. Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. Præf. xlii.: Hefele, vi. 705-6.

advice to Benedict, and requested him to exert himself for the union of the church; but the letter received only an evasive reply.[1] The leaders of the university, Peter d'Ailly, Nicolas of Clemanges, and John Gerson, were opposed alike to the papal despotism and to any schemes which would have proposed to remedy this by a revolution in the system of the church. But in the meantime the increasing pressure of the evils which arose out of the schism drove others into speculations as to the means of healing it which touched the very foundations of the papal power.

Feb. 2. On the Festival of the Purification, 1395, a national council was held at Paris. The king was prevented from attending by an attack of his terrible malady; but the princes of the royal house were present, and among the clergy were the titular patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem, seven archbishops, and a great number of bishops, with representatives of the monastic orders and of the universities. Simon de Cramault, patriarch of Alexandria and administrator of the diocese of Carcassonne, presided.[m] Before this assembly was read the judgment of the university in favour of the plan that both popes should resign. It was adopted by a majority of 87 to 22;[n] and after it had been formally reported by the prelates to the king,[o] a mission, headed by the dukes of Berri, Burgundy, and Orleans, proceeded

[1] Dach. Spicil. i. 772-3; Juv. des Urs. 106; Mon. Sandion. l. xv. 10; Bul. iv. 713-16, 724.

[m] Mon. Sandion. t. ii. 218; Juv. des Urs. 167; Dach. Spicil. i. 773-4; Mansi, xxvi. 773, seqq.; Bul. iv. 732; Hefele, vi. 708. Peter d'Ailly had shortly before been sent by the king to Avignon, but the answer which he brought back is unknown. (Spicil. i. 773; Mon. Sandion. t. ii. 218, 224.) Schwab describes Cramault as a man who spoke loudly for unity, but in reality looked only to his selfish objects; who agitated the university on the question until, after the council of Pisa, he got the archbishoprick of Reims and the dignity of cardinal (135). Benedict styles him and the abbot of St. Michel, "tocius perturbacionis et discordie auctores." Mon. Sandion. t. ii. 756.

[n] Mon. Sandion. l. xv. 11-12; Spicil. i. 774; Mansi, xxvi. 785.

[o] Ib. 786.

to Avignon, for the purpose of laying before Benedict the various courses which had been proposed with a view to end the schism, and of recommending the way of cession as the speediest and most dignified.[p] At the same time a letter of similar purport was addressed to Benedict by the university of Paris.[q] The cardinals, although it is said that high words passed among them,[r] for the most part declared themselves in favour of the proposed scheme;[s] but Benedict, after much delay and many evasions, professed to think that a conference between himself and his rival would be more hopeful;[t] while to one who visited him he declared that he would rather be flayed alive than resign,[u] and he wrote letters of remonstrance both to king Charles and to the duke of Burgundy.[x] The representatives of the university were indignant at the rudeness which they experienced from the pope's servants and at his refusal to receive them publicly, and the embassy left Avignon in disgust,—the duke of Berri, in the name of the rest, refusing an invitation to the pope's table.[y] The proposal of a conference was received with general disfavour, as it was suspected that such a meeting would result in an agreement for the partition of Christendom between the two popes, and consequently would prolong the schism.[z]

June 20.

[p] Informatio Seriosa, in Baluz. ii. 1110; Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 437, 487; Mansi, xxvi. 787, 795-6. Cf. Mon. Sandion. l. xvi. 1; Juv. des Urs. 108.

[q] Mansi, xxvi. 798; Bul. iv. 740.

[r] Juv. des Urs. 111.

[s] Dach. Spicil. i. 791-4; cf. Baluz. ii. 1113; Mart. Coll. Ampl. 530, seqq.; Mon. Sandion. l. xvi. 4, 10. While the princes were at Villeneuve, on the opposite side of the Rhone, the bridge which connected it with Avignon was partly burnt; and this was generally supposed to have been done by Benedict's contrivance, in order to check the frequency of their negotiations with those around him. He denied on oath that he had any concern in it, and perhaps it may have been the work of persons who wished to keep the dukes at a distance from him. See Mon. Sandion. xvi. 7; Juv. des Urs. 111; Hist. Langued. iv. 409.

[t] Dach. Spicil. i. 789; Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 528; Mon. Sandion. xvi. 2-6, 13.

[u] Mansi, xxvi. 870.

[x] Dach. Spicil. i. 794; Bul. iv. 748.

[y] Juv. des Urs. 113; Mon. Sandion. l. xvi. 11.

[z] Schmidt, iv. 38.

Still eager to bring the schism to an end, the king of France endeavoured to enlist other princes in the same cause, while the university of Paris entered into correspondence with universities of other countries on the subject.[a] From Cologne a letter had been received, exhorting the Parisians to labour for peace, but showing an inclination to the side of Boniface.[b] From Oxford came a declaration in favour of a general council;[c] but king Richard of England preferred the scheme of a cession, and wrote to both popes in recommendation of it.[d] The university of Toulouse maintained, in opposition to that of Paris, that not even a general council has authority to judge the pope;[e] and in this, as in other matters, the Dominicans held against the Parisian university, from which they had been excluded some years before on account of their resistance to the doctrine of the immaculate conception.[f] Provoked by opposition, Benedict condemned some members of the university to the loss of their preferments; whereupon the academical body appealed against him to a future, sole, and real pope; and when he declared appeals from the pope to be unlawful, it repeated the act, asserting that schismatical and heretical popes were subject in life to the judgment of general councils, and after death to that of their own successors.[g]

In March 1398 the emperor Wenceslaus and the king of France met at Reims, with a view to settling the termination of the schism.[h] It was agreed that abdication

[a] Mon. Sandion. xvi. 14; xvii. 1; Schröckh, xxxi. 315-16; Martin, v. 445.

[b] Dach. Spicil. i. 782-3 (with the answer). Cf. Bul. iv. 703.

[c] Ib. 776, seqq. See Goldast, i. 229-32, for the opinions of universities to this effect.

[d] Mon. Sandion. xvii. 11; Bul. iv. 755, seqq.; Milm. v. 445. Richard styled Benedict cardinal, but gave Boniface the title of sovereign pontiff.

[e] Hist. de Langued. iv. 410.

[f] See below, c. xi. iii. 4.

[g] Bul. iv. 803, 825, etc.; Schröckh, xxxi. 317; Schwab, 143.

[h] Froissart mentions the splendour of the reception. (l. iv. c. 62.) Wenceslaus disgusted the French king by his coarse excesses. When engaged to dine with Charles, as he did not ap-

should be recommended both to Benedict and to Boniface, with a view to the appointment of a new pope, who should be chosen by the cardinals of both parties; and, if this recommendation should be neglected, each of the sovereigns undertook to depose the pope to whom he had before adhered.[i] Peter d'Ailly, now bishop of Cambray, was sent to the courts of Rome and Avignon with a charge to announce this resolution; but the mission was ineffectual, as each pope, although he did not absolutely reject the proposal, insisted that his rival should be the first to resign.[k]

Another national council was held at Paris in May 1398, under the presidency of the patriarch of Alexandria.[l] The question was proposed, whether, if Benedict should obstinately refuse to resign, the French should continue to acknowledge him, or whether they should withdraw their obedience, either entirely, or in so far as regarded the patronage and temporalities which he had usurped? A committee of twelve, chosen equally from among the friends and the opponents of Benedict, drew up a statement of the reasons, on the one hand, for adhesion, and on the other hand for total or partial withdrawal. After a discussion of twelve days, two hundred and forty-seven members out of three hundred pronounced for a total withdrawal;[m] and, some weeks later, this resolution was confirmed by the king, who had then recovered in some

June 3 to July 28.

pear, he was sent for, and was found to be already drunk and asleep. (Mon. Sandion. l. xviii. 10, 112.) Rupert, count palatine, whose son, of the same name, afterwards superseded Wenceslaus as king of the Romans, had endeavoured in a letter to dissuade him from going to Reims, at the same time advising him as to the course which he should take if he went. Martene, Thes. ii. 1172; Lenf. Conc. de Pise, i. 103.

[i] Mon. Sandion. p. 570.

[k] Mansi, xxvi. 1198; Froiss. xiv. 126-35; Hefele, vi. 726. Similar answers had already been given to deputations. Antonin. 416.

[l] Mon. Sandion. l. xix. 2. See the acts in Bourgeois de Chastenet, Append. pp. 3, seqq.

[m] Ib. 4, 55, seqq., 79; Mon. Sandion. l. xix. 2; Gersoniana, 20; Juv. des Urs. 133; Bul. iv. 829, seqq.; Lenf. Conc. de Pise, i. 110; Hefele, vi. 729.

degree from an attack of madness. The subjects of the crown were forbidden to obey Benedict, or to pay any of the ecclesiastical revenues to him. The king declared that capitular and monastic elections should be free from the control which popes had exercised over them, and he annulled the "expectative" presentations which Benedict had granted.[n] But Benedict, on being informed of the resolutions of the council, declared that nothing should make him resign the dignity which God had been pleased to bestow on him.[o]

On this, the marshal of France, Boucicault, was sent with a force to Avignon, where the citizens admitted him within their walls, while the cardinals with-
A.D. 1398. drew across the Rhone to the French town of Villeneuve, leaving one of their number, whose tastes and habits were military, in command of Avignon.[p] The pope was besieged in his palace, but on each side there was an unwillingness to proceed to extremities; the besiegers, although they tried to enter the papal fortress by various ways,[q] refrained from attempting to take it by storm; and Benedict, in the hope of profiting by the intrigues of the parties which surrounded the throne of the unfortunate Charles VI., refrained from uttering the usual denunciations against the French.[r]

The plans which had been arranged for bringing the influence of sovereigns to bear on the popes, and compelling them to resign, were foiled by the deposition of Richard of England in 1399, and by that of the voluptuary Wenceslaus, who in the following year was set aside, as having shown himself unworthy of his office by

[n] Mon. Sandion. l. xix. 5; Lib. de l'Egl. Gall. ii. 439, seqq.; Bul. iv. 853; Baluz. ii. 1131; Dach. Spicil. i. 799; Mansi, xxvi. 839-910.

[o] Schröckh, xxxi. 320.

[p] Informatio Seriosa, in Baluz. ii. 1122-3; Froiss. xiv. 137, seqq.; Mon. Sandion. xix. 8; Lenfant, Conc. de Pise, i. 114; Schröckh, xxxi. 320.

[q] Inform. Ser. 1125.

[r] Milm. v. 437-8.

alienation of the imperial territory and rights, by cruelty, misgovernment, ill behaviour towards the church, gross personal misconduct, and general neglect of his duties.[s] The king of Aragon, on being requested by Benedict to assist him, had answered, "Does the pope think that, in order to keep up his tricks, I shall go to war with the king of France?"[t] But he exerted himself as a mediator, and through his influence a compromise was arranged after Avignon had been besieged for seven months. The pope, who had been reduced to great distress, was to be allowed to receive provisions into the palace, but a strict watch was kept lest he should escape with his treasures;[u] and this state of partial imprisonment continued from April 1399 until March 1403, when Benedict, by the aid of a Norman gentleman, Robinet de Braquemont, escaped from Avignon, and made his way down the Rhone to Château Renaud. There he was under the protection of Lewis of Sicily and Provence,[x] and his cardinals returned to their obedience.

Rupert, count palatine of the Rhine, had been chosen king of the Romans on the deposition of Wenceslaus; and Boniface, although he acted with caution, had given the electors reason to suppose that he would sanction the change.[y] But Rupert, although personally far superior to Wenceslaus, found the force of circumstances too strong to admit of his asserting the rights of the empire with effect; for the princes of Germany, by weakening the power of the

Aug. 20, 1400.

[s] Urstis. ii. 182; Antonin. 447; Mart. Thes. i. 163; Coll. Ampl. iv. 3, seqq., 16-21; Aschbach, i. 138, seqq. Wenceslaus had not received the imperial crown—having spent on other objects the ecclesiastical tithe which Urban VI. had granted him for the expedition to Rome. Th. Niem, ii. 5.

[t] Froiss. xiv. 140.

[u] Mon. Sandion. l. xix. 12; Froiss. xiv. 4; Baluz. ii. 1127; Lenf. Conc. de Pise, i. 115.

[x] Mon. Sandion. l. xxiii. 16; xxiv. 4-5; Juv. des Urs. 152. He now shaved his beard, which he had sworn to wear until he should get his liberty. Mon. Sandion.

[y] Rayn. 1401. 2, 9; Palacky, III. i. 124; Giesel. II. iii. 155; Hefele, vi. 734.

crown, had in reality caused the anarchy for which they now blamed the existing sovereign.[z] On A.D. 1401-2. going into Italy, to which he had been urgently invited by the Florentines,[a] he found that his citations were little heeded, while his authority was openly treated with contempt by John Galeazzo of Milan, who declared that he had received his duchy from a legitimate emperor, and would not give it up.[b] Discouraged by such manifestations of the temper of the Italians, by a defeat in an encounter with Galeazzo near Brescia,[c] and by the defection of some princes Oct. 21, 1401. who had accompanied him across the Alps, Rupert returned to Germany without having advanced beyond Padua, and without having obtained even a promise of the imperial crown from the pope.[d] Boniface, however, soon after condescended to confirm the election;[e] for, while his own position was in jeopardy, he continued to hold the lofty language of Hildebrand and of the Innocents.[f] The death of John Galeazzo, who was carried off by a plague in September 1402, threw the north of Italy for a time into frightful anarchy;[g] but although circumstances seemed to invite Rupert to a second Italian expedition, and Boniface granted him a tenth of the ecclesiastical income for the expenses of his coronation, the clergy refused to pay this impost, and the king felt himself compelled to remain at home.[h]

In the meantime circumstances had favoured Benedict. The king's brother, the duke of Orleans, espoused his cause, in the hope of being able to use the papal name as a counterpoise to the influence of his kinsmen, the

[z] Sism. R. I. v. 387.
[a] Antonin. 448.
[b] Schmidt, iv. 49, seqq.
[c] Ib. 55.
[d] Mon. Sandion. xxi. 8; Antonin. 449, 450.
[e] Th. Niem, ii. 14; Rayn. 1403. 1-2.
[f] Schmidt, iv. 57. See Planck, v. 347.
[g] See Th. Niem, ii. 29.
[h] Sism. R. I. 396; vi. 48; Schmidt, iv. 59. Theodoric of Niem censures Rupert strongly, and perhaps unjustly, for "desidia." Nemus Unionis, vi. 32-3.

dukes of Berri and Burgundy.[i] The most eminent theologians—Peter d'Ailly, Nicolas of Clemanges (who had even become the pope's secretary),[k] and John Gerson—were on his side.[l] The university of Toulouse, which had always been with Benedict, urged a return to his obedience.[m] Even in the university of Paris, the French and Picard nations were for a return, while the Normans were against it and the Germans were neutral.[n] It was urged that the withdrawal of obedience had been ineffectual, inasmuch as no one of the powers which acknowledged the rival pope had taken a like step; that Benedict had deserved well by accepting the scheme of abdication, while Boniface had rejected it. A national assembly resolved that France should return to the obedience of Benedict, and the king, May 30, 1403. who was enjoying an interval of reason, was brought forward to take part in the solemnity by which the return was celebrated.[o] It was agreed that Benedict should resign in case of Boniface's resignation, deposition, or death; that ecclesiastical appointments which had been made during the suspension of obedience should be ratified; and the pope promised that he would speedily

[i] Mon. Sandion. xxiii. 16; Bul. v. 56.

[k] It was with reluctance that he consented, and he expresses joy at being released from the service, though he speaks with gratitude of the pope's considerate behaviour towards him. The tone of the papal court, he says, was better than that of secular courts. Ep. 14; cf. Ep. 54 (Opera, ed. Lydius, Lugd. Bat. 1613).

[l] Gerson, Trilogus (Opera, ii. 83)—of date 1402-3, although referred by Dupin to 1407 (Schwab, 160); Lenf. Conc. de Pise, i. 118; Neand. ix. 91-2; Schröckh, xxxi. 322.

[m] See Bul. v. 4-24 (A.D. 1401), and the Paris replies, 25, seqq., 30, seqq.; Mon. Sandion. xxiii. 1; Rayn. 1403. 18; Schwab, 153.

[n] Mon. Sandion. xxiv. 5. The university had been disgusted at finding that the bishops, who exercised the papal patronage during the withdrawal, were unfavourable to its members. Bul. v. 309; Hefele, vi. 743. See Schwab, 152.

[o] Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 677; Bul. v. 66; Lib. de l'Egl. Gall. ii. 468; Gerson, de Restit. Obedientiæ, Opera, ii. 32; Juv. des Urs. 154; Mon. Sandion. xxiii. 14; xxiv. 5-6. See Gerson's sermon, Opera, ii. 35; his sermon at Marseilles, before Benedict, Nov. 9, 1403, ib. 43, etc.; Hefele, vi. 745-6. D'Ailly preached at the ceremony. Mon. Sandion. xxiv. 6.

call a general council, and that he would carry out the resolutions which it might decree.[p] But he soon showed an inclination to evade these terms, and the royal authority was found necessary to enforce the article as to the confirmation of benefices.[q]

In 1404 Benedict sent a mission to his rival with proposals for a conference. But Boniface refused to allow any equality of terms,—speaking of himself as sole pope, and of Benedict as an antipope; and, although the envoys had a safe conduct from the Romans, and even from Boniface himself, he required them to leave the city. "At least," said they, provoked by this treatment, "our master is not a simoniac"; and it is said that the words affected the pope so strongly as to produce an illness which carried him off in three days.[r] Thus had occurred one of the contingencies in which Benedict had pledged himself to resign; and the Roman cardinals asked his representatives whether they were furnished with authority for that purpose. The envoys could only reply that their commission did not reach so far; but they entreated that the cardinals would refrain from any fresh election. This request, however, was treated as a jest,[s] and the cardinals proceeded to choose Cosmato Migliorati, cardinal of Holy Cross, who took the name of Innocent VII. Every one of the electors had bound himself by

Oct. 1.

Oct. 17

[p] Lib. de l'Egl. Gall. ii. 463-70; Mon. Sandion. xxiv. 6; Bourgeois de Chast. App. 85-6.

[q] Ib. 16; Juv. des Urs. 154; Bul. v. 67; Mart. Thes. ii. 1266; Dach. Spicil. i. 799 (Dec. 19); Schröckh, xxxi. 324.

[r] Th. Niem, ii. 23-4; Mon. Sandion. xxv. 22. Gobel. Persona gives another account of his death. 323. It is said that, when asked on his death-bed how he felt himself he characteristically answered, "If I had money, I should be well." Th. Niem, ii. 22.

[s] "Trufatiæ." Th. Niem, ii. 24. Benedict's envoys were imprisoned by the commandment of St. Angelo, a relation of Boniface, and a large ransom was extorted. (Th. Niem, ii. 24; Mon. Sandion. xxv. 22.) Charles VI. wrote to complain of this, and against the election of a successor to Boniface. (Spicil. i. 801.) See Innocent's explanations. Ib. 802.

oath that, if chosen, he would labour in all possible ways for the healing of the schism, and, if necessary, would even resign his office; but the value of such oaths had by this time come to be generally understood.[t]

Innocent VII. was a native of the Neapolitan kingdom. He had been eminent as a canonist, had been employed by Urban VI. as collector of the papal revenue in England, and had afterwards been promoted to the bishoprick of Bologna.[u] In himself he was a mild and unassuming old man, free from the pontifical vice of rapacity, an enemy to the pontifical practice of simony, and most especially desirous of a quiet and easy life.[x] He attempted to begin a reform by making his secretaries dismiss their concubines;[y] but the greed and the ambition of his kinsmen were too strong for him, and abuses which Innocent had at first reprobated were afterwards adopted into his own practice.[z] His short pontificate, while uneventful in other respects, was full of trouble for himself. The Romans attempted to recover the power which Boniface had wrested from them;[a] the Colonnas renewed the turbulence by which their family had been marked under earlier pontificates;[b] above all, Ladislaus of Naples played an equivocal and alarming part. To the scheming and perfidy of John Galeazzo Visconti, Ladislaus added the quality of personal courage; he was animated by an ambition which exceeded that of John Galeazzo, so as even to aspire to the imperial dignity;[c]

[t] Mart. Thes. ii. 1274; Gobel. Pers. 323; Antonin. 460.

[u] Th. Niem, ii. 39.

[x] Ib.; Leonard. Aretin. in Murat. xix. 922.

[y] Th. Niem, ii. 4.

[z] Ib.; Nemus Unionis, vi. 39.

[a] Th. Niem, ii. 34, seqq. Gobelin Persona says that Innocent gave it up to them, and that therefore they became insubordinate. 324.

[b] Leon. Aretin. 922.

[c] Th. Niem, Nemus Unionis, vi. 31, p. 350; Gobel. Pers. 326; Sism. vi. 123. When in possession of Rome in 1408, Ladislaus had his robe embroidered with the words, "Aut Cæsar aut nihil." But Giannone is mistaken in saying that he styled himself "Rex Romæ," as the real word was Ramæ, meaning Rama in Dalmatia. Gregorov. vi. 582.

and, while affecting to protect the pope, there was reason to believe that, with a view to his own interest, he secretly incited the citizens of Rome to rebellion.[d] In August 1405 Innocent was driven to Viterbo, chiefly in consequence of the act of his nephew, who had treacherously put to death eleven deputies of the Romans;[e] and for a time John Colonna, who professed to be in the interest of Avignon, was master of Rome, being ironically styled John the Twenty-third.[f] But after some months the Romans found it expedient to recall their pope, offering him all the power which had been enjoyed by Boniface; and Innocent returned in March 1406.[g] He denounced Ladislaus as a perjured traitor, declared him to be deprived of the kingdoms which he held under the Roman see, and proclaimed a crusade against the Colonnas.[h] Ladislaus, in order to propitiate the pope, surrendered the castle of St. Angelo to him, and a treaty was concluded by which the king took an oath of fealty, and was appointed standard-bearer of the Roman church.[i] But before this measure had produced any considerable effect, Innocent died on the 6th of November in the year of his return. It is said that he had intended to call a general council with a view to the reunion of the church, but that the troubles of his pontificate prevented the execution of this design.[j]

March 13.

June 18.

The Roman cardinals, after some hesitation whether they should elect a successor, went through the form of choosing a pope under a promise that he would resign if

[d] Leon. Aret. 921; Antonin. 460; Th. Niem, ii. 37; Gibbon, vi. 391; Sism. v. 108; Gregorov. vi. 544-9.

[e] Th. Niem. ii. 36; Nemus Unionis, vi. 32, p. 353; Leon. Aret. 922-4; Gobel. Pers. 324; Anton. Petri, in Murat. xxiv. 976-7; Gregorov. vi. 562.

[f] Th. Niem, ii. 36; Antonin. 461.

[g] Th. Niem, ii. 38; Leon. Aret. 924, Antonin. 462; Mansi, in Rayn. viii. 154; Gregorov. vi. 567.

[h] Anton. Petri, in Murat. xxiv. 979; Th. Niem, ii. 41; Gregorov. vi. 567.

[i] Rayn. 1406. 7.

[k] Anton. Petri, 980.

[l] Gobel. Pers. 324.

the benefit of the church should require it, and that he would invite his rival of Avignon to join with him in this sacrifice of private interest to the cause of unity;[m] and thus, says Leonard of Arezzo, the person to be elected was to regard himself rather as a proctor for resigning the papacy than as a pope. The election fell on Angelo Corario, cardinal of St. Mark and titular patriarch of Constantinople, who styled himself Gregory XII. Gregory was a man of seventy, greatly respected for piety, learning, and prudence.[n] It was he who had proposed the engagement by which the cardinals had bound themselves before the election; and it was believed that the straightforward honesty which was supposed especially to mark his character would secure his zealous performance of the obligation.[o] Theodoric of Niem, however, who held an office in his court, speaks of him as a dissembler, a wolf in sheep's clothing;[p] and although this unfavourable representation may have been partly caused by some personal enmity, the writer's statements have an appearance of truth which has won general belief for them.[q]

Gregory began by professing an intense desire for the reunion of the church. He renewed the oath by which he had bound himself to resign for the sake of this object.[r] He wrote to urge the duty of cession on Benedict in terms which were entirely inoffensive, except that

[m] Leon. Aretin. 925; Th. Niem, iii. 3; Nemus Unionis, i. 1; Th. Vrie, in V. d. Hardt, i. 134; Mon. Sandion. xxvii. 19; Juv. des Urs. 188; Antonin. 468; Cron. di Lucca, in Murat. xviii. 877; Dach. Spicil. i. 815.

[n] Leon. Aret. 925-6; Antonin. 468.

[o] Th. Niem, iii. 1; Leon. Aret. 925-6.

[p] "Cum sit hypocrita insignis." iii. 6; cf. ii. 12, seqq.; Nemus Unionis, *passim*. Theodoric says that the four popes from Urban VI. to Gregory "eleëmosynas non dederunt, quod est signum damnationis et pessimum in prælatis." As to his private tastes, we are told by another writer that Gregory "plus in zucaro consumebat quam sui prædecessores in victu et vestitu." (Murat. III. ii. 838.) There are letters of Gregory in Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 726, seqq.

[q] Schröckh, xxxi. 333; Milm. iv. 445.

[r] Mon. Sandion. t. iii. p. 496; Leon. Aret. 925; Antonin. l. c. This renewal had been part of the original engagement. Rayn. 1406. 12.

the Avignon pope's right to the title was questioned in the superscription;[s] and Benedict, adopting his rival's style of address, offered in return to take his cardinals with him to a conference, and to resign if Gregory would do the like.[t] Gregory professed himself to be like the true mother, who was ready to give up her child rather than suffer it to be divided; he declared that for the sake of re-establishing unity in the church he was willing to go to any place, however remote; that if ships were not to be had, he would put to sea in a little boat; that if he could find no horses, he would go on foot with a staff in his hand.[u] It was only feared that he might not live long enough to carry his noble designs into effect.[x] But even if these professions were sincere, Gregory was under influences which made it impossible for him to act on them. His nephews and other relations exerted themselves to prevent an abdication which would have destroyed their importance and their wealth;[y] while Ladislaus of Naples was resolved to oppose a reconciliation which was likely in any case to tell against him, and which, if it should be followed by the establishment of a French pope, would have involved the acknowledgment of a French pretender to the Neapolitan throne.[z] Ladislaus, therefore, harassed Rome by a succession of attacks which—perhaps through an understanding with Gregory or with his nephews[a]—were so timed and conducted as

[s] "Petro de Luna, quem nonnullæ gentes in hoc miserabili schismate Benedictum XIII. appellant." Th. Niem, iii. 4; Mansi, xxvi. 1013.

[t] Mon. Sandion. t. xxvii. 20-3; Mansi, xxvi. 1014; Antonin. 468.

[u] Th. Niem, Nem. Union. vi. 11, p. 309; cf. De Schism. iii. 4; Leon. Aret. 925. Theodoric says that Errorius (as he styles Gregory), in sending letters in favour of union to prelates and lay potentates, usually employed Lollards or Beghards, "ad quos semper videbatur ejus affectio specialiter inclinari." iii. 6.

[x] Th. Niem, iii. 6.

[y] Ib. 16, 21; Nem. Union. iv. 1-2; vi. 7-8; Leon. Aret. 926. For letters of Charles VI. exhorting Gregory to peace, A.D. 1407, see Dach Spicil, i. 803.

[z] Leon. Aret. Ep. ii. 6, ap. Rayn. 1407. 4; Th. Niem, iii. 15, 18; Nem. Union. iv. 6; Sism. R. I. 114; Gregorov. v. 579, seqq.

[a] This was suspected at the time. Th. Niem, Nem. Union. iv. 2; Sozom.

to afford pretexts for delaying the attempts at a reconciliation; he even got possession of the city in April 1408, and remained there until the end of June.[b]

Benedict, in answer to Gregory's overtures, proposed a meeting, and after much negotiation, and many attempts at evasion on the part of the Roman pope,[c] it was agreed that it should take place at Savona, on the Gulf of Genoa, between Michaelmas and All Saints' Day 1407.[d] The terms were arranged with elaborate precaution for the security of the parties,[e] and Gregory at length set out as if for the purpose of fulfilling his engagement. But when he had reached Lucca, he professed to feel apprehensions and difficulties which must prevent his appearance at Savona;[f] and Benedict, on being informed of this, endeavoured to gain for himself the reputation of greater sincerity by going on as far as Porto Venere, near Spezzia.[g] As Benedict advanced, Gregory retreated. It was, says Leonard of Arezzo, as if one pope, like a land animal, refused to approach the shore, and the other, like an inhabitant of the sea, refused to leave the water.[h] And Theodoric of Niem tells us that the project of a conference was generally compared to a tilting-match, in which it is understood that the champions are not to touch each other, but are merely to display themselves before the spec-

Pistor. in Murat. xvi. 1192; Antonin. 472.

[b] Th. Niem, De Schism. iii. 18, 29; Id. ad Rupertum regem, in Goldast, ii. 1381; Anton. Petri, in Murat. xxiv. 990; Antonin. 472-3; Sism. R. I. vi. 116; Gregorov. vi. 581-3.

[c] Mon. Sandion. xxviii. 18-19.

[d] Letters in N. de Clemang. 179, seqq.; Theod. Niem, iii. 5, 13; Mart. Thes. ii. 1366, seqq.; Mon. Sandion. xxviii. 1-25.

Th. Niem, Nem. Union. i. 10; Cron. di Lucca, in Murat. xviii. 878-81; Mart. Thes. ii. 1314.

[f] Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 759, seqq.; Th. Niem, iii. 14, 17, 19; Nem. Union. iii 217, seqq.; iv. 2, 5; v.; vi. 2, 3; Mansi, xxvii. 77. See the reasons set forth from the pulpit at Siena on All Saints' Day (Nem. Union. iv. 7).

[g] Th. Niem, iii. 21, 25-8; N. Clemang. 182; Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 758. Benedict reproaches Gregory for having given him the slip. Mansi, xxvi. 1018. See Schwab, 200, seqq.

[h] Murat. xix. 926; cf. Sozom. Pistor. ib. xvi. 1191.

tators.[i] The scandal presented by the intrigues and insincerity of the two aged men, each of whom professed to claim the holiest office in Christendom, with the mysterious blessings and prerogatives attached to the see of St. Peter, excited general disgust,[k] and it was commonly believed that they had made a secret agreement to prolong the schism for their own benefit.[l]

France had again become impatient of the pretexts under which a reconciliation was continually deferred. In July 1406, after a warm discussion in the parliament of Paris, a letter of the university of Toulouse in behalf of Benedict had been condemned as derogatory to the honour of the king; and it had been decreed that the original should be burnt at Toulouse, and copies on the bridge of Avignon, at Montpellier, and at Lyons.[m] In November of the same year a great national assembly was held under the presidency of the titular patriarch of Alexandria.[n] All agreed that a general council was necessary for the solution of the difficulties which had arisen, and after long and full discussions it Feb. 18, 1407. was resolved that obedience should be again withdrawn from Benedict, unless within a certain time he should come to an agreement with his rival. The publication of this resolution, however, was not to be immediate, but was to be determined by circumstances.[o] The king

[i] Nem. Union. vi. 12.

[k] Theodoric of Niem compares them to the two elders of Babylon, "e quibus progressa est iniquitas" (Daniel, xiii. 5). ii. 42; cf. iii. 23; Theod. Vrie in Von der Hardt, i. 146. St. Antoninus, however, draws a distinction:—"Erat enim ille Benedictus, etsi litteratus, callidissimus hominum, versipellis, et suis astutiis ut anguilla de manibus stringentis elapsa, lubricus et versatilis. Gregorius autem ut agnus innocens, et sine felle columba." He says that Gregory backed out of the conference because he saw that Benedict was insincere. P. 468.

[l] Martin, v. 501. They are charged with collusion by the cardinals at Pisa. Art. 15, in Rayn. 1409. 56.

[m] Mon. Sandion. xxvii. 3; Lib. de l'Egl. Gall. ii. 471-7; Bourg. de Chast. Append. 234-40; Bul. v. 120-6.

[n] See Mon. Sandion. xxvii. 17. For an appeal of the university of Paris against Benedict, Jan. 1406, see Mart. Thes. ii. 1245.

[o] Mansi, xxvi. 1021; Th. Niem, Nem. Union. i. 7; Bourg. de Chast. Ap-

soon after despatched an embassy to both popes, but neither Benedict nor Gregory could be persuaded to resign, and the agreement for the meeting at Savona had already been concluded between them.[p]

About the time when the failure of that scheme became known, Benedict lost his most powerful friend, the duke of Orleans, who was assassinated in the streets of Paris through the contrivance of his cousin, John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy.[q] The irritation of the French soon after manifested itself in a declaration of renewed subtraction from Benedict and of neutrality between the claimants of the papacy; but although this was communicated to the two rivals, and although the king exerted himself to draw other sovereigns into the same policy, the document was not yet formally published.[r] Benedict, perhaps encouraged by the distresses which he saw gathering around his rival, replied in April 1408 by sending to Paris two bulls. The first of these, dated eleven months earlier, was intended to counteract the decisions of the French national council by excommunicating all persons, of whatever rank, who should take part against the pope, interdicting the territories of princes who should oppose him, and releasing their subjects from allegiance;[s] the second bull, dated in April 1408, was conceived in a tone rather of complaint than of anger, but warned the king that by persistence in his unkindness towards Benedict he would incur the penalties of the earlier bull.[t]

Nov. 23, 1407.

April 18.

But the French were no longer disposed to endure such threats. At a great assembly of nobles, ecclesiastics,

pend. 95, seqq.; Gerson, ii. 103-5; Juv. des Urs. 181-8; Bul. vi. 133, seqq.; Hefele, vi 753-7. See Nic. de Clemang. Ep. 17, to the king, against a second withdrawal.

[p] Juv. des Urs. 188; Hefele, vi. 761-6.

[q] Monstrelet, i. 210.

[r] Mon. Sandion. t. iv. 26-8; Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 770. For the regulations of the French church during the neutrality see Mon. Sandion. l. xxix. 8-10.

[s] Dach. Spicil. i. 804.

[t] Bul v. 158.

representatives of the university, and lawyers, John Courtecuisse, an eminent divine, made a discourse, in which he charged Benedict with heresy and schism, with trifling and insincerity in negotiating with his rival, and with having shown himself an enemy of all Christendom by hindering the reunion of the church.[u] The bull of excommunication was cut by the king's secretary into two parts, of which one was given to the princes and councillors, and the other to the representatives of the university, and they were then torn into small pieces and burnt.[x] The messengers who had conveyed the bulls were pilloried and imprisoned; the archbishop of Reims and other dignitaries, who were suspected of having been privy to the bull, were arrested, The neutrality of France was now proclaimed, and the pope was publicly denounced as guilty of heresy and schism.[y] Orders were sent to Marshal Boucicault, governor of Genoa (which was then subject to the French crown), that Peter de Luna should be made prisoner until he should conclude a real peace with his rival; but Benedict took the alarm, and, after having issued declarations against the conduct of the French king and others, he made his escape by sea from Porto Venere and took up his abode at Perpignan.[z]

May 21, 1408.

In the meantime Gregory had begun to distrust his own cardinals, who urged him to resign.[a] Fearing lest

[u] Lib. de l'Egl. Gall. ii. 33, 485; Mon. Sandion. t. iv. 10-12; Monstrel. i. 342. Courtecuisse (in Latin, *Brevis-Coxa*) was elected bishop of Paris in 1420; but was prevented by the English from taking possession of the see. He became bishop of Genoa in 1422, and died soon after. Oudin, iii. 2257-9.

[x] Lib. de l'Egl. Gall. ll. cc.; Juv. des Urs. 194; Mon. Sandion. t. iv. 12-14. Nicolas of Clemanges vindicates himself from the suspicion of having composed the letters of excommunication against the king and kingdom of France. Epp. 42-6; Vita, 190.

[y] Bekynton, Ep. 251; Lib. de l'Egl. Gall. ii. 485; Bul. v. 160-70; Schwab, 210. The monk of St. Denys, although opposed to Benedict, speaks with much disgust of this affair. t. iv. 58-60.

[z] Dach. Spicil. i. 803, 813; Th. Niem, Nem. Union. vi. 25; Mon. Sandionys. iv. 28.

[a] It is said that the cardinals offered

they should take some steps against him, he forbade them to leave Lucca; and, in disregard of the engagements by which he had bound himself both at his election and in correspondence with his rival, as well as of the remonstrances which were addressed to him by the cardinals and by many bishops, he announced an intention of creating four new cardinals, of whom two were his own nephews.[b] By this step the older cardinals were roused to action. They refused to acknowledge those who had been obtruded on them, and, in defiance of Gregory's command, all but three, who were detained by sickness, removed from Lucca to Pisa, where they sent forth protests against the pope's late proceedings.[c] May 12.

The cardinals who had been attached to Benedict now repaired to Leghorn, where they were met by those of Gregory's party, and the two sections joined in issuing a summons for a council to meet at Pisa in March of the following year.[d] In this course they were supported by the universities of Florence and Bologna,[e] as well as by that of Paris. They announced their intentions to both popes, inviting them to appear and to resign their pretensions, agreeably to the engagements which they had made at election; otherwise, May—July, 1408.

Gregory the patriarchate of Constantinople, the bishoprick of Exeter, and other preferments; but that, among other difficulties, it was found that the bishoprick was not vacant. Th. Niem, Nem. Union. iv. 288; cf. De Schism. iii. 21. (*Oxoniensem* must be a mistake for *Exoniensem*, as Oxford was not yet an episcopal see.)

[b] Ciacon. ii. 765-6; Th. Niem, iii. 3-4, 24-5, 31; Nem. Union. vi. 33, pp. 370-1; Cron. di Lucca, 886-7; Gobel. Pers. 326. One of these nephews was afterwards Eugenius IV.

[c] Th. Niem, iii. 32-3; Nem. Union. vi. 10-11; Leon. Aret. 926; V. d. Hardt, ii. 65; Mart. Thes. ii. 1394.

[d] Dach. Spicil. 809, 811, 818; Mansi, xxvi. 1161, 1164, 1166, etc.; xxvii. 101, 140, 144, etc.; Antonin. 469; Wilkins, iii. 298, seqq.; Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 775-8. (In the last-named volume are many documents relating to this time.) See Hefele, vi. 786.

[e] Gobel. Pers. 326; Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 893, 937; Antonin. 469. Nic. de Clemang. 187-9; Mansi, xxvi. 1079; Th. Niem, Nem. Union. vi. 15-17; Lib. de l'Egl. Gall. ii. 502.

it was added, the council would take its own course.[f] Gregory replied by declaring the cardinals to be degraded and excommunicate; he professed to make a new promotion to the college, and announced an intention of holding a council of his own.[g] But for this purpose it was not easy to find a place. The authorities of his native state, Venice, to whom he applied, advised him rather to send representatives to Pisa; and various towns —even Ephesus, which was then for a time in Christian hands—were proposed.[h] At length, when the council of Pisa was far advanced, the Venetians allowed Gregory's council to be held at Cividale, in Friuli; but it was ineffectual for any other purpose than that of showing his impotence.[i]

June 6—Sep. 5, 1409.

Benedict also summoned a council, which met at Perpignan in November 1408, and was attended by a considerable number of prelates, among whom four had been decorated by him with the empty title of patriarch.[k] But this assembly, instead of seconding his wishes, almost unanimously advised him to resign,[l] and Benedict soon found himself deserted by all but a few of his partisans, who themselves urged him to abdicate or to send representatives to the council which had been summoned by the cardinals.[m] His indignation vented itself in furious threats against those who had thwarted him, and in declaring them all, from the cardinals downwards, to be deprived of their dignities and excommunicated.[n]

March 3, 1409.

[f] Mansi, xxvi. 1131, 1134, 1161, 1167, 1175, 1180.

[g] Ib. 68, 73; Th. Niem, iii. 36, 38; Nem. Union. vi. 19.

[h] Rob. Celsiniensis in Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 118.

[i] Mansi, xxvi. 1085-7, 1105, 1183; Hefele, vi. 897.

[k] Dach. Spicil. i. 813, 822; Mansi, xxvi. 1105, 1183; Mariana, l. xix. 18; Lenfant, Conc. de Pise, ii. 15.

[l] Mansi, xxvi. 1097-8; Rayn. 1409. 84. It is said that out of sixteen to whom the matter was referred by the council, fifteen were for resignation. V. d. Hardt, iv. 1249.

[m] Mariana, l. c.; Hefele, vi. 852.

[n] Mansi, xxvi. 1121; Mart. Coll.

The emperor Rupert had promised to Boniface IX. that he would accept no other solution of the question by which the church was divided than the suppression of the papacy of Avignon ;[o] and Gregory had conciliated him by declaring that, while the right of summoning general councils belonged to the pope, the emperor, as general advocate of the church, was more entitled to take such a part than the cardinals. At a great assembly, which was held at Frankfort in January 1409, a cardinal appeared on behalf of the Pisan cardinals, and cardinal Antony Corario, Gregory's nephew, as representative of his uncle. Rupert, whose leaning to the interest of Gregory was manifest, agreed to send representatives to Pisa, but declared that he would not forsake the pope unless convinced that Gregory had forfeited his support by misconduct. But in this feeling the majority of the assembly did not concur.[p]

The obstinacy with which the rival popes clung to their pretensions, the manifest insincerity of their professions as to a desire for unity, the charges with which they mutually blackened each other, produced an increasing effect on the minds of men ; and, as the hope of their voluntary resignation vanished, the idea of a general council as an expedient for healing the schism gained ground. Among those who, after having favoured the scheme of resignation, adopted that of referring the matter to a council, the most eminent for abilities, reputation, and activity was John Charlier, whose surname is usually superseded by the name of his native place, Gerson, a village near Rethel, in Champagne.[q] Gerson,

Ampl. vii. 981. To one he said, "I will put you into a place where you will perhaps never see the sun." V. d. Hardt, iv. 1250.

[o] Boniface had endeavoured to get from Rupert, as a condition of sanctioning his election, an oath that he would not interfere in the question of the schism. Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. Præf. 61.

[p] Gobel. Pers. 327 ; Schröckh, xxxi. 354.

[q] Schwab, 228.

born in 1363, had studied under Peter d'Ailly and Giles Deschamps, and in 1395 had succeeded his old master d'Ailly as chancellor of Paris and professor in the university.[r] The opinions which he had now formed as to the manner of ending the schism were expressed in various writings, especially in a tract "Of the Unity of the Church," and in one "De Auferibilitate Papæ."[s] He believed the authority of the church to reside in the whole catholic body, and in a general council as its representative. He supposed that, although the power of convoking general councils had in later times been exercised by the popes alone, the church might resume it in certain circumstances; that this might be properly done in the case of a division between rival popes; and that in such a case a council might be summoned, not only by the cardinals, but by faithful laymen.[t] He held that, in case of necessity, the church could subsist for a time without a visible head; he greatly mitigated the pretensions which had been set up in behalf of the papacy; and, on the whole, he expressed far more distinctly than any one who had written since the appearance of the false decretals, that theory of the church to which the name of Gallican has been given in later times.[u] Yet Gerson had been unable to take part with the university in its extreme proceedings, and had incurred obloquy by the moderation of his counsels at the national assembly of 1406.[x] And, although his influence was strongly felt in the Pisan council, he himself was not present at it.[y]

The council of Pisa met on the 25th of March 1409, in the cathedral of that city, which three years before had been sold by its doge to its old rivals and enemies,

[r] Schwab, 96.

[s] Opera, t. ii.; Schwab, 228.

[t] Opera, ii. 112-13, 129, 135, etc.

[u] Schröckh, xxxi. 357; cf. Pet. de Alliaco in Mart. Thes. ii. 1409.

[x] Bul. v. 161; Hefele, vi. 755; Schwab, 228.

[y] That it is a mistake to suppose him present, and a prominent debater, see Schwab, 230.

the Florentines.[z] Among those who took part in it (although many of them did not arrive until later) were twenty-two cardinals and four titular patriarchs, with archbishops, bishops, abbots (including the heads of the chief religious orders), envoys of many sovereign princes, proctors for cathedral chapters, and a host of masters and doctors who represented the new and powerful influence of the universities.[a] Henry IV. of England, who had laboured for the extinction of the schism, and had practically enforced his counsels by detaining the pope's revenues from England until a reconciliation should be effected,[b] had taken order for the representation of his kingdom; and at the head of the English members was Robert Hallam, bishop of Salisbury.[c] As the cardinals, in their need of support, were desirous to avoid the risk of provoking jealousies between various classes, it was arranged that all the members should sit together as one house, and that there should be no distinction as to the privilege of voting. Guy de Maillesec, bishop of Palestrina, presided as senior cardinal.[d]

At the opening of the council a sermon was preached by Peter Philargi, cardinal of the Twelve Apostles and archbishop of Milan, who lamented the distractions of the church, and exhorted his hearers to take measures for the restoration of unity.[e] At the first session it was asked by proclamation at the doors of the cathedral

[z] Th. Niem, ii. 40; iii. 38; Antonin. 465; Mansi, xxvi. 1184-5, 1236; Sism. R. I. v. 114; Gregorov. vi. 590. As to the documents of the council, see Hefele, vi. 853.

[a] Mansi, xxvi. 1239, seqq.; Dach. Spicil. i. 853; Mon. Sandion. iv. 208; Hefele, vi. 855.

[b] Rymer, viii. 543, 567; Walsingh. ii. 280-1.

[c] Rym. viii. 567; Mansi, xxvii. 1130; Gerson. ii. 123. Gerson preached to them as they passed through Paris. At the 9th session, an English adherent of Gregory, on making a show of opposition, was asked whether he had a commission to attend, and, on his owning that he had not, was turned out "with confusion." Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 1090.

[d] Lenf. ii. 38; Raumer, Hist. Taschenbuch, 1849, p. 31.

[e] Mansi, xxvi. 1185; xxvii. 18.

whether Angelo Corario or Peter de Luna were present,[f] either in person or by proxy; and as the question, after having been repeated at the second and third sessions, received no answer, the council, in its third and fourth sessions, pronounced both the rivals to be contumacious.[g]

March 27-30.

March 30, April 15.

The emperor Rupert, although favourable to the interest of Gregory, had sent the archbishop of Riga, the bishops of Worms and Verden, and others, as his ambassadors. At the fourth session, the bishop of Verden brought forward twenty-three objections to the course of proceedings; and it was proposed, in the emperor's name, that the council should be adjourned to some other place, where Gregory might be able to attend.[h] But this proposal, which was evidently intended to break up the assembly, found no favour; and at a later session the German objections were powerfully exposed by Peter de Ancorano, an eminent doctor of Bologna.[i] Meanwhile Rupert's ambassadors, finding the tone of the council unpromising for their master's policy, had withdrawn, after having made an appeal to a future general council, maintaining that Gregory was the only legitimate pope;[k] and, as Wenceslaus acknowledged the council, he obtained its recognition in return, although his want of energy allowed this advantage to remain unimproved as an aid towards recovering the imperial dignity.[l] At the fifth session thirty-eight charges were brought forward against the rival claimants of the papacy,[m] and

April 15.

Sess. VII, May 4.

April 24.

[f] Mansi, xxvi. 1186; Dach. Spicil. i. 829.

[g] Ib. Mansi, xxvi. 1138, 1187.

[h] Ib. 1188; xxvii. 10; Th. Niem, iii. 39; Dach. Spicil. i. 379-80; Lenf. Conc. de Pise, ii. 29.

[i] Mansi, xxvii. 367, seqq.; Mon. Sandion. t. iv. 224; Hefele, vi. 858.

[k] Mansi, xxvi. 1139; xxvii. 10; Th. Niem, iii. 39; Schröckh, xxxi. 361-4; Schwab, 234.

[l] Martene, Coll. Ampl. vii. 892; Palacky, Docum. Mag. J. Hus, 364-70; Hefele, vi. 800, 877; Schmidt, iv. 78-9.

[m] "Contendentes, seu verius collu

at the tenth session a commission which had heard evidence in support of these charges made its report. The opinions of the universities of Paris, Angers, Orleans, Toulouse, Bologna, and Florence were alleged in favour of the proposed course,[n] and at the fifteenth session it was declared that both were guilty, as notorious schismatics, obstinate and incorrigible heretics, perjurers, and vow-breakers; that by these and other offences they had scandalized the whole church, and had rendered themselves unworthy of any dignity. The sentence of the council, which was solemnly pronounced by the titular patriarch of Alexandria, while his brethren of Antioch and Jerusalem stood on each side of him, condemned both Benedict and Gregory to be deposed and cut off from the church; the sentences uttered by them were declared to be null, their nominations of cardinals since the spring of the preceding year, when they had ceased to labour for union by means of cession, to be invalid; and it was added that, if either of them should despise this sentence, he and his partisans should be coerced by the secular power.[o] Thus, although the cardinals, who summoned the council, could not have entered on the investigation of the schism without exposing themselves to fatal questions,—inasmuch as every member of the college had either shared in the election of one or other of the rivals, or owed his appointment to one or other of them,—the council itself assumed the right to decide the matter, in absolute disregard of the pretension which had been maintained for centuries, that the pope could not be judged by man except in the case of manifest heresy.

May 22.

June 5.

dentes, de papatu." See Mansi, xxvi. 1195, 1219; xxvii. 22.

[n] Dach. Spicil. i. 833-46; Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 1094.

[o] Mansi, xxvi. 1146-8, 1225-8; xxvii. 27, seqq.; Martene, Coll. Ampl. vii. 1095-8; V. d. Hardt, i. 136; Dach. Spicil. i. 847; Th. Niem, ii. 44. Benedict is said to have made two new cardinals on hearing of this sentence, ib. 45.

At the eighteenth session some envoys of the king of Aragon appeared, and one of them, on speaking of Benedict as pope, was assailed with hisses and mockery.[p] The council, however, out of respect for the king's intercession, agreed to give an audience to certain representatives of Peter de Luna; but on the entrance of these, an outcry was raised against them "as if they had been Jews"; and when one of them, the archbishop of Tarragona, gave the title of pope to Benedict, there was a general outburst of derision, with cries that the speaker was the envoy of a heretic and schismatic. The archbishop was silenced, and, with his companions, immediately left Pisa.[q]

June 14.

It had become evident to all discerning men that the extinction of the schism would be no sufficient cure for the prevailing evils, unless accompanied by a reform of the church, "both in head and in members." With a view to this, each of the cardinals, before proceeding to the election of a pope, pledged himself that, if he should be chosen, he would continue the council until a "due, reasonable, and sufficient reformation" should be effected; and it was agreed that, if the election should fall on any one who was not then present, a like pledge should be required of him.[r] On the 15th of June, twenty-two cardinals entered the conclave, and, after eleven days of deliberation, they announced that their choice had fallen on the cardinal-archbishop of Milan,[s] who, as we have seen, had preached at the opening of the council. Peter Philargi was a native of Candia, and had never known his parents or any other relation. When begging his bread in childhood, he attracted the notice of a Franciscan friar, and, in consequence of this patron's kindness, he became a member of

June 26.

[p] Mansi, xxvi. 1150.
[q] Ib.
[r] Ib. 1149.
[s] Ib. 1151; Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 1115; Cron. di Bologna, in Murat. xviii. 597.

the same order. He had studied at Paris and at Oxford, and was much esteemed for his theological learning.[t] As pope, he took the name of Alexander V.[u]

CHAPTER VI.

WYCLIF.

WE have seen that, ever since the submission of John of England to Innocent III., a spirit of disaffection towards the papacy had been growing in the minds of the English people, who held themselves degraded by their sovereign's humiliation; that the popes throughout the thirteenth century had unwisely provoked this spirit by their exorbitant claims on the English church, and by their shameless interference with the disposal of English preferment; and that, although the feeble Henry III. was afraid to place himself at the head of the nation as the representative of its feelings towards the papacy, the strong will and hand of Edward I. were exerted in opposition to the Roman usurpations. Under Edward II. the crown of England again became weak; but the antipapal spirit continued to increase among the people, and was swollen by the circumstance that the popes at this time took up their residence at Avignon, and became subservient to the interest of France. While the college of cardinals was full of Frenchmen, Edward II. was unable to obtain, by repeated entreaties, that a single Englishman might be promoted to it, even although a vacancy had been

[t] Th. Niem, iii. 51; Antonin. 471; Mon. Sandion iv. 240; Wadding, ix. 271-3. Gregory had ineffectually sentenced him to deprivation of his dignities. Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 873.

[u] Monstrelet describes the rejoicings which took place at Paris on the election. ii. 68.

made through the death of an English cardinal.[a] It was found that, in the great war which arose out of the pretensions of Edward III. to the French crown, the popes, while affecting neutrality, were always favourable to the opposite side.[b] Edward, able, vigorous, and successful in war, was not disposed to imitate the submissiveness of his feeble and unfortunate father; and the growing power of the commons in the legislature was strongly adverse to the assumptions of the papal court.[c]

Even the privileges of the English clergy were now becoming less than before. The representation of their grievances presented to Edward II. in 1316, and known by the title of *Articuli Cleri*, shows a great practical abatement of the system which Becket had endeavoured to establish; and the answer which was made in the king's name, while it admitted some points, refused to concede others, and treated some of the alleged grievances as imaginary.[d] The immunity of the clergy from secular authority, for which Becket had contended, was greatly infringed. When Adam of Orleton, bishop of Hereford, was brought before his peers in parliament, on account of his share in the political intrigues which had resulted in the deposition and murder of Edward II.,[e] he was carried off, without having pleaded, by the archbishops of Canterbury, York, and Dublin, as if his clerical privilege exempted him from the jurisdiction of the house. But Edward III., instead

A.D. 1344.

[a] Rymer, ii. 127, 139, 140, 432-3.

[b] After the great successes of the English, the following lines were composed:—

"Ore est le Pape devenu Franceys.
E Jesu devenu Engleys:
Ore sera veou qe fra plus,
Ly Pape ou Jesus."
—Knyghton in Twysd. *X. Script.* 2615.

[c] Pauli, v. 479.

[d] Wilkins, iii. 13-14. One complaint was that the power of the ordinary over the clergy was liable to be invaded by secular officers. To this it was answered that the pretence of the ordinaries doing justice on delinquent clergy was nugatory; that their prisons afforded comfortable living, with opportunities of escape for those who were not content with this; that some were acquitted on insufficient evidence, etc.

[e] See Pauli, iv. 299-300, 324.

of relinquishing the proceedings against the bishop, or transferring them to an ecclesiastical tribunal, caused him to be tried by a common jury of the county in which his see was situated, and, on his conviction, confiscated his property.[f] When Stratford, archbishop of Canterbury, was embroiled with the same king, the ground on which he rested was not that of the clerical immunities, but his privilege as a lord of parliament—a circumstance significant of the change which had taken place in the minds of men.[g] When Simon Langham, archbishop of Canterbury, had been created a cardinal by Urban V., without having previously consulted the king, Edward seized the temporalities of the see, and Langham submitted to spend the rest of his days in exile, without venturing to remonstrate in the tone of Becket, or, like him, securing for himself the sympathy of all Latin Christendom.[h] And in the civil distractions which marked the end of the fourteenth century in England, the treatment of great prelates was yet more regardless of the pretension to exemption from secular judgment.[i] Even the claim of freedom from taxes had been practically decided against the clergy by Edward I., in declaring them to be out of the protection of the law; and all that they retained of privilege in this respect was the right of assessing their own order in convocation.[k]

A.D. 1340.

A.D. 1368.

Collisions frequently took place between the papacy and the English crown. The popes took it on them-

[f] Walsingham, i. 172; Collier, iii. 50. This was the first instance of a bishop tried before a temporal court. (Ib.) Orleton afterwards made his peace, and was translated successively to Worcester and Winchester. The king objected to this last promotion as having been made by the pope at the suit of the king of France, with whom Orleton had ingratiated himself when sent on an embassy to him; but on being petitioned by the bishops, he acquiesced in it. Ad. Murimuth, 72-3.

[g] Birchington in Ang. Sac. i. 38-40; Collier, iii. 89; Lingard, iii. 121-4; Hook, iv. 35, seqq.

[h] Collier, iii. 129; Hook, iv. 211.

[i] Collier, iii. 89-93; Pauli, iv. 378. See below, chap. xi. i. 4.

[k] See vol. vi. p. 319; Milm. v. 4

selves to nominate bishops, in disregard alike of the right of chapters to elect, and of that of the sovereign to permit and to confirm the election;[1] and in conferring the spiritual character on new bishops, they omitted to request, as had formerly been customary, that the sovereign would invest them in their temporalities. But in order to meet this, the kings compelled the bishops to renounce by oath all things in the papal letters which might be contrary to the rights of the crown, and to acknowledge that the temporalities were held of the sovereign alone.[m] And this system of imposing contradictory obligations continued to later times.

The attempts to burden the benefices of the English church with foreigners, who were unacquainted with the language, who were wanting in qualities suitable for their office,[n] and probably never set foot in the country,—who, perhaps, might also be in the interest of France and opposed to that of England,—such attempts, in proportion as they became more impudent, were more strongly resented.[o] Thus, when

A.D. 1342.

[1] Pauli, iv. 480. Edward III. remonstrated against this in 1373. Walsingh. i. 316, etc.

[m] This practice is said to have been begun in the case of William of Gainsborough; see vol. vi. p. 413. For instances, see Rymer, ii. 5, 7, 47, 239, 422, 559, 760; iii. 180, 760, 833, 849, 857.

[n] See Fuller, ii. 350. Of L. de Beaumont, who was related to the royal family of France, Adam of Murimuth says, "Fuit mediocriter litteratus, et claudus utroque pede, *sicut sunt multi Francigenæ*, quem si papa vidisset, forsitan non creasset." (25.) (For this bishop's ignorance, rapacity, and prodigality, see Ang. Sac. i. 700-1.) As to Reginald de Asser, bishop of Winchester in 1320, Marsilius of Padua says that he and an archbishop of Lund were promoted by John XXII. as being, like himself, natives of Languedoc, neither of them knowing the language of his flock: "quales autem doctrina et moribus, non mea referre interest." Def. Pacis, ii. 24.

[o] Edward III. remonstrated strongly. See Rymer, ii. 801, 803, 807, etc. In 1343 he wrote to the pope that the English church's "dignitates et beneficia insignia personis conferuntur alienigenis, plerumque nobis suspectis, qui non resident in dictis beneficiis, et vultus commissorum eis pecorum non agnoscunt, linguam non intelligunt, sed animarum cura neglecta, velut mercenarii, solummodo temporalia lucra quærunt; et sic diminuitur Christi cultus, animarum cura negligitur, subtrahitur hospitalitas, ecclesiarum jura depereunt, ruunt ædificia clericorum, attenuatur devotio populi, clerici dicti regni . . . studium

Clement VI. took it on himself to provide for two cardinals by English benefices to the value of 2,000 marks a-year, his agents were ordered to leave the kingdom;[p] and he was sternly warned against attempting by his own authority to assume the patronage of bishopricks, or to bestow patronage on any who would not reside on their preferments. The encroachments and abuses of the papal court were now met by the legislature with the statutes of *provisors*[q] and *præmunire*, which enacted heavy penalties against receiving presentations from the pope, and against appealing from the king's court to any foreign tribunal.[r]

Among the causes of offence during this time, the mendicant orders were conspicuous for their assumptions and their rapacity.[s] They attempted, by acting as confessors and otherwise, to engross all spiritual power, to the prejudice of the secular clergy; to divert to themselves the income which the seculars were entitled to expect from the administration of penance and other sacraments. They attempted to get into their own hands all the teaching of the universities, where they enticed young men of promise to enter their ranks, even in defiance of the will of parents; and it is said that, in consequence of this, the number of students at Oxford was reduced from 30,000 to 6,000, as men chose that their sons should become tillers of the ground rather than that they should be thus carried off by the friars.[t] By these and other practices,

deserunt propter promotionis congruæ spem ablatam," etc. Rymer, ii. 1233.

[p] Knyghton, in Twysd. 2853; Collier, iii. 96. Cf. Ad. Murimuth, i. 149, 157-9.

[q] There had already been a proclamation against provisors in 1344. Rymer, iii. 2.

[r] See below, chap. xi. i. 4.

[s] R. Armachanus [Fitzralph] in Goldast, ii. 1399; Walsingh. ii. 13. See also some poems in Mr. Wright's 'Political Songs.'

[t] Armach. in Goldast. ii. 1398. Bohringer tries to account for the astounding number of 30,000 by supposing that it included servants, tradesmen, etc. (Leben Wiclifs, 8.) Prof. Lechler ('Joh. v. Wiclif,' i. 271) reminds us that in those days the universities contained many boys under fourteen. The university in 1358 (?) decreed that no one

the mendicants raised up determined enemies, of whom the most noted was Richard Fitzralph, an eminent teacher of Oxford, and afterwards archbishop of Armagh. Fitzralph inveighed against the prominent faults of the friars —their pride, their greed, their notorious disregard of their rules, their usurpations on the parochial clergy. He tells them that all the privileges which they laboured to acquire for themselves were such as were attended with temporal gain; that they showed no eagerness for those unpaid duties in which they might have usefully assisted.[u] Fitzralph carried his complaints against the mendicants to Avignon; but he was strongly opposed by the interest which their money acquired for them in the papal court, where the funds supplied by the English clergy for the support of his cause were soon exhausted; and while the question was yet undecided,[x] he died there in 1361.[y]

A.D. 1356.

In many respects, therefore, the practical grievances of the Roman system had provoked the angry discontent of the English people; and by this feeling the minds of many

should be admitted to the orders under the age of eighteen; and against this the Franciscans appealed to the pope. Munimenta Oxon. i. 204 (Chron. and Mem.), cf. 207; Lewis, Life of Wyclif, 4; Milm. v. 489.

[u] In Goldast. ii. 1400, or Brown's Fascic. ii. 466, seqq. Cf. D'Argentré, i. 378; Rayn. 1356. 6-7. He says that the friars bought up all the useful books, and shut them up unprofitably in their libraries (1399). A Franciscan named Roger Chonoe [Conway] wrote in answer (Ib. 1410, seqq.), and Fitzralph rejoined. See Collier, iii. 117; Lewis, 5.

[x] Innocent VI. ordered that, while the case was pending, the mendicants should not be hindered in the administration of the sacraments, preaching, etc. Wadd. 1357. 7.

[y] W. Nang. cont. 117; Wadd. 1357. 4; Baluz. i. 337, 950; Knyghton, 2615, 2625; Pauli, iv. 483. Fitzralph's "propositio" before the pope and cardinals is in Goldast, ii. 1392. In the 'Gesta Abbatum' it is said that the abbot of St. Albans contributed largely to help him in the expenses of his suit. (ii. 405.) The bishops also assisted. (Wyclif, Trialog. iv. 36, p. 375.) Fitzralph was near being canonized, as he was believed to have done miracles after death. Chron. S. Alb. ed. Thompson (Chron. and Mem.), 48; Rayn. 1358. 6. Yet some have spoken of him as a heretic, and Wadding defends him, because he committed his writings to the judgment of the church, "et plus peccavit intellectus exuberantia quam voluntatis perversitate." (1357. 8.) A biographer of Innocent VI. says that at the archbishop's death, the friars were inclined to sing *Gaudeamus* rather than *Requiem*. Baluz. i. 538

had been prepared to welcome an attack on the doctrine of the church, as well as on its administration. The opposition to the doctrines of the church of Rome, however formidable it had been in some instances, had never yet been of such a kind as to be fitted for attracting general sympathy. Sometimes it had been carried on by enthusiasts, who were evidently weak or disordered in judgment; sometimes by men whose opinions were so utterly remote from the traditional system, that they could have little chance of acceptance with those who had been trained in it; nor had any one of the sects which arose during the middle ages been able to gain a footing in England.[z] A reformer of a new and more dangerous kind was now to arise—a man who, before appearing in that character, had gained a high reputation in literature and philosophy; one who was fitted either to address himself to the learned, or to adapt his teaching, in language and in style of argument, to the understanding of the common people; a reformer whose opinions were not, indeed, free from extravagances, but yet were professedly grounded on Scripture, and appealed from the prevailing corruptions to the standard of an older time.

The earlier part of John Wyclif's life is involved in much obscurity; and such discoveries as have lately been made respecting it have resulted rather in disencumbering the story of errors which had long prevailed than in the establishment of any new truths.[a] His birthplace was probably somewhere in the neighbourhood of Richmond, in Yorkshire:[b] the year usually given for his birth, 1324, is perhaps somewhat later than the true date.[c] He

[z] See Lechler, i. 214-15.

[a] Andrew of Ratisbon, about 1430, was told that he was the son of a Jew by a widow who had come in poverty from France! Pez, IV. iii. 620.

[b] Dr. R. Vaughan's positive belief of his having been born at Wycliffe ('John W., a monograph,' Lond. 1853, p. 5) does not seem to rest on any strong ground. See, however, Lechler, i. 263.

[c] Shirley, Pref. to 'Fasciculi Zizaniorum,' 10-12 (Chron. and Mem.), —the first publication of one whose early death must be deeply lamented,

studied in the university of Oxford; but the statements that he was educated at Queen's college,[d] and that he took a prominent share in Fitzralph's controversy with the mendicants, are not warranted by any sufficient evidence.[e] The first certain notice of him belongs to the year 1361, when he appears as master or warden of Balliol college; and this preferment he exchanged in the same year for the parish of Fillingham, near Lincoln,[f] to which he was presented by his college. It would seem, however, that with the bishop's permission he continued to reside for the most part at Oxford.[g] The statements which were long received as to the offices and benefices held by Wyclif are very perplexing, especially as they seem to show a glaring contradiction between his own practice and the opinions which he professed as to the possessions of the clergy. But it now appears that the reformer has been confounded with another person of the same name, or one nearly resembling it,—and that to this other John Wyclif or Whytecliff are perhaps to be referred the fellowship of Merton college, the living of Mayfield, and the mastership of Canterbury Hall—to the loss of which last preferment, by a papal sentence in 1370, Wyclif's entrance on the career of a reformer has often been ascribed by his enemies.[h] By others among those who have wished to

not only by those who had the privilege of his friendship, but by all who can appreciate the rare combination of powers and acquirements which fitted him to advance the study of ecclesiastical history. [I have cited Dr. Shirley's introduction under his name, substituting Arabic for Roman figures.]

[d] Vaughan, 26. The Wyclif who appears as occasionally resident in Queen's College, from 1360 to 1380, was probably the reformer; but there is no proof of his having been a member of that college in early life. (Shirley, 13.) Lechler supposes that he was a scholar of Balliol, and that, having left it on taking the degree of M.A. for a fellowship of Merton, he was afterwards recalled to become head. i. 289-91.

[e] Shirley, 13-14. [f] Ib. 14-15.

[g] Lechler, i. 292, 316.

[h] *E.g.*, Lingard, iii. 267-8. This motive is mentioned by a contemporary, Wodeford, in a work of which only extracts have been printed (see Lechler, i. 299). Against him, see Shirley, 15, 517, 523; but the same story is told in a St. Alban's chronicle (see below, p. 270). The distinction between the two Wyclifs was first proposed by Mr. Courthope, of the College of Arms, in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for 1844. In

charge him with interested motives, it has been supposed that his zeal was awakened by disappointment as to a bishoprick in the year 1364;[1] but his earliest appearance as a reformer has been more truly referred to the time when he became a doctor in divinity, and in right of this degree began to read lectures in the university.[k] He was already eminent as a philosophical and scientific teacher,[l] and, having adopted the theory of Realism (which had for a time been discountenanced by the authority of Ockham and other popular masters), he had produced a treatise "On the Reality of Universals," which was regarded as marking an epoch in the history of opinion.[m] If a book entitled "The Last Age of the Church"[n] were really Wyclif's, it would prove that he was at one time affected by the ideas of abbot Joachim and the fraticelli. But it seems to be certain that this was never the case; and the tract in question is clearly the work of a Franciscan.[o]

In 1366 Urban V. demanded from England thirty-three years' arrears of the tribute which king John had bound himself to pay to the Roman see. At a former time, John XXII. had obtained from Edward II. a similar payment of arrears as a condition of his favour

support of this view, see Shirley's Preface, and p. 313. See also the last edition of Fox's Acts and Monuments, by the Rev. J. Pratt, Appendix, iii. 812. Mr. Pratt inclines to think that the reformer was the same with the warden of Canterbury Hall, and Dr. Vaughan is confident on the subject. (548.) Prof. Lechler also argues to the same effect, and produces a passage from Wyclif's tract, 'De Ecclesia,' which refers to the affair (i. 294-312; ii. 574). Cf. the Preface to the Wyclifite version of the Bible, p. vii. (Oxf. 1850). In his earlier book ('The Life and Opinions of J. Wycliffe,' Lond. 1828), Dr. Vaughan gives documents as to Canterbury Hall. Append. to vol. i.

[1] See Shirley, 17, 524; Monum. Conc. Basil. i. 317.

[k] Lewis places the D.D. degree in 1372 (p. 18). Dr. Shirley thinks that it must have been about 1363, and that the preface to the treatise 'De Dominio Divino,' about 1366, marks the beginning of Wyclif's movement (xvi. 39, 41). Prof. Lechler places the degree in 1366. i. 312-15.

[l] "In philosophia nulli reputabatur secundus, in scholasticis disciplinis incomparabilis." Knyghton, in Twysd. 2644.

[m] See Neand. ix. 194; Milm. v. 487.

[n] Published at Dublin, 1840, by the Rev. Dr. Todd.

[o] Shirley, 13-14; Lechler, i. 228-9; ii. 447-53. See Vaughan, 43-9.

in the conflict with Robert Bruce;[p] and throughout the earlier years of Edward III.'s reign the money had been regularly paid.[q] But during the costly war with France it had again fallen into neglect; and when in 1357 a claim was made by Innocent VI., the king answered by declaring himself resolved to hold his kingdom in freedom and independence.[r] On the renewal of the claim nine years later, the parliament, headed by the bishops (who gave their opinion before the lay peers), resolved that king John had had no right to bind his people or future generations to such subjection.[s] Wyclif, who was already one of the king's chaplains,[t] appears to have been consulted by the government on this question; and in answer to a challenge by a doctor who belonged to some monastic order, he defended in a determination at Oxford the course which had been taken in answer to the Roman claim.[u]

The employment of ecclesiastics in secular offices was denounced by Wyclif as an abuse; and of this system the most conspicuous representative was William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester, a man whose dignities had been won by his own talents, and whose name is honourably preserved to this day by the great foundations on which his wealth was munificently spent. Against him, therefore, the efforts of a party in the state were chiefly directed. While Edward III., towards the close

[p] Theiner, 193-4; Milm. v. 481.

[q] There are receipts for 1330-1-3 in Rymer, ii. 789, 864, and Theiner, 250, 259.

[r] Knyghton, 2617. See Hook, iv. 192.

[s] Lewis, Life of Wycliff, 7; Lingard, iii. 253.

[t] "Cum sim peculiaris regis clericus." Wicl. in Lewis, 363.

[u] 'Determinatio de Dominio,' in Lewis, 363, seqq. (In this he asserts the independence of the kingdom of England, and denies the immunity of the clergy, as being contrary to English law. He maintains that property given to the clergy may rightfully be taken away; and he gives what has been described as the first report of a parliamentary debate—the opinions of seven lords on the question.) See Lewis, 18; Pauli, iv. 484; Shirley, Pref. 14; Vaughan, 105-15; Lechler, i. 133.

of his long and glorious reign, had fallen under the domination of a worthless woman, and his son Edward, the favourite hero of the nation, was sinking under long disease, the king's next surviving son, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, headed the party of the old feudal aristocracy. Lancaster was a man of corrupt life, of selfish ambition, closely allied with Wyclif's enemies, the mendicant friars, and bent on humiliating the clergy, whereas Wyclif's object was to purify them. Yet the two co-operated towards what was nominally a common object, and, with the aid of the commons, Wykeham was in 1371 driven from office and impeached, while other ecclesiastics were also deprived of their secular employments, and the bishop was not summoned to the next parliament.[x]

In July 1374 Wyclif was sent to Bruges, with the bishop of Bangor and others, for the purpose of conferring with some envoys of the Roman court on certain points as to the relations of the English church and the papacy, while the duke of Lancaster and other representatives of England were engaged in political negotiations at the same place with French princes, bishops, and nobles, and with prelates appointed by the pope to mediate between the two nations.[y] The English commissioners complained of the levying of exactions unparalleled in any other country, of the reservations of benefices, and of the pope's interference with the election of bishops; while on the other side it was urged that papal bulls were not received in England as in other kingdoms, and that the representatives of the pope were not freely admitted. After much discussion, a compromise was agreed on, of which the chief articles were, that the pope should give up his claim to reservations, and that

Aug. 1374 to Sept. 1375.

[x] Chron. S. Alban. 106-7; Lowth, Life of William of Wykeham, c. iv.; Pauli, iv. 485, 495; Shirley, 26.

[y] Rymer, iii. 1007; Lechler, i. 346-8.

the king should no longer confer benefices by the writ of *Quare impedit.* In this arrangement the statute of provisors was over-ridden by the royal prerogative. Nothing was, however, concluded as to the important subject of elections; and in the following year we already find a renewal of the complaints as to the encroachments of the Roman court in the matter of reservations.[z] The "good parliament," as it was called, of that year, while it took up the cause of William of Wykeham and his fellows, and procured their restoration to the royal council,[a] showed itself resolutely hostile to the corruptions of the Roman administration. It was said that the money drawn by the pope from England was five times as much as the taxes paid to the crown; and a formidable list of English preferments held by cardinals and other members of the papal court was exhibited. Such representations were frequent; the statute of provisors was twice re-enacted, and each time with increased severity;[b] but the popes continued to violate these statutes, and to carry on the usurpations by which the mind of the English nation had been so long provoked.[c]

In the end of the year 1375 Wyclif was presented by the crown, in right of a patron who was under age, to the rectory of Lutterworth in Leicestershire[d]—a parish which was his home throughout the remainder of his life, though his residence there was varied by frequent visits to Oxford.[e] The experience which he had gained at Bruges had probably made him more fully acquainted than before

[z] Rymer, iii. 1038; cf. 1072; Walsingh. i. 317; Lewis, 31; Shirley, 23; Milm. v. 495; Hook, iv. 252-3. "De electionibus . . . nihil penitus erat tactum, et hoc ascribitur aliquibus qui sciebant se potius per curiam Romanam, quam per electiones, ad dignitates episcopales quas ambiunt promoveri." (Walsingh. l. c.) The treaty was concluded on the 1st of September 1375; and on the 12th the chief member of the commission was translated by papal provision to Hereford. Shirley, l. c.

[a] Rymer, old ed. vii. 163-70; Chron. S. Alban. 114.

[b] 3 Rich. II. c. 3; 7 Rich. II. c. 12.

[c] Lewis, 31; Vaughan, 173-7; Milm v. 495-7.

[d] Lewis, 40; Vaughan, 18c.

[e] Shirley, 37-8.

with the faults of the Roman system. He had satisfied himself that the pretensions of the papacy had no sufficient foundation; and this conviction he published indefatigably, in learned lectures and disputations, in sermons, and in tracts which for the first time set before the humbler and less educated classes, in strong and clear English prose, the results of inquiry and thought in opposition to the existing state of the church.[f] He denounced the pope as "anti-Christ, the proud worldly priest of Rome, and the most cursed of clippers and purse-carvers."[g] He inveighed against the pride, the pomp, the luxury of prelates, against their enmity to the power of sovereigns, against the claims of the clergy to immunity from secular jurisdiction, heir ignorance, their neglect of preaching, the abuse of the privilege of sanctuary to shelter notorious criminals.[h] He held the temporal lords were entitled to resume such endowments of the church as were abused; and that it was for the temporal lords to judge of the abuse as well as to execute the sentence, and probably also to benefit by the forfeiture.[i]

It was natural that such opinions should give great offence to those who were attacked, especially as the political connexion of Wyclif with the duke of Lancaster invested them with a more alarming character.[k] Wyclif was summoned to appear before the primate and the bishop of London in St. Paul's church on the 23rd of February 1377; and the character of the prosecution is shown by the fact that, although errors of doctrine had already been laid to his charge, those which were now

[f] Neand. ix. 511; Milm. v. 517. On the differences between his Latin and his English writings, see Shirley's Catalogue, viii. (Oxf. 1865).

[g] Lewis, 31. Planck translates "clippers" by *Schaafscheerer!*

[h] Ib. 35-8.

[i] Works, iii. 216, 233, seqq., 360; Walsingh. i. 324. A friar had been made to recant at Oxford in 1358 for having taught that the king might without wrong take away the possessions of clergymen living "male et inordinate." Munim. Oxon. (Chron. and Mem.) i. 209.

[k] Shirley, 26-7

brought forward related entirely to political and social questions.[1] The reformer had with him two powerful supporters, the duke of Lancaster and Lord Percy, earl marshal,[m] and the scene was one of great violence. Instead of the proposed inquiry, there was an exchange of reproachful words between Wyclif's friends and the bishop of London—William Courtenay, a son of the earl of Devon—while Wyclif himself appears to have been silent throughout, as if ashamed of the unruly conduct of his protectors. Lancaster threatened to bring down the pride not only of Courtenay, but of all the prelacy of England: he charged him with relying on the power of his family, but told him that, instead of being able to help him, they would "have enough to do to defend themselves"; and when the bishop replied with dignity that he trusted not in his kinsfolk, nor in any man else, but in God alone, the duke, unable to find an answer, declared that he would rather drag him out of the church by the hair than endure this at his hand.[n] The Londoners who were present, furious at this insult to their bishop and to the privileges of their city, broke out into tumult, and it was with difficulty that Wyclif and his friends escaped. It happened that on the same day a proposal was made in parliament to transfer the government of the city from the lord mayor to a commission of which Percy was to be the head, and the report of this increased the exasperation of the mob, who next day attacked and plundered Lancaster's palace of the Savoy, barbarously murdered an ecclesiastic who was mistaken for the earl marshal, and might have committed further outrages but for the inter-

[1] Shirley, 27.

[m] Percy was in the same year created earl of Northumberland. Nicolas, Histor. Peerage, 510.

[n] The description of this scene was taken by Fox (ii. 801-2) from a St. Alban's chronicle, which has been published for the first time in 1874 (pp. 118, seqq., ed. E. M. Thompson, in Chron. and Mem.). An English version of part of this had been edited in vol. xxii. of the 'Archæologia,' by the late Mr. Amyot. Cf. Walsingh. i. 325; Fuller, ii. 340; Hook, iv. 332.

position of the bishop of London, who hastened to the scene of the tumult and succeeded in appeasing it.[o]

Before the meeting at St. Paul's, nineteen articles of accusation against Wyclif had been submitted to Gregory XI.,[p] and in the end of May 1377 the pope addressed bulls to the king, to the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, and to the university of Oxford, reproving the ecclesiastical and academical authorities for their supineness, and requiring an investigation of the case. Wyclif was said to have revived the errors of Marsilius and of John of Jandun—to have maintained doctrines subversive of ecclesiastical and civil government—to have denied the force of papal commands and the power of the keys—to have asserted that excommunication is a nullity, unless a man be excommunicated by himself—that the endowments of the church may be taken away if abused, and that the clergy, including even the pope himself, may be accused and corrected by the laity. In the letter addressed to Oxford it was ordered that such teaching should be suppressed in the university, and that the chancellor should arrest Wyclif and bring him before the primate and the bishop of London.[q] But before these documents could reach England an important change took place through the death of Edward III., who was succeeded by his grandson Richard, then only eleven years old. May 30. June 21.

The university authorities of Oxford, jealous of its independence, showed no eagerness to carry out the papal commands; but the archbishop and the bishop of London required the chancellor to present Wyclif before them for trial.[r] In the meantime a new parliament

[o] Walsingh 325; Chron. S. Alb. 120-6; Pauli, iv. 498.

[p] They are in Walsingh. i. 353-5; Lewis, 42.

[q] Walsingh. i. 346, seqq.; Fascic. Zizan. 242-4; Shirley, Pref. 30; Hook, iv. 271-3 Lechler, i. 378.

[r] Walsingh. i. 345, 356 (who blames

made strong representations against the encroachments of the papacy, and consulted certain authorities on the question whether the king were not entitled to prevent the exportation of treasure from the realm, although the pope might have required it to be sent to him. To this Wyclif, always a partisan of the crown as against the claims of the papacy, answered that for the defence of the country such a seizure would be warranted by the law of Christ, even although the pope's requisition should be made on the ground of the obedience due to him, and should be enforced by the penalty of his censures.[s]

October.

By the death of Edward the duke of Lancaster's influence was lessened, and the clergy felt themselves stronger than before. In December Wyclif was cited to appear again at St. Paul's within thirty days; but the place of hearing was changed to the archbishop's chapel at Lambeth, where, early in the following year,[t] Wyclif was required to answer to the nineteen articles charged against him. But immediately after the proceedings had been opened, a message was received from the young king's mother, desiring that the bishops would carry the inquiry no further; and while the latter were deliberating whether this order should be obeyed, a mob of Londoners, now favourable to Wyclif, as from special circumstances they had lately been opposed to him, broke into the chapel and compelled them to withdraw.[u]

Wyclif had already replied to the charges against him[x]

the prelates for their slowness and timidity); Shirley, 30.

[s] Fascic. Zizan. 258; Vaughan, 196; Pauli, iv. 512.

[t] The precise date is uncertain. See Lechler, i. 386.

[u] Walsingh. i. 356.

[x] "Partly it is to be borne in mind that the articles come to us from the hand of Wickliffe's adversaries; but much more, that we have them in their naked and abstract form, without the limitations and explanations which conclusions so concisely expressed plainly demand, and through aid of which we have evidence enough to show that Wickliffe himself maintained and vindicated them." Wordsworth, Eccl. Biog. i. 203—who goes on to comment on the propositions exhibited at Lambeth.

in three tracts, of which one would seem to have been intended for the clergy and for academic readers, while another was laid before parliament, and the third is a vehement attack on some opponent, whom he styles a "medley divine."[y] The obscurity and over-subtlety which have been imputed to these papers arise in part from the scholastic method of argument.[z] Wyclif endeavours to explain and to justify, on grounds of scripture and of canon-law, such of the questioned opinions as he admits to be really held by him, and to obviate the misconceptions which his language might be too likely to produce. He speaks of himself as a sincere son of the church, and as willing to retract wherever he can be convinced that he is wrong[a]—a profession which, as it is often repeated by other reformers of the period, may be presumed to have been in their minds something more than a nugatory truism. Wyclif was not further censured at this time than by being warned to avoid the danger of misleading the ignorant;[b] and he thought himself at liberty to put forth ten new propositions, which were chiefly directed against the interference of spiritual persons with secular power and possessions.[c]

The death of Gregory XI. put an end to the commission under which the late proceedings had taken place; but the great schism which March 27, 1378.

[y] "Mixtim Theologus" (by which name he seems to mean one who mixed human traditions with the authority of Scripture—the divine who professes to look to Scripture only being "*purus* Theologus." Lechler, i. 477.) See for these tracts, Fascic. Zizan. 245, 481; Walsingh. i. 357. The order and the dates are matters of dispute; and there are also questions as to the kind of readers for whom the tracts were severally meant. Dr. Shirley places the first two in October, and the third between the date of these and that of the archbishop's letter to the chancellor of Oxford (31-2). Dr. Lingard had argued that the answer to the "medley (iii. 302-3); against him, see Vaughan, divine" was before the Lambeth trial 222; Pauli, iv. 514; Pratt, n. on Fox, iii. 798.

[z] Pauli, v. 514. Walsingham blames Wyclif for first putting things "nude et aperte," and afterwards explaining them away. i. 363.

[a] Ib. 357.

[b] Ib. 363

[c] Ib.

followed, while it was favourable to Wyclif by supplying him with fresh arguments against the papacy, and by weakening the power of the clergy everywhere, yet told against him by removing so much of the cause for the anti-papal feeling of the English as had arisen from the connexion of the late popes with France; for England, as we have seen, acknowledged the Roman line of popes, and disowned that of Avignon.[d] Wyclif himself had at first hailed the election of Urban VI. as a reforming pope; but he found his hopes disappointed, and, after some observation of the schism, he declared that the church would be in a better condition if both the rival popes were removed or deposed, forasmuch as their lives appeared to show that they had nothing to do with the church of God.[e]

In his preaching at Oxford and elsewhere, Wyclif vehemently attacked the mendicant orders, which he declared to be the great evil of Christendom. He charged them with fifty errors of doctrine and practice. He denounced them for intercepting the alms which ought to belong to the poor; for their unscrupulous system of proselytizing; for their invasion of parochial rights; their habit of deluding the common people by fables and legends; their hypocritical pretensions to sanctity; their flattery of the great and wealthy, whom it would rather have been their duty to reprove for their sins; their grasping at money by all sorts of means; the needless splendour of their buildings, whereas parish-churches were left to neglect and decay.[f]

That these complaints were well grounded there can be no doubt; but it must be remembered that the faults

[d] Shirley, 41.

[e] Lechler, i. 579-81, 646-9.

[f] Sermons, *passim*; 'Two Short Treatises against the Begging Friars,' ed. James, Oxf. 1608; Lewis, 20-7. There is a vehement tract against the friars (Works, ed. Arnold, iii. 366), which the editor refers to the latter half of 1384, but supposes to be probably not Wyclif's own.

which Wyclif noted were for the most part deviations from the intentions of those by whom the orders had been founded. Indeed, Wyclif himself had much in common with those founders. He held that tithes and other endowments were in their nature eleemosynary; that the clergy ought to receive only so much as might be necessary for their support;[g] he insisted on the idea of apostolic poverty which had been advocated by Arnold of Brescia and by many sectaries—not considering that the effect of reducing all clerical income to that which is merely necessary will not be a removal of all secular temptations to enter into the ministry of the church, but will leave such temptations as can attract only an inferior class of men. In his earlier days he had distinguished the mendicants favourably from the other monastic orders; and it was probably not until their faults had been brought home to him by special circumstances that he entered on a declared opposition to them.[h] In order to counteract the efforts of the friars and to spread his own opinions, he instituted a brotherhood of his own, under the name of "poor priests," who were to go about the country barefooted, roughly clad in russet frocks,[i] penetrating, as the mendicants had done, to the humblest classes of the people, and giving such elementary religious instruction as they could. These simple teachers were employed under episcopal authority throughout the vast diocese of Lincoln, and perhaps elsewhere; but they appear to have been suppressed in a later stage of Wyclif's career.[k] Wyclif refused to admit the monastic pretensions in favour of a life of contemplation and prayer; he regarded the idea of such a life as selfish, and held that

[g] Lewis, 120-1, and Append. xix.; Shirley, 66.

[h] See Lechler, i. 320, 457, 565, 587-8.

[i] Ad. Murimuth, contin. 222; Walsingh. i. 324.

[k] They were denounced by archbishop Courtenay in May 1382 (Wilk. iii. 159). Dr. Shirley places the suppression between the council of London and the writing of the 'Trialogus,' *i.e.* in 1382 or 1383. (Pref. 40.) The author of a poem against the Wyclifites

the clergy ought rather to labour in preaching, as being a work beneficial to others.[1]

In 1379 Wyclif, while residing at Oxford, had a dangerous illness, in which it is said that four doctors, belonging to the mendicant orders, visited him with the design of bringing him to express contrition and to retract his sayings against their brethren; but that he astonished and scared them away by declaring, in scriptural phrase, "I shall not die, but live and declare the evil deeds of the friars": and he was able to keep his word.[m]

A.D. 1380. He now entered on a new and important portion of his work—the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the vernacular tongue. In the prologue to the version by his follower John Purvey, the venerable examples of Bede and king Alfred are cited in favour of such translations;[n] but whatever means of attaining a knowledge of Scripture through their native tongue may have been open to the English in earlier ages,[o] they had for centuries been without such aids, and in the meantime the reading of Scripture had been forbidden, as being dangerous to the unlearned. Of late,

charges these preachers with hypocrisy, much as writers in the opposite interest make similar imputations against the friars, pardoners, etc. *E. g.*:—

"Villarum in exitibus,
Se nudant sotilaribus
Cum populum ludificant.
Nudis incedunt pedibus
Cum appropinquant foribus
Locorum quibus prædicant
Pœnas foris amplificant.
Intus tamen lætificant
Se multis voluptatibus.
Seipsos sic magnificant
Quod alios parvificant,
Multis pravis sermonibus," etc.

—*Political Poems*, ed. Wright (Chron. and Mem.), i. 233.

Professor Lechler thinks that the "poor priests" were at first men in holy orders, trained under Wyclif at Oxford, but that afterwards he employed laymen in preaching. i. 412-13, 417.

[1] Vaughan, 383, from a Dublin MS., 'Of feigned Contemplative Life'; Lewis, 38-40.

[m] Bale, de Scriptoribus Britanniæ, i. 469 (who says that he found the story "in quodam scripto"). See Fox, iii. 20, and note.

[n] 'Wycliffite Versions of the Bible,' i. 59, edd. Forshall and Madden, Oxf. 1850. That this Prologue was written by Purvey, see ib. Pref. xxv.

[o] See Ussher, Hist. Dogmatica, in his Works, ed. Elrington, xii. 349. Westcott's Hist. of the English Bible, 7, 8 (Cambr. 1868).

however, renewed attempts had been made to exhibit the sacred writings in an English form. About the beginning of Edward III.'s reign, William of Shoreham, vicar of Chart Sutton in Kent, rendered the Psalter into English prose;[p] and he was soon after followed by Richard Rolle, "the hermit of Hampole," who not only translated the text of the Psalms, but added an English commentary. But no other book of Scripture appears to have been rendered into our language for centuries before the time when Wyclif undertook a version of the whole.[q] How much of the gigantic labour was done by his own hands it is impossible to determine;[r] but to him we must refer at least the general merit of the design and the superintendence of the entire work.[s]

The effect of thus bringing home the word of God to the unlearned people is shown by the indignation of a contemporary writer, who denounces Wyclif as having made the gospel "common, and more open to laymen and to women who can read than it is wont to be to clerks well learned and of good understanding; so that the pearl of the gospel is scattered and is trodden under foot of swine"; and he applies, as if prophetical of Wyclif's labours, some passages in which William of St. Amour had denounced the "everlasting gospel" of an earlier party.[t] It is said that the bishops attempted in

[p] Pref. to 'Wycliffite Versions,' 4.

[q] It has been supposed that John of Trevisa, a parish priest in Cornwall, independently of Wyclif, and somewhat before him, translated the whole Bible (Wharton, in Ussher, xii. 346); but the investigations of Mr. Forshall and Sir F. Madden have shown that this is a mistake. Pref. 21. See Lechler, i. 430.

[r] See the Preface, 17.

[s] Ib. 6. The author of the 'Prologue' tells us that, in his ignorance of the original tongues, he endeavoured to obtain a correct text by collating many copies, either personally or by means of his assistants; that he called in the aid of commentators, especially of Nicolas de Lyra; and that his principle was "to translate after the sentence, and not only after the words." (57.) This passage has often been quoted as from Wyclif, but is really by Purvey, and relates to his somewhat later version. Purvey recanted Wycliffism in 1400. Fascic. Ziz. 400.

[t] Knyghton, in Twysd. 2644. See vol. vi. p. 433.

1390 to get the version condemned by parliament, lest it should become an occasion of heresies; but John of Gaunt "with a great oath" declared that the English would not submit to the degradation of being denied a vernacular Bible, while other nations were allowed to enjoy it; and other nobles added that, if there were danger of heresy from having the Scriptures in English, there had been more heresies among the Latins than among the people of any other language.[u] The attempt at prohibition, therefore, failed, and the English Bible spread far and wide, being diffused chiefly through the exertions of the "poor priests," whom Wyclif employed to publish his doctrines about the country, and furnished with portions of his translation as the text which they were to expound, and the foundation on which they were to rest their preaching.

A.D. 1381. Soon after having engaged in the translation, Wyclif, who had thus far shown himself as a reformer only in matters relating to ecclesiastical and civil government, and as to the powers of the clergy,[x] or as a maintainer of philosophical opinions which differed from those generally accepted, went on to assail the doctrine of the church in the matter of the eucharist, by putting forth certain propositions, which he offered to maintain in public disputation.[y] This, however, the authorities of Oxford would not allow; the chancellor, William Berthon, with some doctors, condemned Wyclif's opinions,[z] whereupon he appealed to the king[a]—an act which naturally excited the anger of the clergy, as being an attack on the church's right of judgment.[b] His old patron

[u] Wharton, Auctarium, ap. Ussher, xii. 352. See as to "oo great bishop of Engeland," who was against translation of the Scriptures, Wycl. Serm. i. 209.

[x] Fascic. 2; Vaughan, 346.

[y] Treatises against the Order of Friars, p. 34; Walsingh. i. 450; Shirley, 42. On his eucharistic doctrine, see Lechler, i. 615, seqq.

[z] Fascic. 109-13.

[a] Ib. 114.

[b] See Lewis, Append. xv.; Fascic. 114.

the duke of Lancaster, who took no interest in such questions, charged him to refrain from teaching his doctrine as to the eucharist ;[c] but Wyclif, instead of obeying this order, put forth a "confession," in which he asserted and defended his opinion.[d] He maintained that the sacrament of the altar was not a mere sign, but was at once figure and truth ; that all teachers since the year 1,000 had erred, with the sole exception of Berengar,—the devil having been let loose, and having had power over the "master of the Sentences" and others.[e] He distinguished various modes of being, and said that the body of Christ was in the consecrated host virtually, spiritually, and sacramentally, but that it was not substantially, corporally, or dimensionally, elsewhere than in heaven ; that, as St. John the Baptist, on becoming the Elias, did not cease to be John[f]—as one who is changed into a pope still remains the same man as before[g]—so it was with the bread and wine of the sacrament. And he severely reprobated the holders of the current doctrine as being "followers of signs and worshippers of accidents."[h] It was, he said, beyond the reach even of almighty power to cause the existence of accidents without any subject.[i] Thus an important addition was made to the subjects of controversy between Wyclif and the ruling party in the church ; and in order to set forth his views in a popular

[c] Fascic. 114.

[d] Ib. 115 ; Lewis, 85 ; Shirley, 43.

[e] Fascic. 114 ; Trialog. ii. 7, p. 153 ; Wilkins, iii. 171. (Apocal. xx. 3.)

[f] Trialog. iv. 4, p. 256 ; 9, pp. 274-5.

[g] Fascic. 107.

[h] Ib. 125.

[i] Ib. 106, 115, 132, and Pref. 60-2 ; Walsingh. i. 450 ; ii. 52 (who calls him *Wikkebeleve*) ; Lewis, Append. xvi. Knyghton relates that a knight named Cornelius Clonne was converted from Wyclif's opinions as to the sacrament by seeing that, at the breaking of the host in the mass, the part which was to be put into the cup remained white, but had the name of Jesus written on it, "litteris carneis, crudis, et sanguinolentis," while the other parts appeared as bleeding flesh. His squire, whom he called to witness this, saw nothing extraordinary ; but the miracle was turned to account. (2651.) Walsingham has a story of a Wiltshire knight who carried off the consecrated host, and ate it as common food, but was brought to a right mind by the bishop of Salisbury. i. 450.

form, he produced a treatise which is known as his "Wicket."[k]

In the same year took place the rising of the peasantry under Wat Tyler—a movement similar to those which somewhat earlier had been designated in France by the name of Jacquerie.[l] It was the policy of Wyclif's enemies to connect him with this insurrection, by representing it as the effect of his teaching;[m] and one of the leaders, a priest named John Ball, declared in his confession that he had been two years a follower of Wyclif, whom he described as the chief author of the revolt.[n] But, in truth, this connexion was imaginary. The fury of Tyler's followers was especially directed, not against the clergy (as would have been the case if the impulse had been derived from Wyclif), but against persons in secular authority and administrative office, against lawyers, gentlemen, and men of wealth,[o] especially those who had become rich by commerce. It was not on account of his spiritual office, but as chancellor of the kingdom, that archbishop Simon of Sudbury was beheaded on Tower Hill.[p] Ball, instead of having learnt his principles from

[k] Printed at Nuremberg, 1546; edited by the Rev. T. P. Pantin, Oxf. 1828, and included in the Religious Tract Society's selection from Wyclif's works. For passages illustrating his eucharistic doctrine, see Vaughan, 312; also Lechler's comparison of his various expressions, in Herzog, xviii. 102.

[l] The first outbreak of the Jacquerie was in 1356. W. Nang. cont. 114, 119.

[m] See Knyghton, 2644; Walsingh. i. 11-12; Latin poem against the Lollards, in Wright, Polit. Songs, i. 235; Buchon, n. on Froissart, viii. 69.

[n] Fascic. 273; Lewis, 177-8; Knyghton says that Ball was Wyclif's forerunner, preparing men's minds for him [2644, 2655]; and in the Fascic. Zizaniorum he is styled the "delectus sequax" of Wyclif (l. c.). For the causes of the insurrection, see Hallam, i. 308-9.

[o] See Fuller, ed. Brewer, ii. 381; Collier, iii. 155-6; Pauli, 'Bilder,' 240-1; Bergenroth, 286, 290; Hook, iv. 289. Walsingham says, "Periculosum erat agnosci pro clerico, sed multo periculosus si ad latus alicujus atramentarium inventum fuisset; nam tales vix aut nunquam ab eorum manibus evaserunt." (ii. 9.)

[p] Lingard, iii. 287; Brougham, Hist. of the House of Lancaster, 16; Milm. v. 507. Thomas of Chartham, a monk of Christchurch, Canterbury, relates that Sudbury, while bishop of London, in going to Canterbury at the fourth jubilee of St. Thomas, A.D. 1370, warned the people whom he fell in with on the road against trusting in the plenary indulgence which was expected.

Wyclif, had, for twenty years before this outbreak, been notorious as a preacher of communism and revolution; he had been censured by three successive primates,[q] and at length, for his irregularities, had been committed to the archbishop's prison at Maidstone, from which he was released by the rioters.[r] Another priest, who, under the name of Jack Straw,[s] was prominent as a leader, held opinions akin to those of the fraticelli.[t] There were no demonstrations against the popular superstitions of the time; the insurgents were in alliance with Wyclif's enemies, the friars, and were furious against his patron the duke of Lancaster, whose palace of the Savoy underwent a second spoliation and serious damage at their hands.[u] In the suppression of this rebellion, a conspicuous part was borne by Henry Spenser, bishop of

In consequence of his speeches, many went home; but a knight, Thomas of Aldoun, said to him, "Domine episcope, quod fecisti hanc rem seditiosam in populo contra S. Thomam, sub periculo animæ meæ morte nephandissima finies vitam tuam." (Ang. Sac. i. 49.) Rinaldi looks on his death by the hands of the Wyclifites (as the annalist represents it) as a judgment on his "segnities" in dealing with Wyclifism. (1381. 29.) It may be noted, as an instance of the power vested in the prior and monks of the cathedral during the vacancy of the see, that we find them issuing orders to the bishops, through the provincial dean, the bishop of London, for denouncing the archbishop's murderers. Wilk. iii. 153. (See above, p. 163.)

[q] Langham, in 1366, orders that he should be cited for preaching "multiplices errores et scandala." (Wilk. iii. 64.) Sudbury, in 1381, orders that he should be denounced as excommunicate, and mentions that he had been censured by Islip. (Ib. 152.) See Bergenroth, 285, who connects Ball's proceedings with the effects of the "black death" (sup. p. 164); Lechler, i. 660-2.

[r] Knyghton, 2634; Walsingh. ii. 32. Froiss. viii. 15. Froissart's account of this insurrection is the most animated, and seems to be in the main correct, although we may question his opinion that the movement was caused by the too great prosperity of the "menu peuple." (p. 13.) There is a full history of the manner in which St. Alban's was affected by the rising, Gesta Abbatum S. Alb. iii. 285, seqq.

[s] Rinaldi calls him Joannes Stravus. 1381. 40.

[t] Lewis, 180; Milm. v. 508. Straw was induced to confess by a promise of masses for his soul. He makes no mention of Wyclifism, but says that his party would have destroyed the bishops and all the higher clergy, down to rectors, allowing the mendicants alone to live for the purpose of performing the offices of the church. Walsingh. ii. 10.

[u] See Knyghton, 2635; Walsingh. i. 457. It is said that they threw the duke's *jocalia* into the Thames, declaring "Nolumus esse fures." Eulog. Hist. iii. 352; cf. Introd. lxx.

Norwich, who had obtained his see as a reward for military services rendered to Urban V. in Italy.[x] He took the field in armour, delivered Peterborough from the insurgents, contributed to discomfit them in the neighbouring counties, and, when peace had been restored, made over the local ringleaders to execution, after having, in his episcopal character, administered to them the last consolations of religion.[y]

For Wyclif the result of the insurrection was unfavourable, as the place of the murdered primate was filled by his old enemy Courtenay, who was not likely to distinguish in his favour between political and doctrinal innovations.

May 17, 1382. Immediately after having received his pall, the new archbishop brought the question of Wyclif's opinions before a council of bishops, and other ecclesiastics (mostly belonging to the mendicant orders), with some lawyers, which met at the Dominican convent in Holborn.[z] As the session was about to begin, a shock of an earthquake was felt, and some of the members in alarm proposed an adjournment; but the archbishop, undisturbed by the omen, declared that it signified the purging of the kingdom from heresy.[a] Wyclif was not present, nor does it appear that he had been cited to defend himself; but twenty-two propositions were brought forward as having been maintained by him—ten of them being branded as heretical, while the others were only designated as errors. Among the heresies were the assertions that the material substance of bread and wine

[x] Capgrave de Illustr. Henricis, 170. "Vir nec litteris nec discretione præditus, juvenis effrænis et insolens." Chron. Angliæ, ed. Thompson, 258.

[y] Capgr. 170-1; Knyghton, 2638-9; Walsingh. ii. 8-11.

[z] Shirley, 43. See Hook, iv. 348. Nine bishops are named in the Fascic. Ziz. 286, 498; among these is William Bottlesham, *Nanatensis* (?), who, according to Godwin (607); was made bishop of Bethlehem by the pope, and was afterwards appointed to Llandaff and Rochester. See Wharton, Angl. Sac. i. 379.

[a] Knyghton, 2647; Walsingh. ii. 57; Wright, Pol. Songs, i. 250, seqq.; Lewis, 82. In the Fascic. Ziz. 272, this seems to be given as the writer's interpretation.

remains in the sacrament of the altar; that accidents do not remain in it without a subject; that Christ is not in it "identically, truly, and really, in His proper bodily substance"; that the ministrations of bishops and priests who are in mortal sin, and the claims of evil popes over Christ's faithful people, are null; that contrition supersedes the necessity of outward confession; that God ought to obey the devil;[b] that since Urban VI. no one was to be received as pope, but the Christians of the west ought to live, like the Greeks, under their own laws; and that it was contrary to Holy Scripture for clergymen to hold temporal possessions.

Among the propositions noted as erroneous were several relating to the effect of excommunication; the assertions already mentioned as to the power of secular persons to take away ecclesiastical endowments, with others of like tendency; and some denials of the utility of the monastic life.[c]

The council held five sessions, and in the meantime the archbishop wrote to Oxford, denouncing the preaching of uncommissioned persons, and ordering that the opinions of Wyclif should be suppressed in the university.[d] The council condemned the doctrines which were brought before it, and three of Wyclif's most prominent followers —Philip Repyngdon, Nicolas Hereford,[e] and John Ayshton—after having been examined before the primate, were sentenced to various punishments. The archbishop brought the matter before the house of lords, and an order was obtained from the crown, by which the sheriffs were required to assist the officers of the bishops in arresting heretics. But in the following session, the bill which the lords had passed in accordance with the archbishop's wishes was disowned by the

May 28.

[b] See below, p. 293.
[c] Fascic. 277-82; Walsingh. ii. 58 9.
[d] Fascic. 274, seqq.
[e] See Hereford's propositions, ib. 303.

commons, who declared that they had never assented to it, and prayed the king that it might be annulled; chiefly, it would seem, in consequence of a petition which Wyclif had addressed to the king and to the parliament.[f]

The reforming party was now attacked in Oxford, which was its chief stronghold. The chancellor, Robert Rygge, although he had subscribed the former condemnation,[g] was inclined to favour the Wyclifites, and to maintain the exemption of the university from the power of the archbishop and bishops.[h] He appointed Repyngdon, and others of like opinions, to preach on some public occasions. On being required by the archbishop to publish a denunciation of Wyclifism, he declared that to do so might endanger his life.[i] And when a Carmelite, named Stokes, appeared at Oxford, with a commission to carry out the archbishop's mandate, it is said that the chancellor made a display of armed men, so that the friar withdrew in terror, without having executed his task.[k] Rygge was, however, compelled to appear in London, with the proctors of the university, and to ask pardon on his knees for having favoured Wyclifism. He was commanded by the archbishop to allow no new doctrines to be taught or held;[l] and, in obedience to a royal order[m] (which had, perhaps, been obtained by representing Wyclif's opinions as connected with the late revolutionary movements), he published the suspension of Repyngdon and Hereford.[n] The bishop of Lincoln, Bokyngham, within whose diocese Oxford was situated, exerted himself vigorously for the suppression of Wyclifism in the university.[o] Repyngdon,

July 3.

July 15.

[f] Hallam, M. A. ii. 220; Pauli, iv. 549-52. See Gibson, Codex, i. 400, ed. 1.
[g] Fascic. 113.
[h] Ib. 299.
[i] Ib. 299, 306, 311; Walsingh. ii. 60; Lewis, 93-4; Vaughan, 280-4; Pauli, iv. 551.
[k] Fascic. 302, 304.
[l] Ib. 304-8.
[m] Ib. 312; Rymer, vii. 363.
[n] Wilk. iii. 166, 168; Knyghton, 2655; Lewis, 95.
[o] Knyghton, 2651; Fascic. 330.

Hereford, and Ayshton recanted, after having in vain attempted to gain the intercession of the duke of Lancaster; but their explanations were not deemed sufficient, and it was not without much trouble that they procured their restoration.[p] Hereford, in order to clear his orthodoxy, went to Rome, where he was committed to prison by Urban VI., who, in consideration of the support which he had received from England, was unwilling to inflict the extreme punishment of heresy on any Englishman. Having recovered his liberty through a popular outbreak while the pope was shut up in Nocera, Hereford returned to England, where he was again imprisoned by the archbishop of Canterbury, and was denounced by the bishop of Worcester as a preacher of Lollardy in 1387; and ended his days as a Carthusian monk.[q] Repyngdon became one of the bitterest opponents of the party to which he had once belonged; and his zeal was rewarded with the bishoprick of Lincoln, and with the dignity of cardinal.[r] According to some writers, Wyclif himself appeared before the archbishop and other prelates at Oxford, and explained himself in terms which are treated by his enemies as evasive;[s] and it would seem that Nov. 1383. his explanation was accepted by his judges as sufficient to justify them in dismissing him.[t] But the party at Oxford never recovered from the effects of these proceedings.[u]

The remaining two years of Wyclif's life were spent in his parish of Lutterworth; and such was the effect of his labours in the surrounding country, that, according to the writer who is known by the name of Knyghton, a canon

[p] Fascic. 318-25, 329, 333; Wilk. iii. 172. Ayshton, on being asked by the archbishop whether material bread remained in the sacrament, answered, "Illud verbum *materialis* ponas in bursa tua, si quam habes. Wilk. iii. 164.

[q] Knyghton, 2657; Wilk. iii. 203; Lechler, i. 694. See Hook, v. 132.

[r] Ciacon. ii. 769; Godwin, 296.

[s] Knyghton, 2649. See Vaughan, 310, 517; Martineau, 464-7; Hefele, vi. 827.

[t] Lewis, 88; Vaughan, 310-18; Hook, iv. 365; Lechler, i. 697.

[u] Shirley, 44.

of Leicester, "You would scarce see two in the way, but one of them was a disciple of Wyclif."[x] During this period of his life his pen was actively employed. When

A.D. 1383. the warlike bishop Spenser, of Norwich, led into Flanders a rabble of disorderly recruits, to fight as crusaders for pope Urban against pope Clement, Wyclif sent forth a pamphlet "On the Schism" and one "Against the pope's Crusade." In these he denounces the system of indulgences in general, and the abuse of holding forth such privileges as an inducement to enlist in such an enterprise, the taking of arms by the clergy, the nature of the war itself, the secular and unchristian motives from which it originated, and the share which the mendicant friars had taken in promoting it.[y] And to this time belongs one of his most remarkable works—

A.D. 1383-4. the "Trialogue," which, as its name intimates is in the form of a conversation between three persons, bearing the Greek names of Aletheia, Pseustis, and Phronesis—Truth, Deceiver, and Thoughtfulness.[z]

[x] Ap. Twysd. 2663-4, 2666.

[y] See Todd, 'Three Treatises of Wyclif,' Dublin, 1851, pp. 10, xxxiii., clxxvi.; Shirley, Catalogue, pp. 25, 48; Lewis, 98-9; Vaughan, 371, seqq.; Lechler, i. 708-11. As to this expedition (which proved an utter failure), see Froissart, viii. 396, seqq.; ix. 2; Knyghton, 2660, 2671; Walsingh. ii. 72-8, 84-103, 109, 141; Wilkins, iii. 176-8. Mr. Arnold sees a reference to it in Wycl. Serm. i. 115, 136. In the 'Eulogium Historiarum,' Spenser is described as "magis militari levitate dissolutus quam pontificali maturitate solidus." (ii. 356.) Capgrave argues that ecclesiastics who live on alms and tithes only must not fight; but that those who have castles, etc., may be present in expeditions, not only against infidels, but against false Christians, yet must not themselves take arms. De Illustr. Henricis, 74.

[z] This was printed in 1525, probably at Basel, and was the first of Wyclif's books that appeared in type. In that edition it is styled '*Di*alogorum libri iiii.'; but the title of *Dialogue* rather belongs to another of the reformer's works—the 'Dialogus sive speculum ecclesiæ militantis.' The *Trialogus* was edited for the Oxford university press in 1864, by Prof. Lechler, of Leipzig, who has since published a valuable work on Wyclif and other precursors of the Reformation. (Leipz 1873.) Dr. Lechler points out that the name is formed by a false analogy, as if *dialogus* were derived from δύο (p. 6) Of the personages, Aletheia is described in the prologue (39) as speaking "tanquam solidus philosophus," but is styled a sister (*e.g.*, p. 40; cf. Lechler, 8) Pseustis (*i.e.* ψεύστης) is said to be "infidelis et captiosus"; while Phronesis, who, notwithstanding the feminine form

In this book Wyclif lays down a rigid doctrine of predestination.[a] He exposes the popular errors of reliance on the saints, declaring Christ to be a better, readier, and more benign mediator than any of them;[b] he mentions without disapproval the opinion of some who would abolish all festivals of the saints, and who blame the church for canonizing men, inasmuch as without revelation it can no more know the sanctity of the persons so honoured than prester John or the soldan.[c] In like manner he reprobates indulgences, on the ground that the prelates who grant them pretend foolishly, greedily, and blasphemously to a knowledge which is beyond their reach.[d] He maintains the superiority of Holy Scripture to all other laws;[e] if there were a hundred popes, and all the friars were turned into cardinals, their opinion ought not to be believed, except in so far as it is founded on Scripture.[f] It is chiefly in the last book of the Trialogue that Wyclif shows himself as a reformer. He states his doctrine of the eucharist, which, he says, had been held by the church until Satan was let loose.[g] As to the hierarchy, he says that the only orders were originally those of priest and deacon, that bishops were the same with the priests, and that the other orders were the inventions of "Cæsarean" pride.[h] The pope he considers to be probably the great antichrist, and the "Cæsarean" prelates to be the lesser antichrists, as being utterly opposite to their pretensions as Christ's vicar and his representatives.[i] He declares himself strongly against the endowments of the church; he tells the story of the angel's lamentation over the gift

of the name, is a male person, is described as "subtilis theologus et maturus." [a] ii. 14; iii. 7-8. [b] iii. 30. [c] Ib. p. 237. [d] ii. 7, p. 152. [e] iii. 31. There is a puzzling passage about people who disparage Scripture, and especially St. John's Gospel, p. 241. [f] iv. 7, p. 266. [g] L. iv. 4, 2, 10, 29; also l. ii. c. 7, p. 153. Again: "Sed ut certe scio, omnes fratres mundi non possunt docere aliquem nec seipsos, quid sit illud accidens sine subjecto, quod sic consecrant et adorant." iv. 38, p. 383. See as to Grossetête's opposite belief, c. 6, p. 265. [h] Ib. 15. [i] iii. 17

of Constantine,[k] to which he traces all the corruptions, abuses, and decay of later times; he holds that the error of Constantine and others, who thought by such means to benefit the church, was greater than that of St. Paul in persecuting it; nay, he says that the princes who endowed the church are liable to the punishment of hell for so doing.[l] And, as a simple remedy for the evils of the case, he recommends that the king, on getting the temporalities of a bishoprick or of an abbacy into his hands through a vacancy, should avoid the mistake of restoring them to the next incumbent.[m] He denies the necessity of confession, and attacks the penitential system, as also indulgences and the sacrament of extreme unction.[n] And he is severe against the clergy—more especially against the monks, canons, and friars. These last he traces to antichrist, and declares to be the means of spreading all heresies;[o] he even charges their idle and luxurious lives with rendering the land less productive and the air unwholesome, and so with causing pestilences and epidemics.[p]

Although Wyclif's last years appear to have been

[k] iv. 15; Supplem. 409. See vol. vi. p. 404. The Supplement, published for the first time by Prof. Lechler, is against endowments. In form it is not a dialogue, but an argument in the scholastic method.

[l] Trialog. iv. 17-18. Cf. iii. 10.

[m] iv. 19. [n] Ib. 23-5, 32.

[o] Ib. 26-39. See above, p. 274.

[p] iv. 35, p. 370. Wyclif acknowledges that Dominic and Francis were holy and devout men, but thinks that, from a want of prudence, they erred in instituting their orders by way of remedy for the evils which had grown on the church since Satan was let loose. (iv. 33.) Formerly, as in the time of Fitzralph, bishops and friars were hostile to each other, but now Herod and Pilate had become friends (ib. 36, p, 375). The friars are "Caimitica institutio," the names of the orders, according to their pretended seniority, forming by their initials that of the first murderer. Thus;—

*C*armelites,
*A*ugustinians,
*J*acobites,
*M*inorites.

(iv. 17, p. 306; 33, p. 362), and the voice of Abel cries to the Lord against them. (p. 362.) He rejects, however, the claims of the Carmelites to foundation by Elijah, and that of the Austin friars to foundation by the great bishop of Hippo. (v. 33; Sup. pl. c. 6, p. 436.) Against the connexion with Cain, see Woodford in Fascic. Rer. Expet. et Fug. i. 264, who objects, among other things, to the substitution of *m* for *n*.

wholly passed in his retirement, his constant and varied activity, and the influence which he exercised, were not to be overlooked; and it has been supposed that in 1384 he received a citation to appear before Urban VI. The paper which is commonly regarded as his answer[q] does not clearly state the grounds on which he excused himself; but he had been disabled by illness, and especially by a stroke of palsy. On the 28th of December 1384, as he was engaged in the service of the church, he was struck down by a second attack of the same sort: and on the last day of the year he expired. His enemies found a pleasure in relating that his seizure took place on the festival of St. Thomas of Canterbury, the champion and martyr of the hierarchical claims, and that he died on the festival of St. Sylvester, the pope on whom the first Christian emperor was supposed to have bestowed those privileges and endowments which Wyclif had pertinaciously assailed.[r]

It is remarkable that, although Wyclif had many points in common with the Waldenses, he never shows any trace of acquaintance with the history of that party, but seems to have formed his opinions in entire independence of them.[s] Attempts have been made to connect him with

[q] "Et si in persona propria ad votum potero laborare, vellem præsentiam Romani pontificis humiliter visitare. Sed Deus necessitavit me ad contrarium; et communiter me docuit plus Deo quam hominibus obedire." (Fascic. 342; Lewis, Append. xviii.) Lechler (i. 712-15) thinks that it was not a letter, nor addressed to the pope, but was perhaps part of a sermon, and written at the time when Nicolas Hereford was summoned to Rome; and, as there is no other contemporary evidence of Wyclif's having been cited by the pope, he rejects the statement to that effect.

[r] Lewis, 101. Walsingham records the end of Wyclif's life with exultation, and says that he was believed to have intended to blaspheme St. Thomas in his sermon on the festival. He styles Wyclif "organum diabolicum, hostis ecclesiæ, confusio vulgi, hæreticorum idolum, hypocritarum speculum, schismatis incentor, odii seminator, mendacii fabricator," etc. (ii. 119). But it would seem that the seizure was really one day earlier, on the festival of the holy Innocents. See Lechler, i. 719-21, who also points out that, according to the testimony of his curate, John Horn, Wyclif was not (as his enemies represented) celebrating, but hearing mass. 722.

[s] Bohringer's Wiclef, 4.

the school of Joachim of Fiore; but although the constant use of the word *gospel* may naturally recal to our minds the "everlasting gospel" of the earlier party,—although there was in both parties a tendency to apocalyptic speculations, and although Wyclif's followers were infected with that fondness for prophecies, partly of a religious and partly of a political tendency, which had prevailed widely from the time of Joachim downwards,—it would seem that these resemblances are no proof of any real connexion.[t]

Wyclif opposed, either entirely or in their more exaggerated forms, most of the corruptions and superstitions which had grown on the church—such as the system of indulgences, the reliance on the merits of the saints, the trust in supposed miracles; and if he held the doctrine of purgatory, and allowed the utility of prayers and masses for the departed, he was careful to guard against the popular errors connected with these beliefs.[u] He denied the usual distinctions of mortal and venial sin.[x] He regarded confession as wholesome, but not as necessary; he limited the priestly power of absolution to that of declaring God's forgiveness to the truly contrite, and blamed the clergy for pretending to something more than this.[y] He denied the effect of excommunication, unless when uttered for just reason, in the cause of God, and agreeably to the law of Christ.[z] He opposed compulsory celibacy, and the practice of binding young persons to the monastic life before their own experience and will could guide them in the choice of it.[a] With regard to marriage he is said to have held some singular opinions—that it had been instituted as a means of filling up the places of

[t] See Milm. v. 516.

[u] Lewis, 130, 137; Hardw. 415; Lechler, i. 557-9, 563, etc.

[x] Serm. i. 61; Lewis, 130.

[y] Ib. 136; Neand. ix. 245-6. See Serm. i. 35, 47-8, etc.; Works, iii. 252; Walsingh. i. 359.

[z] Fascic. 250.

[a] Works, iii. 392; Lewis, 134; Neand. ix. 203. He speaks against the marriage of the clergy (iii. 224), but see Lechler, i. 571.

the fallen angels,[b] and that the prohibition of marriage even between the nearest relations had no other foundation than human law.[c] He admitted the seven sacraments, but not as all standing on the same level;[d] and he found fault with confirmation, as involving a pretension on the part of bishops to give the Holy Spirit in a new way, and thus to do more than give that Holy Spirit who was bestowed in baptism.[e] He objected to the prevailing excess of ceremonies, although he admitted that some ceremonies were necessary and expedient.[f] As to the splendour of churches, he rejects the authority of Solomon—an idolatrous and lascivious king under the old covenant—forasmuch as our Lord himself prophesied the destruction of the Temple.[g] He did not condemn images absolutely, but the abuses connected with the reverence for them.[h] He also found fault with the elaborate music which had come into use in the church, declaring it to be a hindrance to study and preaching, and ridiculing the disposal of money in foundations for such purposes.[i]

As to the constitution of the church, Wyclif held that God had not bestowed on any man that plenitude of power which was claimed by the papacy;[k] and, while he did not refuse to style the pope Christ's vicar, he considered that the emperor was also His vicar in the temporal sphere;[l] that even the pope might be rebuked, and that even by laymen.[m] With some of the schoolmen[n] he held (as we have seen) that bishops and priests were

[b] Lewis, 140.
[c] Trial. iv. 20, p. 318.
[d] Ib. iv. 1; Lewis, 344.
[e] Trial. iv. 14, p. 293.
[f] Lewis, 248.
[g] Lechler, i. 554, from MSS.
[h] Ib. 555.
[i] Ib. 132; Works, iii. 228. Mr. Arnold makes him object to the "synsynge and criynge that men use now," and interprets *synsynge* by *incensing*. (iii. 203.) But the context seems to show that the word ought to be *syngynge*.
[k] Shirley, 65. For the progress of his opinions in opposition to the papacy see Lechler, i. 575-83.
[l] Shirley, 65.
[m] Fascic. 256.
[n] See Palmer on the Church, ed. 1, vol. ii. 374-6.

one and the same order; but it does not appear that he countenanced the practice of some of his followers, who claimed for presbyters the power of ordination. We have already seen that he wished the clergy to cast themselves, like those of the first days, on the oblations of the faithful for maintenance; that he would have allowed them to enjoy only so much as was absolutely necessary, and held it to be the duty of secular lords to take away from them such endowments as were abused. But he disavowed the idea that this was to be done arbitrarily, and limited the exercise of the right by the conditions of civil, ecclesiastical, and evangelical law.[o] And, although his enemies are never found to charge him with inconsistency, he confessed that his own practice had been short of his theory,—that he had spent on himself that which ought to have been given to the poor.[p]

In some respects Wyclif seems to have been justly chargeable with the use of language which was likely not only to be misunderstood by his opponents, but to mislead his partisans. Thus the proposition that "Dominion is founded in grace" seems to imply a principle of unlimited anarchy and fanaticism, but is explained in such a manner as to lose much of its alarming character. Wyclif's conception of dominion was altogether modelled on the feudal system. He believed that God, to whom alone dominion could properly belong, had granted in fee (as it were) certain portions of His dominion over the world, on condition of obedience to His commandments, and that such grants were vitiated by mortal sin in the holders.[q] But this Wyclif admitted to be an ideal view, which must be modified in order to accord with the facts of the case;[r] and by way of corrective he advanced

[o] Walsingh. i. 359; Fascic. 249, 254.

[p] Milm. v. 516; Shirley, 46.

[q] Ib. 63; Trialog. iv. 19. "Nullus est dominus civilis, nullus episcopus, nullus est prælatus, dum est in peccato mortali." Walsingh. ii. 53.

[r] See Lewis, 342; Neand. ix. 210; Shirley, 62.

another proposition, of at least equally startling appearance—that "God ought to obey the devil."[s] In other words, as God suffers evil in this world—as the Saviour submitted to be tempted by the devil—so obedience is due by Christians to constituted authority, however unworthy the holders of it may be. The wicked, although they could not have dominion in its proper sense, might yet have power, so as to be entitled to obedience. And thus there is no ground for the imputations which have been cast on him by his enemies as if he had advocated the principles of insurrection and tyrannicide.[t] Wyclif considered that, while the pope and the king are each supreme in his own department, every Christian man holds of God, although not "in chief"; and that hence the final court of appeal is not that of the pope, but of God.[u] In like manner, when he asserted that one who was in mortal sin could not administer the sacraments, the proposition was softened by an explanation—that a man in such a condition might administer the sacraments validly, although to his own condemnation.[x]

Wyclif's opinions as to the doctrine of the eucharist have been already stated. On predestination and the subjects connected with it, his views were such that his admirers are said to have given him a name derived from that of St. Augustine.[y] He held that all things take place by absolute necessity; that even God himself

[s] He is said to have disavowed this (Lewis, 96), and it has been supposed to be an inference of his enemies. But Dr. Shirley quotes a passage in which Wyclif defends it (p. 64); cf. Lechler, i. 672.

[t] See Knyghton, 262; Lewis, 116, 176.

[u] Shirley, 66. "The education of the individual conscience to independence could not be effected in a day. Upon the generality of thoughtful men in his day the external authority of the church of Rome had a hold which they could not shake off; again and again the most devoted of Wyclif's disciples are found returning, with recantation, to the bosom of the church, unable to bear their terrible isolation." Ib.

[x] Lewis, 96, 117.

[y] "Sui discipuli vocabant eum famoso et elato nomine *Joannem Augustini*." Thom. Waldensis, 'Doctrinale, i. 34, quoted by Lechler, i. 506.

cannot do otherwise than he actually does ;[z] that no predestined person could be finally obdurate or could be lost; that no one who was "foreknown" would have the gift of final perseverance, or could be saved; and that while in the body we can have no certainty who those are that belong to the one class or to the other.[a] Yet with these opinions it is said that he professed to reconcile a belief in the freedom of man's will, so that in this respect he expressed his dissent from the teachers whom he most revered, as Augustine [b] and Bradwardine. Philosophy mingled largely with his theology; he maintained that true philosophy and true theology must go together; and thus, as his own views were strongly realistic, he concluded that the nominalists could not receive the truth of Holy Scripture.[c]

A document is extant which professes to be a testimonial in favour of Wyclif, granted by the university of Oxford in 1406 ;[d] but it is very inconsistent with what is known as to the disposition of the university authorities towards his memory at that time, and it is supposed to have been forged by a noted Wyclifite named Peter Payne, who published it in Bohemia.[e]

[z] "Omnia quæ eveniunt necessariò absolute eveniunt. Et sic Deus non potest quidquam producere vel intelligere, nisi quod de facto intelligit et producit." Trial. iii. 8, pp. 154-5.

[a] Ib. l. iii. 7; Neand. ix. 240-1; Lechler, i. 543-53.

[b] Ib. 505. "It is plain that from Wickliff's doctrine will follow unconditional necessity, and the denial of free-will and of contingency." Neand. ix. 241.

[c] Trial. ii. 3, p. 85; Neand. ix. 238.

[d] Wilk. iii. 302.

[e] Wood's Hist. of Oxford, ed. Gutch, i. 542. Lewis gives the document, Append. xxi., and defends it, pp. 274-5. It bore the seal of the university, which Payne is supposed to have got into his hands in consequence of its having been carelessly kept. (Hardw. 420.) The convocation of Canterbury, in 1411, while lamenting the state of things in Oxford generally, mentions that forged letters in favour of heresy had been sealed with the university seal, and published in foreign countries. (Wilk. iii. 336.) The English representatives at the council of Constance denounced the testimonial as a forgery, and produced another letter, of opposite character, also under the university seal. (V. d. Hardt, iv. 326.) Jerome of Prague was charged with a share in the deception, but denied this, and spoke as if he had been himself deceived. (Ib. 644.) Prof. Lechler does not much benefit the testimonial,

After Wyclif's death the Lollards (as his followers were called)[f] rapidly developed the more questionable part of his opinions.[g] They became wildly fanatical against the Roman church and the clergy.[h] Some of them denied the necessity of ordination, maintaining that any Christian man or woman, "being without sin," was entitled to consecrate the eucharist;[i] or they took it on themselves to ordain without the ministry of bishops.[k] Some declared the sacraments to be mere dead signs; and, whereas Wyclif had held a sabbatical doctrine as to the Lord's day, they denounced the observance of that day as a remnant of Judaism.[l] With such opinions in matters of religion were combined extravagances dangerous to civil government and to society; and prophecies, which were

by supposing it to have been really passed by the convocation, but at a thinly-attended meeting, in which the Wyclifites were the majority. ii. 73.

[f] This name was older, and is said to have been given as early as 1309 to some sectaries in Flanders, "quasi Deum laudantes." (Rayn. 1318. 44.) Some derive it from one Walter Lollard, who is said to have been burnt at Cologne (see D'Argentré, i. 282); but this idea seems quite untenable. (Mosh. de Beghardis, 272.) Another, and a more probable, etymology is from *lallen*, on account of the chanting to which the Flemish Lollards were addicted (Mosh. ii. 680-9; Lechler, ii. 4.) Although the word *lolium* is applied to Wyclif's doctrines in Gregory XI's bull addressed to Oxford (see p. 271), there is there no allusion to the name of Lollards; but the derivation from *lolium* is found from about 1382, and appears in official documents as early as 1387. Lechler, in Herzog, viii. 459.

[g] Knyghton, 2706-8; Walsingh. ii. 252. See as to the variety of characters embraced under the general title of Lollards, Shirley, 67. There are many documents of this time in Wilkins, iii. See Knyghton, 2209-10, 2736, etc., for proceedings against the party.

[h] "Quod papa, cardinales, archiepiscopi, episcopi, archidiaconi, decani, officiales, aliæque omnes personæ majores ecclesiæ sint maledicti." (Ap. Knyghton, 2707.) In Nov. 1384 (a few weeks before Wyclif's death), and in February 1385, there were royal orders for protection of friars against the outrages of the party. (Rymer, vii. 447, 458.) Among the opinions of Swynderby, which he was made to recant, one was a gross charge of immorality against the clergy:—"Nullus sacerdos in aliquam domum intrat nisi ad male tractandum uxorem, filiam, aut ancillam; et ideo mariti caveant ne sacerdotem aliquem in domum suam intrare permittant." Knyghton, 2669.

[i] See Fox, iii. 132, 188-9, 249, 288; Rayn. 1391. 22.

[k] Walsingh. ii. 188-9, 252-3; who blames the bishops for their supineness in letting the party alone, but excepts the bishop of Norwich, who threatened to burn or otherwise put to death any Lollard who should presume to teach in his diocese. Cf. Capgrave, 252.

[l] Hardw. 418; Neand. ix. 201

in great part of political tendency, were largely circulated among the Lollards.[m]

Notwithstanding the defection of some of the most eminent clergy of the party, it still numbered among its members many persons of distinction, who encouraged the preachers in their rounds, gathered audiences to listen to them, and afforded them armed protection.[n] But its main strength lay among the humbler classes. London was a stronghold of Lollardism, as were also the counties of Leicester and Lincoln, where Wyclif's personal influence had been especially exerted.[o]

In 1394 the Lollards affixed to the doors of St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey placards in which the clergy were attacked and the current doctrine of the sacraments was impugned;[p] and they presented to parliament a petition, in which the peculiarities of their system were strongly enounced.[q] The bishops took such alarm at these movements that they urgently entreated the king to hurry back from Ireland in order to meet the new dangers which had arisen;[r] and during the remaining years of Richard's power active measures were taken for the discouragement of Lollardism.[s] In 1396 Boniface IX. entreated the king to assist him in suppressing heresy, as being dangerous alike to the church and to the crown;[t] and in the same year archbishop Arundel, immediately

[m] Hardw. 418. See Maitland, on the Lollards ('Eight Essays,' Lond. 1852).

[n] Knyghton, 2661-2; Walsingh. ii. 159, 216. Wyclif himself had said in one of his sermons—"But oo comfort is of *knyghttis*, that thei savoren myche the gospel, and hav wille to rede in Englishe the gospel of Cristis liif." Serm. 66, vol. i. 209.) Walsingham relates with satisfaction that the earl of Salisbury, who had been a patron of the Lollards, was beheaded at Cirencester, in 1400, "sine sacramento confessionis, ut fertur." Ib. 244.

[o] See the 'Processus contra Lollardos' of Leicester, 1389. Wilk. iii. 208, 210-11; Knyghton, 2736; Fox, iii. 197, seqq.; Milm. v. 521-2. Leicester was interdicted on account of Lollardy. Wilk. iii. 209.

[p] Walsingh. ii. 216.

[q] Wilk. iii. 221-3; Pauli, iv. 597.

[r] Walsingh. ii. 215-16.

[s] Fascic. 360; Rymer, vii. 805-6; viii. 87, etc.

[t] Schröckh, xxiv. 555.

after his elevation to the primacy, held a synod, in which eighteen propositions, attributed to Wyclif, were condemned.[u] The democratic and communistic opinions which had become developed among the party, while they attracted the poorer people, must have tended to alienate those of higher condition, and thus were, on the whole, disadvantageous to its progress.

But most especially the Lollards suffered from the change which placed Henry of Lancaster on the throne instead of Richard. Archbishop Arundel, their bitter enemy, had a powerful hold on the new king, whom he had greatly aided to attain the crown; and Henry, in his feeling of insecurity, was eager to ally himself with the clergy, the monks, and the friars—so that under the descendants of Wyclif's old patron, John of Gaunt, the condition of the Wyclifites became worse than it had previously been.[x] Henry in his first year sent a message to the convocation, that it was his intention "to maintain all the liberties of the church, and to destroy heresies, errors, and heretics to the utmost of his power;"[y] and in the following year, after a representation by the clergy to parliament as to the necessity of checking the growth of heresy, was passed the statute *De hæretico comburendo*.[z] By this it was enacted that any one whom an ecclesiastical court should have declared to be guilty, or strongly suspected, of heresy, should, on being made over to the sheriff with a certificate to that effect, be publicly burnt.[a]

Oct. 1399.

A.D. 1400-1.

[u] Wilk. iii. 229. [x] Collier, iii. 234-7.

[y] Wilk. iii. 239.

[z] 2 Hen. IV. c. 15. The prayer was, that when persons had been convicted, the king's officers should receive them, "et ulterius agant quod eis incumbit in ea parte;" but the answer is more distinct:—"Easdem coram populo in eminenti loco comburi faciant." The convocation had decreed that "cum clericis laici oppido sint infesti" [a reminiscence of Boniface VIII.]; and whereas it was said that parliament intended, at the suggestion of the Lollards, to make new laws, adverse to the clergy and to the liberties of the church, the bishops should be desired strenuously to withstand such attempts. Wilk. iii. 242.

[a] Walsingh. ii. 247; Pauli, v. 51-2

The first victim of this statute is supposed to have been William Sautre, priest of St. Osyth's, in London, who had before been convicted in the diocese of Norwich, and suffered as a relapsed heretic in 1401, chiefly for the denial of transubstantiation.[b] When the parliament in 1410 asked for a mitigation of the statute, the king answered that it ought to be made more severe.[c] There is a succession of measures intended for the repression of the Lollards. In 1407 an ordinance was passed which condemns their opinions as to church property, and seems to connect the party with those who used the name of the deposed king as if he were still alive.[d] In the following year a synod assembled in London, under the presidency of the archbishop, decreed that Wyclif's books should not be read, unless allowed by one of the universities, and that no English versions of the Scriptures should be made, because of the difficulty of securing a uniform sense, "as the blessed Jerome himself, although he had been inspired, avers that

A.D. 1408.

That this statute was probably not passed in regular form, see Hallam, M. A. ii. 221; on the other side, Lingard, iii. 472. Fitzherbert says that it was a rule of common law that heretics should be burnt; and some think that Sautre suffered before the enactment of the statute. (See Shirley, 69; cf. Arnold, Introd. to Wyclif, I. x.-xii.) It is remarked that England was the only country where such a statute was needed, as elsewhere the secular powers at once carried out the sentence. Wordsw. Eccl. Biog. i. 22; Milman, v. 524; who refer to Blackstone and Hallam.

[b] Fox, iii. 222-9; Wilk. iii. 255. The writ for burning (Rym. viii. 178), dated Feb. 26, 1401, says that the punishment is "juxta legem divinam, humanam, canonica instituta, et in hac parte consuetudinarie." As one John Newton was rector of St. Osyth's from 1396 to 1427, Sautre was probably a chantry-priest. Hook, iv. 502.

[c] Walsingh. ii. 283.

[d] Lingard, iii. 472, from Rot. Parl. iii. 583. "This, says Dr. Lingard, "was only a temporary ordinance, to last till the next parliament." That Richard made his escape from Pontefract, and lived in Scotland, has been maintained not only by Mr. Tytler (Hist. Scotl. iii. 279, seqq.), but by Mr. Williams, editor of the 'Chronique de la Trahison et Mort de Richard II.' for the English Historical Society. Against this, see Amyot, in Archæologia, vols. xxiii., xxv.; Mackintosh, i. 381; Brougham, n. xxii. Walsingham reports Sir John Oldcastle as having said, when brought before parliament in 1417, "se non habere judicem inter eos, vivente ligeo domino suo in regno Scotiæ, rege Ricardo." (ii. 328.) But this proves nothing more than the

herein he had often erred."[e] It was ordered that at Oxford the authorities should inquire, once a month or oftener, whether Wyclif's opinions were held by any members of the university;[f] and in 1412 two hundred and sixty-seven propositions from his works were condemned there, "as all guilty of fire."[g] The pope, John XXIII., at Arundel's request, confirmed this sentence; but he rejected the archbishop's proposal that Wyclif's bones should be dug up and burnt.[h]

During the reign of Henry IV. the statutes against Lollardism were but partially enforced; but Henry V. (whatever may have been his conduct in those earlier years, as to which we have received an impression too strong to be effaced by any historical evidence) showed himself, when king, strictly religious according to the ideas of the time, and conscientious, even to bigotry, in the desire to signalize his orthodoxy and to suppress such opinions as bore the note of heresy.[i] Under the influence of his Carmelite confessor, Thomas Netter, one of the bitterest controversial opponents of Wyclifism,[k] the laws were now rigorously executed. The victims were of all

inclination of the Lollards to believe such stories, and to make use of Richard's name against the house of Lancaster.

[e] Wilkins, iii. 314, cc. 6-7.

[f] Ib. c. 11. Cf. Arundel, ib. 322-3, 329.

[g] "Omnes reas igne." Ib. 339-49; Lewis, 105; Collier, iii. 290.

[h] Wilk. iii. 351; Collier, iii. 291; Hook, iv. 494-8. Among proposals by the university of Oxford, 1414, one is, That whereas incompetent and inept translations of many books had misled simple and ignorant persons [*simplices idiotas*], books and tracts Englished since the beginning of the schism should be confiscated until good translations should be made. C. 44, Wilk. iii. 365.

[i] Gesta Henr. V. 90-2; 2 Henr. V. stat. i. c. 7; Proclamations in Rym. ix. 46, 120, 129, etc. See Pauli, v. 80, 89, 175-8.

[k] Netter (known as Thomas Waldensis) was author of the 'Doctrinale Antiquitatum Fidei Catholicæ Ecclesiæ,' a work which fills three huge folio volumes, and, having been first published as an antidote to Luther's teaching (Paris, 1521-32), has since gone through three editions, the last being by Blanciotti, Venice, 1757-9; also, perhaps, of the 'Fasciculi Zizaniorum.' See Dr. Shirley's Preface, 70, 76-7, where it is supposed that Netter used materials collected by Stephen Patryngton. For an account of Netter and the 'Doctrinale,' see Lechler, ii. 327-471.

classes;[1] but the most conspicuous for character and for rank was Sir John Oldcastle, who, in right of his wife, sat in parliament as Lord Cobham.[m] Oldcastle, who seems to have been a man of somewhat violent and impetuous character, had been highly distinguished in the French wars, and had been on terms of intimacy with Henry in his earlier days.[n] Having taken up the opinions of Wyclif with enthusiastic zeal, he endeavoured, by encouraging itinerant preachers and otherwise, to spread these doctrines among the people; and it was feared that his military skill and renown might make him dangerous as the leader of a fanatical and disaffected party.[o] The king himself undertook to argue with him; but Cobham, knowing his ground better, withstood the royal arguments.[p] After having been called in question by the archbishop of Canterbury for his opinions (as to which he appears, while denying transubstantiation, to have consistently maintained that the very body and blood of Christ are contained under the form of the eucharistic elements[q]), he was excommunicated. He then made his escape from London, and for some years lived obscurely in Wales; but he afterwards reappeared, and, as he was supposed to be concerned in

Sept. 23—Oct. 10, 1413.

[1] Mr. Tyler, in his Life of Henry V. (ii. 344, seqq.), vindicates him, as to the death of Badby, from the exaggerations of Fox and Milner.

[m] See Lord Brougham, House of Lancaster, Append. xxvi.

[n] Walsingh. ii. 291; Fascic. 434; Pauli, v. 82. In an old play founded on the history of Henry V., Sir John Oldcastle appears as one of the king's companions; and Shakespeare originally gave the same name to the character whom we know as Falstaff; for which he apologises in the Epilogue of Henry IV., Pt. ii. :—"Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is not the man." (See Dyce's Shakespeare, 2nd ed., iv. 204-5; Fuller, ii. 417.) But it is absurd, as well as unfair, in Dr. Lingard (iii. 477-8) to attach the characteristics of Falstaff to the real Oldcastle. (See Pauli, v. 86.) There was a serious play on the story of Sir John Oldcastle, printed in 1600, and wrongly ascribed to Shakespeare. See Knight's 'Pictorial Shakspere,' vii. 209.

[o] Fascic. 434; Capgrave, Chron. 304. See Tyler, ii. 285; Milm. v. 529, seqq.

[p] Gesta Henr. V. p. 2; Fascic. 435.

[q] *E.g.*, Fox, iii. 325, 327, 330-1, 338, 344, 346; Fascic. 437-44; Wilk. iii. 352, 357.

revolutionary designs, was arrested, and was brought to the bar of the house of lords. The sentence which had before been pronounced against him on a mixed charge of heresy and treason was read over in his hearing, and, as he made no defence, he was forthwith, in pursuance of that sentence, hanged and burnt in Smithfield on the 18th of December 1417.[r]

Wyclifism disappears from view in England, although it continued to lurk as the creed of illiterate persons among the laity;[s] and when the day of reformation arrived, it does not appear that the agents in the great change were influenced by the movement of an earlier time.[t] But meanwhile, in a distant country, opinions closely resembling those of Wyclif produced effects of wide and lasting importance.

CHAPTER VII.

BOHEMIA.

THE reforming tendencies which appeared in Bohemia towards the end of the fourteenth century have been

[r] Walsingh. ii. 297-8, 306, 326-8; Fox, iii. 367-9; Capgrave, de Illustribus Henricis, 113, 122; Collier, iii. 324; Pauli, iv. 148. Henry was then warring in France. (Tyler, ii. 300.) For Oldcastle's innocence of treason, see Lord Brougham's Appendix, xxviii.

[s] See Prof. Churchill Babington's Preface to Pecock's 'Repressor' (Chron. and Mem.), p. xxvii., and the references to "Lollards" in his index; also Lechler, in Herzog, viii. 463. The doctrines of Wyclif were carried into Scotland by a priest named James Resby, who was brought before an assembly of the clergy, and was burnt in 1407. It would seem that his tracts were preserved among the people, and had much influence (Tytler, iii. 141-2; Grub, i. 365-6). Rinaldi quotes from Waldensis an account of some persons in Scotland who were *called* Lollards (1420. 21-2). They denied the necessity of baptism for the children of believing parents. A law against Lollardy was passed by the Scottish parliament in 1424. Acts of Parl. of Scotland, ii. 7; Tytler, iii. 198.

[t] As to the slighting opinions which Luther and Melancthon pronounced on

traced to the ancient connexion of that country with the Greek church,[a] from which it is assumed that peculiar usages—such as the marriage of the clergy, the use of the vernacular tongue in the offices of the church, and the administration of the eucharistic cup to the laity—had been continued through the intermediate ages.[b] But this theory, which was unknown to the Bohemian reformers of the time with which we are now concerned, appears to be wholly unsupported by historical fact.[c] Nor, although some Waldenses had made their way into the country,[d] does it appear that the reforming movement which we are about to notice derived any impulse from that party.

The first person who became conspicuous as a teacher of reformation in Bohemia was not a native of the country, but an Austrian—Conrad of Waldhausen,[e] canon of the cathedral of Prague, and pastor of a parish near the city. Conrad appears to have adhered in all respects to the doctrine which was considered orthodox in his time, and his burning zeal was directed against practical corruptions of religion. He denounced, with indignant eloquence, the mechanical character of the usual devotions; the abuses of indulgences and relics; the practice of simony in all forms, among which he included the performance of charitable duties for money, such as that of tending the sick;[f] and on this ground, among others, he censured

Wyclif, and the injustice thereby done to him, see Lechler, in Herzog, xviii. 103.

[a] See vol. iii. p. 464.

[b] Schröckh, xxxiv. 564.

[c] Giesel. II. iii. 333; Palacky, III. i. 157.

[d] They are said to have murdered a papal legate and inquisitor at Prague in 1341. (Schröckh, xxxiv. 565.) John, archbishop of Prague, complains in 1381 that heresies are rife in Bohemia, "et signanter secta Sarraboytarum et illorum rusticorum Valdensium damatorum." (Mansi, xxvi. 692.) John of Trittenheim groundlessly connects the Bohemian reformers with Beghards and with the supposed Walter Lollard (see above, p. 295). Chron. Hirsaug. 1315, 1322.

[e] The surname of Stiekna was formerly, but wrongly, given to Conrad, by confusion with another person. Palacky, III. i. 161; Neand. ix. 263.

[f] Schröckh, xxxiv. 566; Neand. ix. 268, 272.

the mendicant friars. But he also assailed the principle of their system altogether, offering sixty groats to any one who would prove from Scripture that the Saviour gave his sanction to the mendicant life; and he strongly opposed the practice of devoting young persons—in some cases even children yet unborn—to the cloister, without allowing them the power of choice.[g] He required usurers to disgorge the gains which they had unjustly acquired; whereas the friars used to quiet the consciences of such persons by teaching them that the iniquities of usury might be sanctified by bounty to the church.[h] Yet Conrad, although he strenuously opposed the corruptions of monasticism, set a high value on the idea of the monastic life.[i] His power as a preacher is said to have been very extraordinary; sometimes he found himself obliged to deliver his sermons in market-places, because no church was large enough to contain the multitude of hearers. He carried away from the mendicants all but a handful of "beguines"; even Jews crowded to listen to him, and he discountenanced those who would have kept them off.[k] Conrad was favoured by the emperor Charles; and, although the Dominicans and Franciscans combined against him, and in 1364 exhibited twenty-nine articles of accusation to the archbishop of Prague, he continued his course without any serious molestation until his death in 1369.[l]

Contemporary with Conrad of Waldhausen was Militz,[m] a native of Kremsier, in Moravia. Militz had attained the dignity of archdeacon of Prague, and, in addition to other benefices, possessed some landed property; he stood high in the favour of Charles IV.,

[g] Neand. ix. 269.
[h] Ib. 272.
[i] Ib. 270.
[k] Ib. 264, 267, 272-4.
[l] Schröckh, xxxiv. 567; Neand. ix. 275-6.
[m] This (=*carissimus*) was his baptismal name, although some have mistaken it for a surname, and have prefixed John to it. Giesel. II. iii. 324; Herzog, art. *Militz*.

and was greatly respected in his ecclesiastical character. But the desire after a stricter religious life arose within him, and, resigning all the advantages of his position, he withdrew to the poverty and obscurity of a parish priest's life in a little town or village.[n] After a time he reappeared at Prague, and, unlike Conrad of Waldhausen, who had used only the German language, he preached in Latin to the learned, and in the vernacular to the multitude. At first, his Bohemian sermons had little effect on account of his somewhat foreign pronunciation;[o] but this difficulty was gradually overcome, and Militz was heard four or five times a day by enthusiastic audiences. Usurers were persuaded by his eloquence to give up their gains, and women to renounce the vanities of dress; and so powerful was he in exhorting prostitutes to forsake a life of sin, that under his teaching a part of the city which had been known as Little Venice acquired the title of Little Jerusalem.[p] Like Conrad, Militz attacked the mendicant system; but, whereas Conrad had confined himself to practical subjects, Militz plunged into apocalyptic speculations. Seeing in the corruption of the church a proof that antichrist was already come, he wrote a tract in which he fixed the end of the world between 1365 and 1367; he even told Charles IV. to his face that he was the great antichrist, yet he did not by this forfeit the emperor's regard.[q] In 1357 Militz felt an irresistible impulse to set forth his opinions to Urban V., who was then about to remove to Rome. He arrived there before the pope, and by announcing his intention of discoursing on the coming of antichrist, provoked an imprisonment in the convent of Ara Cœli; but he was able to justify his orthodoxy

[n] Palacky, III. i. 164; Neand. ix. 250-1.

[o] "Propter incongruentiam vulgaris sermonis." Palacky, III. i. 165.

[p] Neand. ix. 252-4.

[q] Ib. 256; Palacky, III. i. 165-7.

before Urban, and was allowed to return to Prague.[r] From this time he abandoned apocalyptic subjects, but was unwearied in his labours as a preacher; and he established a school for preachers, at which 200 or 300 students were trained under one roof, but without any vow or monastic rule.[s] Some years later, twelve charges against him were brought before Gregory XI.,—among other things, that he disparaged the clergy from the pope downwards; that he denounced their possession of property; that he denied the force of excommunication; and that he insisted on daily communion.[t] In order to meet these charges, Militz repaired to Avignon, but while his case was pending he died there in 1374.[u]

Among the pupils of Militz was Matthias of Janow, a young man of knightly family, who afterwards studied for six years at Paris, and thence was styled "Magister Parisiensis." In 1381 Matthias became a canon of Prague, and he was confessor to the emperor Charles.[x] The influence of Matthias, unlike that of Conrad and of Militz, was exerted chiefly by means of his writings. One of these—a tract, "Of the Abomination of Desolation," mainly directed against the mendicant friars—has been sometimes ascribed to Hus, and sometimes to Wyclif.[y] His chief work, "Of the Rules of the Old and New Testaments" (which is described as an inquiry into the characters of real and false Christianity[z]), has never been printed at full length.[a] Matthias went considerably beyond those practical measures of reform with which

[r] Neand. ix. 256-61; Palacky, III. i. 167-8.

[s] Ib. 169.

[t] Ib. 171.

[u] Ib. 172; Neand. ix. 262-3. Dr. Schmidt supposes Militz to have been connected with Nicolas of Basel and the "Friends of God" (see below, c. x., sect. v.). 'Nic. v. Basel,' 31.

[x] Schröckh, xxxiv. 572; Palacky, III. i. 173.

[y] See Neand. ix. 278, seqq. It is printed among Hus's works. i. 376, seqq.

[z] Pressel, in Herzog, art. *Janow.*

[a] See Neand. ix. 280; Palacky, III. 176; Giesel. II. iii. 326. No one copy is entire, but the book could be completed from the various existing copies.

his predecessors had contented themselves; indeed it may be said that the later reformer Hus rather fell short of him in this respect than exceeded him.[b] Matthias professed to regard Holy Scripture as the only source of religious knowledge, and declared himself forcibly against human inventions and precepts in religion.[c] He was strongly opposed to the encroachments of the papacy on the church; he regarded the pope rather as antichrist than as Christ's vicar; and he describes antichrist (whom he declares to have come long ago), in terms which seem to point at the degenerate and worldly hierarchy.[d] He denounced the clergy in general for the vices which he imputed to them, and appears to have reprobated the greatness of the distinction which was commonly made between the clergy and the laity.[e] Matthias was especially zealous for frequent communion of the lay people. He denied the sufficiency of what was called spiritual communion: "If we were angels," he said, "it might possibly be enough; but for our mixed nature of body and soul an actual reception of the sacrament is necessary"; and this he deduced from the doctrine of the incarnation itself.[f] Those (he said) who receive but once a year come to the sacrament in a spirit of bondage, and cannot know the true Christian liberty.[g] It was supposed in later times that Matthias had advocated the administration of the eucharistic cup to the laity; but this appears to be a mistake.[h] For some of the opinions imputed to him—among other things, for insisting on daily communion of the laity—he was condemned by a synod held at Prague in 1388, and, having submitted to make a retractation, was suspended for half a year from ministering beyond his own parish

[b] Neand. ix. 276.
[c] Ib. 294-5; Giesel. II. iii. 331.
[d] Neand. ix. 281, 291; Giesel. II. iii. 326-7.
[e] Neand. ix. 281. Ib. 314, 331.
[g] Ib. 315. Giesel. II. iii. 332-3; Lechler, ii 130. See, however, Palacky, III. ii 180.

church.[i] But he appears to have continued his teaching with little change, and to have been suffered to remain unmolested until his death in 1394.[k]

As to the orthodoxy of these men (who, although not the only Bohemian reformers of their time,[l] were the most distinguished among them) there have been various opinions within the Roman church, as the Bohemian writers generally maintain that they were sound in faith, and in favour of this view (which is commonly rejected by writers of other nations) are able to point to the fact that they all lived and died within the communion of Rome.[m]

Thus far the reforming movement in Bohemia had been wholly independent of any English influence. Indeed no country of Europe might seem so unlikely to feel such influence as Bohemia—far removed as it is on all sides from any communication with our island by sea, and with a population wholly alien in descent and in language from any of the tribes which have contributed to form our nation. Yet by the accession of Charles of Luxemburg to the throne of Bohemia, and by the marriage of his daughter Anne with Richard of England, the two countries were brought into a special connexion. The princess, whose pious exercises and study of the Scriptures were afterwards commemorated in a funeral sermon by archbishop Arundel,[n] had been so far affected by the reforming movements of her own land (where each of the three men who have been mentioned above had enjoyed the favour of her father), that she brought with her to England versions of the Gospels in the German[o] A.D. 1381.

[i] Documenta Mag. Jo. Hus Vitam etc. illustrantia, ed. Palacky, Prague, 1869, p. 699. (This will be cited as 'Docum.'—the editor's name being reserved to denote his History of Bohemia.)

[k] Neand. ix. 336.

[l] Palacky, III. ii. 182; Lechler, i. 132.

[m] See Giesel. II. iii. 332.

[n] See Fox, iii. 222.

[o] Wycl. quoted by Hus, Opera, i. 108. Dean Milman supposes "Teutonicam" to mean English. (v. 520.) But (besides that such a confusion is unlikely) a book brought from the court

and Bohemian tongues as well as in Latin; and when, after her death, her Bohemian attendants returned to their own country, it would seem that they carried with them much of Wyclif's doctrine. A literary intercourse also grew up between the countries. Young Bohemians studied at Oxford; young Englishmen resorted to the university which Charles had founded in the Bohemian capital. Wyclif was already held in high honour there on account of his philosophical and physical works, which were regarded without any suspicion on account of his religious teaching;[p] thus Hus said in 1411 that Wyclif's writings had been read at Prague by himself and other members of the university for more than twenty years.[q]

A.D. 1394.

John Hus,[r] the most famous, if not the most remarkable, of the Bohemian reformers, was born in a humble condition at Hussinecz, a village near the Bavarian frontier, in 1369,[s] the year of Conrad of Waldhausen's death. His education was completed at Prague, where it would seem that he was influenced by the teaching of Matthias of Janow; and among the writers whom he most revered were St. Augustine and Grossetête.[t] By such

of the German king of Bohemia was more likely to be German than English. And see Wharton, in Ussher, xii. 352. Moreover, in the passage where Hus quotes Wyclif's testimony, there is throughout an opposition between the words *Anglicus* and *Teutonicus*.

[p] Neand. ix. 348.

[q] Replic. contra J. Stokes, Opera, i. 108. "Ipsa propositio vergit in confusionem universitatis nostræ . . . imo in confusionem universitatis Oxoniensis, quæ universitas ab annis triginta habet et legit libros ipsius M. Jo. Wiclef. Egoque et membra nostræ universitatis habemus et legimus illos libros ab annis viginti et pluribus." Neander (ix. 348) interprets this as meaning that Wyclif had been read thirty years at Prague. But "quæ universitas" clearly means Oxford. Cf. Hus, i. 109*, 110.

[r] The name signifies a *goose*, and to this we find frequent allusions; *e.g.*, "Et hæc eadem veritas pro uno Ansere infirmo et debili muktos falcones et aquilas Pragam misit," etc. (Ep. 17.) "Oportet quod Auca alas moveat contra alas Vehemot, et contra caudam, quæ semper cooperit abominationem bestiæ Antichristi." (Ep. 26.) See, too, below, the quotation from a letter written by John Cardinal, from Constance, on St. Martin's eve, 1414.—(I quote Hus's Epistles, and those of his correspondents, from the 'Documenta.')

[s] Palacky, III. ii. 191.

[t] Neand. ix. 340, 346.

studies he was prepared to welcome some theological writings of Wyclif, which were introduced into Bohemia in 1402.[u] In his earlier years he had been devoted to the prevailing fashion of religion; at the jubilee of 1393 he had gone through all the prescribed devotions in order to obtain the indulgence, and had given his last four groschen to the priest who heard his confession;[x] and, although he had already adopted Wyclif's philosophical principles,[y] he was at first so little attracted by his theology that he advised a young student, who had shown him one of the books, to burn it or to throw it into the Moldau, lest it should fall into hands in which it might do mischief.[z] But he soon found himself fascinated; Wyclif's books gave him new light as to the constitution of the church and as to the reforms which were to be desired in it, and from them his whole system of opinion took its character.[a] It would seem, however, that on the important question of transubstantiation he never adopted Wyclif's doctrine, but adhered throughout to that which was current in the church.[b] When, at a later time, the testimonial in favour

[u] See Hefele, vii. 30, quoting a book by Palacky against Höfler, for the date.

[x] Lechler, ii. 136. [y] Ib. 135.

[z] Schröckh, xxxiv. 578.

[a] Giesel. II. iii. 393. Hus usually styles Wyclif "the master of deep thought." (Wratislaw, in 'Contemp. Rev.' x. 535.) For his zeal in circulating Wyclif's works—giving copies of the 'Trialogue' to the Marquis Jodocus and to other persons of importance—see Steph. Dolan. in Pez, IV. ii. 527. At Stockholm are five philosophical tracts of Wyclif, transcribed in Hus's own hand. The only known MSS. of the Trialogue are in the Imperial Library at Vienna, to which they are supposed to have found their way from Bohemian convents suppressed by Joseph II. (Lechler, Prolegg. 20-1.) There is a story of two Englishmen making an excitement at Prague by exhibiting two pictures, in one of which was represented the Saviour riding into Jerusalem on an ass, while the other displayed the magnificent cavalcade of the pope and his court (Theobald, 4; see Seyfr. 45, seqq.); but it is said to be apocryphal. Schröckh, xxxiv. 578-9.

[b] See Neand. ix. 350; Palacky, III. i. 198; Lechler, ii. 159, 163, etc. Hus himself, in exposing the inconstancy of some who had turned against him (1413) says, "Scio certitudinaliter quod Stanislaus tenuit et in scripto sententialiter scripsit de remanentia panis; et a me quæsivit, antequam disturbium incepit, si vellem idem secum tenere. Et postea juravit et abjuravit," etc. Ep. 27. (Here it appears that Hus had not professed the Wyclifite doctrine. Cf. Ep. 84, p. 137: De Cœna Domini, Opera. i. 39; Acta, ib. v.; Docum. 180-4.)

of Wyclif, under the seal of the university of Oxford, was produced in Bohemia by Peter Payne and Nicolas von Faulfisch, Hus eagerly caught at its supposed authority; but in this he seems to have been a dupe, not an accomplice, of the forgery.[c]

Hus became noted, as even his enemies allow, for the purity of his life, his ascetic habits, and his pleasing manners.[d] In 1402 he was chosen as rector of the university,[e] and in the same year he was ordained to the priesthood, and was appointed preacher at a chapel which had been founded eleven years before with an especial view to preaching in the vernacular tongue,[f] and to which the founders—a merchant and one of the king's councillors—had given the name of Bethlehem (the house of bread), on account of the spiritual food which was to be there distributed.[g] Soon after this, Hus became confessor to the queen, Sophia, and acquired much influence at the court of Wenceslaus.[h] He was also appointed synodal preacher, and in this character had the privilege of frequently addressing the clergy, whom he rebuked with a vehemence which was more likely to enrage than to amend them.[i] He charged them with ambition and ostentation, with luxury[k] and avarice, with contempt and oppression of the poor[l] and with subserviency to the rich; with vindictiveness, which is said to have given rise to a proverb, "If you offend a clerk, kill him, or you will never have peace;"[m] with usury, drunkenness, indecent

A.D. 1403.

He seems to admit that he spoke of *bread* as remaining (for which he quotes the words of the mass), but to deny that he had spoken of the *substance* of bread as remaining. Doc. 182.

[c] Opera, i. 109; Docum. 232, 313; Neand. ix. 351. See p. 294.

[d] Balbinus, in Schröckh, xxxiv. 585.

[e] Lechler, ii. 134. The office was held only for half a year. Ib.

[f] Until then there had been no public preaching in the vernacular. (Seyfr. 31.) The chapel was a result of Militz's preaching. Neand. ix. 340.

[g] Seyfried, with his annotator, however, says that the name was given with a reference to the holy innocents 30-1; so Hefele, vii. 31.

[h] Giesel. II. iii. 394.

[i] Opera, ii. 39.

[k] ii. 34, etc.

[l] ii. 26.

[m] Ib.

talking, concubinage, and incontinency;[n] with gaming, betrayal of confession, and neglect of their spiritual duties. He denounced them for exacting fees,[o] for simoniacal practices,[p] for holding pluralities:[q] thus, on one occasion, when requesting the prayers of his hearers for a deceased ecclesiastic, he said, "Saving the judgment of God, I would not for the whole world choose to die with so many and valuable benefices."[r] It was a natural result of such preaching that Hus raised up against himself much bitter enmity on the part of his brethren.

In 1403, Zbynko of Hasenburg was appointed to the see of Prague,[s] which, through the influence of king John, had been detached from the province of Mentz, and invested with metropolitical dignity by Clement VI.[t] The new archbishop, although a man of the world, so that he took part in warlike enterprises, was desirous of reforming ecclesiastical abuses; and for a time Hus enjoyed his favour. It was by Zbynko that the office of synodal preacher was conferred;[u] and he even invited Hus to point out any defects which he might observe in his administration.[x]

The archbishop's confidence in Hus was especially shown by appointing him, with two others, to investigate an alleged miracle, which had raised the village of Wilsnack, in Brandenburg, to a sudden celebrity. The church there had been burnt by a robber knight, and the priest, in groping among the ruins, had found in a cavity of the altar three consecrated wafers of a red colour, which was supposed to be produced by the Saviour's blood.[y] The

[n] ii. 26*, 29, 34, etc. "Mulier est tanquam pix diaboli, conversationem maculans sacerdotum." De Arg. Clero, 153.

[o] ii. 31; and as to funeral-dues, ib. 39, where there is a curious description of the disorders usual at funerals.

[p] ii. 30*, 36, 39.

[q] ii. 27.

[r] Doc. 154, 160; Giesel. II. iii. 394-6. Among other things, Hus attacked the mock festivals which were celebrated in churches. Doc. 722.

[s] Palacky, III. i. 195.

[t] A.D. 1344. See p. 146.

[u] Hefele, vii. 32.

[x] Palacky, III. i. 216.

[y] It appears from the scientific in-

bishop of Havelberg and the archbishop of Magdeburg, within whose jurisdiction Wilsnack was situated, took up the tale; innumerable cures were said to have been wrought by the miraculous host; by making vows to it, prisoners had obtained deliverance, and combatants had gained the victory in duels;[z] and the offerings of the pilgrims whom it attracted were enough to rebuild the whole village, with a new and magnificent church. The Bohemian commissioners, however, detected much imposture in the alleged cures;[a] and Hus set forth a tract, "On the glorified Blood of Christ," in which he combated the popular superstitions as to relics and the craving after miracles,[b] and strongly denounced the frauds of the clergy, who for the sake of money deluded the credulous people.[c] In consequence of this archbishop Zbynko forbade all resort from his own diocese to Wilsnack,[d] although the miraculous hosts continued to attract pilgrims until they were burnt by a reforming preacher in 1552.[e]

A.D. 1405.

quiries of late times that such an appearance may naturally be produced by the presence of minute insects. Neand. ix. 342; Edinb. Rev. cxxv. 408.

[z] Hus, i. 160. [a] Ib. 161.*

[b] *E.g.*, "Nullus verus Christianus debet signa in fide sua quærere, sed constanter acquiescere in scriptura." Cf. 158*, 161*.

[c] He mentions several instances of priests who were detected in such practices as to bloody hosts, etc. A monk of Bologna having been convicted of an imposture of this kind, "in ferrea catasta in porta civitatis diu nutritus tanquam avis, in hujusmodi pœnitentia vitam suam miserabiliter terminavit." (161*.) For another case, see the Chron. Epp. Mindensium, in Leibnitz, ii. 195.

[d] Opera, i. 162*; Docum. 332; Palacky, III. i. 217.

[e] Schröckh, xxxiii. 441. A council at Magdeburg, in 1412, put questions on the subject to the bishop of Havelberg, which contain curious hints of superstition (Harzheim, v. 35). Herman Corner says, about 1438—"Ubi quidem Deus ad gloriam sui sacri corporis plura operatur miracula etiam hodierno die, quibus tamen signis et virtutibus innumera admiscentur frivola et minus vera, ob cleri illius perniciosam avaritiam." (Eccard. ii. 1443.) Among the MSS. in the Treasury of Canterbury Cathedral (C. 1303) is an account, under the chapter seal, of a cripple from Aberdeen, who, after having been healed at the shrine of St. Thomas, completed his vow by going on "ad sanguinem sanctum de Wylsnake," A.D. 1445. (For this information I am indebted to Mr. J. B. Sheppard, of Canterbury.) In 1447, Eugenius IV., just before his death, granted indulgences for visiting Wils-

But it soon became evident that the archbishop and Hus must separate. Hus's attacks on the clergy were renewed, and charges of Wyclifism were formally brought against him.[f] The archbishop complained to the king; but Wenceslaus is said to have replied, "So long as Master Hus preached against us laymen, you rejoiced at it; now your turn is come, and you must be content to bear it."[g] A.D. 1405.

In the university also Hus became involved in quarrels, The founder, Charles IV., had divided it, after the example of Paris, into four nations—Bohemians, Saxons, Bavarians, and Poles.[h] But as two of these were German, and as the Polish nation, being more than half composed of Silesians, Pomeranians, and Prussians, was under German influence, the Bohemians found that in their own university they were liable to be overpowered in the election of officers, and in all sorts of other questions, by the votes of foreigners.[i] Hence a feeling of hostility grew up, and extended itself even to matters of opinion, so that, as the Germans were nominalists, the Bohemians were realists, and were inclined to liberal principles in religion.[k] Into these differences Hus eagerly threw himself, and he found his most zealous supporter in a layman of noble family, named Jerome.[l] Jerome was a man of ardent and impetuous character, restless and enterprising, gifted with a copious eloquence, but without discretion

nack. (Rayn. 1447. 9.) John of Capistrano preached against the superstition (Giesel. II. iv. 334); and in 1451 Cardinal Cusa, as legate, burnt the host which he found in the church, and substituted one consecrated by himself (Adrian. de Vet. Bosco. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. iv. 1219; C. Zantfliet, ib. 476). But notwithstanding all opposition, the pilgrimages continued. See Giesel. II. iv. 331-4.

[f] Doc. 153.

[g] Giesel. II. iv. 398.

[h] Palacky, II. ii. 292.

[i] This had been matter of complaint as early as 1384. Schmid, iv. 133; Palacky, III. i. 229.

[k] Neand. ix. 352. Andrew of Ratisbon speaks of the difference as affecting methods of study. Pez. IV. iii. 599.

[l] Jerome has had the surname of Faulfisch given to him, but by a confusion with another person, Nicolas v. Faulfisch. (Palacky, III. i. 192-3.) He belonged to the lower class of nobles.

to guide it. He had travelled much—to England, to Russia, to Jerusalem—sometimes affecting the character of a philosopher and theologian, sometimes that of a knight and man of the world, and in many places meeting with strange adventures; he professed to have graduated as a master of arts at Prague, Heidelberg, Cologne, and Paris.[m] He himself states that, when in England, he was induced by the celebrity of Wyclif's name to make copies of the Dialogue and of the Trialogue;[n] and he was zealous for the English reformer's doctrines.

It was a law of the Bohemian university that, while doctors and masters were at liberty to lecture without restraint, bachelors were required to use as texts the lectures of some reputed teacher of Prague, Oxford, or Paris; and in this manner Wyclif's writings came to be much employed and known there.[o] But this naturally excited opposition, and in 1403 forty-five propositions ascribed to Wyclif—partly derived from the council of the earthquake, and partly a new selection—were condemned by the nations which predominated in the university.[p] Hus declined to join unreservedly in this condemnation; he called in question the genuineness of the propositions, and declared that, although no devoted follower of Wyclif, he believed the Englishman's writings to contain

[m] V. d. Hardt, iv. 103, 635, 680, seqq.; Lenf. Conc. de Pise, ii. 50; Neand. ix. 537-40. See a letter of Albert, bishop of Cracow, in Doc. 506. Theodoric of Niem describes Jerome as "magister in artibus sed non in sacris ordinibus statutus, magnus et crassus, satis eloquens, sed imprudens." (V. d. Hardt. ii. 449.) Andrew of Ratisbon says, "Scelestus quidam laicus sed tamen magister artium." (Pez, IV. iii. 599.) At Oxford he had been in some trouble on a suspicion of heresy, as appears from a remonstrance of the university of Prague (Doc. 336). There was in the same age another Jerome of Prague, a monk who laboured in the conversion of Lithuania. See below, c. ix. sect. iv.

[n] V. d. Hardt, iv. 635.

[o] Palacky, III. i. 184, 188.

[p] Docum. 327; see Hefele, vii. 32. The last of these propositions:—"That all religions, without distinction, were invented by the devil," was sometimes misrepresented as if the word *religions* were intended to bear its ordinary modern sense. But it really meant *religious* (*i.e.* monastic) *orders;* and in Doc. 330 there are the words "ordines religiosos." (See V. d. Hardt, i. 127, 332; iii. 211.) Alzog unfairly quotes the word in *both* senses. i. 37; ii. 200.

many truths.[q] Others took a similar part, and the impugned articles found a defender in Stanislaus of Znaym, who afterwards became one of Hus's bitterest enemies.[r] The contest went on. In 1405 the archbishop was desired by Innocent VII. to be zealous in suppressing the heresies which were said to be rife in Bohemia; and in consequence of this he uttered denunciations against the adherents of Wyclif, especially with regard to his eucharistic doctrine.[s] In 1408 Stephen, a Carthusian, and prior of Dolan, put forth a formal treatise against Wyclif's opinions,[t] and in the same year the forty-five propositions were again condemned by the university.[u]

Wenceslaus, although deeply angered at the part which the popes had taken as to his deposition from the empire, was unwilling that his kingdom should lie under the imputation of heresy, more especially as such a charge would have interfered with the hope which he still cherished of recovering his lost dignity. In 1408, therefore, he desired the archbishop of Prague to inquire into the state of religion; and the result was that the archbishop, with a synod, declared Bohemia to be free from the taint of Wyclifism. But he ordered that all copies of Wyclif's writings should be given up for examination and correction—an order, which, even if seriously meant, appears to have been ineffectual; and it was forbidden that Wyclif's propositions should be taught in the university in their heretical sense (for as to the real meaning of some of them there was a dispute), and that any one

July 17, 1409.

[q] Neand. ix. 356; Palacky, III. i. 196.

[r] Ib. See above, p. 309, n. [b].

[s] Docum. 332, 335; Palacky, III. i. 213.

[t] 'Medulla Tritici [Deut. xxxii. 14] seu Antiwiklefus,' in Pez, IV. ii. 151-360. For an account of Stephen, who is said to have been chancellor of Bohemia before he became a monk, see Pez's Introduction, He afterwards wrote other tracts, which are printed in the same volume:—'Antihussus,' 'Dialogus Volatilis' (between a Wyclifite goose and a sparrow), etc. The date of this last was 1414, and the writer justifies all the proceedings against Hus to that time. See Hefele, vii. 38.

[u] Ib. 35.

should lecture on his Trialogue or on his work on the eucharist.[x]

The part which the university had taken in the late proceeding incited Hus and Jerome to attempt an important change in its constitution; and their plans were favoured by the circumstances of the time. The council of Pisa was about to meet. Wenceslaus, influenced by France and hoping to recover the empire, took part with it, while the university, under the dominating influence of the German nations, adhered to Gregory XII. Hence the king was disposed to fall in with Hus's scheme; and in January 1409 he decreed that the Bohemian nation should for the future have three votes in the university, while the other three nations collectively should have but one vote; in like manner (it was said), as the French had three votes at Paris, and the Italians at Bologna.[y] It was in vain that the Germans petitioned against this;[z] and, after having solemnly bound themselves by an engagement that, if the decree should be carried out, they would withdraw from Prague and would never return,[a] they found themselves obliged to fulfil their threat. Out of more than 7000 members of the university,[b] only 2000 were left; of the 5000 seceders, some attached themselves to existing universities, such as Cracow, while others founded the universities of Ingolstadt and Leipzig.[c] Hus was again chosen rector of the Bohemian university;[d] but, while stories to his discredit were sedu-

Jan. 18, 1409.

Oct. 17, 1409.

[x] Neand. ix. 364; Palacky, III. i. 221; Hefele, vii. 36.

[y] Doc. 347; cf. 358. See Lechler, i. 151-3. A chronicler, quoted in Doc. 731, says that Wenceslaus made the change because the foreign nations opposed his wish to withdraw obedience from the pope.

[z] Doc. 350 (Feb. 9).

[a] Ib. 352, 732. Cf. Hus, in V. d. Hardt, iv. 312.

[b] Palacky (III. i. 183) thinks Pelzel's estimate, 7000, too low; others make the number of students 30,000, or even reckon the seceders at 44,000. See Seyfr. 61.

[c] See Herm. Corner, in Eccard, ii 1195; Seyfr. 62-4.

[d] Ib. 64-5.

lously spread in foreign countries by those who charged him with having expelled them from Prague,[e] he found that his success had also raised up against him many enemies at home, especially among those citizens of Prague whose interests had suffered through the withdrawal of the foreign students.[f]

Hus had been zealous for the council of Pisa, as promising a better hope of reform than any that was to be expected from a pope, and he exerted himself actively in detaching those whom he could influence from the party of Gregory XII. By this he drew on himself, in common with others who had opposed Gregory, a sentence from the archbishop of suspension from preaching and from all priestly functions;[g] while, on the other hand, many of the clergy who adhered to Gregory were severely treated by the king.[h] The prohibition of preaching was unheeded by Hus, who seems to have believed that his ordination gave him a privilege as to this of which he could not be deprived.[i] The chapel of Bethlehem resounded with his unsparing invectives against the vices of all classes of men; and cardinal Peter d'Ailly seems to have had reason for telling him, long after, that he had done wrong in denouncing the faults of cardinals and prelates before audiences which were not qualified to understand or to judge of such topics, and could only be inflamed by them.[k] Fresh charges were now brought against him—that by his preaching he fomented quarrels between the Bohemians and the Germans;[l] that he abused the clergy and the archbishop, so that a mob excited by

[e] Th. Niem, in V. d. Hardt, ii. 453.

[f] Theobald, 7; Neand. ix. 367; Giesel. II. iii. 398.

[g] Schröckh, xxxiv. 87; Palacky, III. i. 227. In Ep. 2, he begs the archbishop not to suspend him for neutrality as to the papacy, and professes himself willing to obey Gregory "in omnibus licitis."

[h] Neand. ix. 368.

[i] See Ep. 11, p. 24.

[k] This was at the council of Constance. (Doc. 293.) Hus wrote a tract justifying his attacks on the clergy,—'De arguendo clero,' Opp. i. 149.

[l] Doc. 168.

him had once beset the archiepiscopal palace;[m] that he persisted in his attacks notwithstanding all warnings, and drew people from their parish churches to listen to them;[n] that he had spoken of Wyclif as a venerable man, who had been called a heretic because he spoke the truth,[o] and had expressed a wish that his soul might be with that of Wyclif;[p] that he denied the power of the church in punishing; that he mocked at the authority of the church and her doctors;[q] that he denied the validity of ministrations performed by one who was in mortal sin;[r] and that, without distinguishing between exactions and free gifts, he condemned as a heretic any priest who received money in connexion with the administration of a sacrament.[s] As to some of these points it would seem that he was not really chargeable with anything more than the indiscretion of using language which was almost certain to be misunderstood.[t] Thus he declared that in his words about Wyclif's soul he had not taken it on himself positively to affirm the English doctor's salvation;[u] and he admitted that God's sacraments are validly administered by evil as well as by good priests, forasmuch as the Divine power operates alike through both.[x]

Archbishop Zbynko at length found himself obliged to yield as to the council of Pisa, and to acknowledge its pope, Alexander V.[y] The change was unfavourable to Hus, as the pope was now more likely to listen to the archbishop's representations. In consequence of these, Alexander addressed to Zbynko a bull, stating that the errors of the condemned heresiarch Wyclif were reported to be rife in Bohemia, and desiring him to forbid all preaching except in cathedral, parochial, or monastic

Sept. 2, 1409.

Dec. 20, 1409.

[m] Doc. 168. [n] Ib. 166. [o] Ib. 168. [p] Ib. 167. This was also an earlier and a later charge (ib. 154, 177). [q] Ib. 165-6. [r] Ib. 164-5. [s] Ib. 166-7. [t] Neand. ix. 388-9. [u] Doc. 161, 168. [x] Ib. 165-7. [y] Ib. 372, 733.

churches.[z] In compliance with this bull, the archbishop ordered that preaching in private chapels should cease,[a] and it was understood that Bethlehem chapel was especially aimed at. The bull was received with great indignation by the Bohemian nobles. Hus declared that it had been surreptitiously obtained; that he could not, out of obedience either to the archbishop or to the pope, refrain from preaching;[b] he appealed "from the pope ill informed to the pope when he should be better informed"; he contended that Bethlehem chapel did not fall under the prohibition, and, in reliance on the deed of foundation and on his appeal, he continued to preach as before.[c] Jun. 16, 1410.

A fresh order was issued by the archbishop that all copies of Wyclif's writings should be delivered up; and a commission of doctors, being appointed to examine them, condemned not only the Dialogue and the Trialogue, with the treatises on the Eucharist, on Simony, and on Civil Dominion, but a work on the Reality of Universals, and other writings of a purely philosophical nature.[d] It was announced that there was to be a great bonfire of Wyclif's books. The university petitioned the king against this, and Zbynko assured him that it should not be carried out without his consent.[e] But in violation of this promise, and under the pretence that Wenceslaus had not expressly forbidden the burning, the archbishop soon after surrounded his palace with guards, and caused about two hundred volumes of Wyclif's writings, with some works of Militz and others,—many of them precious for beauty of Jun. 16, 1410. July 16.

[z] Doc. 189.

[a] Ib. 378.

[b] Ep. 11, p. 24; De Eccles. Opp. i. 235*.

[c] Ep. 11; Doc. 387-90, 724; Neand. ix. 376; cf. Ep. 9. Gregory XII., in 1408, had confirmed the foundation of Bethlehem. Doc. 340.

[d] Ib. 380.

[e] Ib. 386, 396. Another story is, that the archbishop promised to wait until the arrival of Jodocus, marquis of Moravia, and that, as the marquis did not come, the affair went on. Ib. 734.

penmanship and of binding,[f]—to be committed to the flames, while *Te Deum* was chanted and all the bells of the churches were rung "as if for the dead." Two days later Hus and his associates in the late protest were solemnly excommunicated.[g] Yet the condemned books had not been all destroyed, and fresh copies were speedily multiplied.[h]

July 18.

By these proceedings a great excitement was produced. The archbishop, while publishing his ban in the cathedral, was interrupted by a serious outbreak; and there were fights in which some lives were lost.[i] The archbishop was derided in ballads as an "alphabetarian," who had burnt books which he could not read.[k] Hus, in his sermons, condemned the burning in a more serious strain. It had not, he said, rooted out any evil from a single heart, but had destroyed many good and holy thoughts; it had given occasion for disorder, hatred, even bloodshed.[l] He also set forth a treatise in which he maintained, on the authority of fathers and ecclesiastical writers, that the books of heretics (under which name he would not include any one who did not contradict Holy Scripture "by word, writing, or deed),"[m] ought not to be burnt, but read.[n] He declared, with reference to the archbishop's prohibitions and censures, that he must obey God, and not man; and he, with some friends, announced that on certain days they would publicly defend certain of Wyclif's books against all assailants.[o]

July—Aug.

On the election of John XXIII. as pope, Hus renewed

[f] Æn. Sylvius, Hist. Bohem. c. 35, p. 104.

[g] Doc. 397, 734; Palacky, III. i. 251.

[h] Steph. Dolan. in Pez, IV. ii. 386.

[i] Doc. 734; Palacky, III. i. 253; Neand. ix. 378.

[k] Steph. Dolan. in Pez, IV. ii. 118. Wenceslaus forbade such songs, under pain of death. Cochlæus, 18.

[l] Opera, i. 106.

[m] Fol. 104.

[n] De Libris Hæreticorum Legendis. Opp. i. 102, seqq.

[o] Doc. 399; Palacky, III. i. 254. Cf. Defens. Articul. Wickleffi, Opp. i. 113, seqq. (A.D. 1412).

his appeal; and the king and queen wrote letters in his favour, requesting that the prohibition of preaching except in churches of certain kinds might be withdrawn, so that there should be no interference with Bethlehem chapel.[p] Commissioners were appointed to inquire into the case, and Hus was cited to appear at Bologna;[q] but he was advised by his friends that his life would be in danger, as plots were laid to cut him off by the way. It seemed to him that to expose himself to death without any prospect of advantage to the church would be a tempting of God; he therefore contented himself with sending advocates to plead his cause, while the king, the queen, and the nobles of Bohemia, the university of Prague and the magistrates of the city, entreated the pope by letters that he might be excused from obeying the citation in person, and might be allowed to carry on his ministry as before.[r] The representatives whom Hus sent to Bologna were unable to obtain a hearing; some of them were imprisoned and otherwise ill treated;[s] and Cardinal Brancacci, the last commissioner to whom the affair was referred, pronounced against him—excommunicating him with all his adherents, and decreeing that any place in which he might be should be interdicted.[t] Archbishop Zbynko soon after uttered an interdict against Prague,[u] whereupon Wenceslaus, in anger, punished some of the clergy for obeying it, while both he and his queen continued their intercessions with the pope in behalf of Hus, and en-

Oct. 1, 1410.

Sept.—Oct. 1410.

[p] Doc. 190, 409, seqq.; Palacky, III. i. 255-6.

[q] Doc. 734.

[r] Hus, Epp. 9, 10, 14, 36; De Eccles. Opp. i. 244*; Doc. 190, 409-15, 725; Giesel. II. iii. 402; Palacky, III. i. 258.

[s] Doc. 191; Hist. p. lx. Cf. De Eccl. 235*.

[t] Doc. 192. Yet it was decreed, after an investigation at Bologna, that Wyclif's books should not be burnt—only that some parts of his opinions which seemed questionable should not be taught in Bohemia. Nov. 25, 1410. Doc. 189, 426.

[u] Ib. 429. The motive is mainly that the citizens had invaded church-property. The chronicler in Doc. 735 says that the king confiscated the revenues of the clergy before the interdict was pronounced.

treated that the orthodoxy of Bohemia might not be defamed through misrepresentations. After a time, the archbishop, finding that he was unable to make head against the opposing influences, and that pope John was not likely to give him any effective support, became desirous of a compromise. A commission of ten persons, appointed by the king to consider how peace might be restored, advised that the archbishop should report Bohemia to be free from the infection of heresy, and should request the pope to recal the citation of Hus with the excommunication which had been pronounced against him.[x] To this Zbynko consented; but, although a letter to the pope had been prepared,[y] the execution of the plan was prevented by the archbishop's death, when on his way to invoke the support of the king's brother, Sigismund of Hungary, in the religious distractions of Bohemia.[z]

July 1411.

Sept. 28, 1411.

In September 1411 Hus addressed to the pope a letter which was intended to vindicate himself against the misrepresentations which had been made of his opinions.[a] He denies having taught that the material bread remains in the sacrament of the altar; that the host, when elevated, is Christ's body, but ceases to be so when lowered again; that a priest in mortal sin cannot consecrate;[b] that secular lords may refuse to pay tithes, and may take away the possessions of the clergy.[c] He also denied that he had caused the withdrawal of the Germans from Prague; it was, he said, the effect of the resolution which they had

[x] Doc. 193, 434-40. [y] Ib. 441.

[z] Ib. 445, 736; Steph. Dolan. in Pez, IV. ii. 419; Palacky, II. iii. 271.

[a] Ep. 9.

[b] So in his treatise, 'De Cœna Domini,' written in prison at Constance, he denies "me unquam prædicasse quod sacerdos existens in peccato mortali non conficit et non consecrat. Verum quidem est, quod dixi et prædicavi, scripsi et scribo, quod quilibet talis non conficit et non consecrat digne et meritorie, sed indigne Deo et sibi in præjudicium conficit et consecrat, despiciens nomen Dei sui." Opera, i. 39*.

[c] Cf. 'De Ablatione Temporalium.' Opp. i. 117*, seqq.; and, as to the Wyclifite proposition that dominion is founded on grace, ib. 128, seqq.

taken in the belief that without them the university could not subsist.[d] He maintained that Bethlehem was not a private chapel, explained his reasons for not complying with the citation to the papal court, and entreated that he might be excused on this account, and might be released from the consequences which had followed.[e]

The successor of Zbynko was Albic of Uniczow, who, before entering into holy orders, had been the king's physician.[f] The dean of Passau, who conveyed the pall for the new archbishop, May, 1412. was also the bearer of a papal bull, by which a crusade was proclamed against Ladislaus, king of Naples, as being excommunicate, with large offers of indulgences and other privileges.[g] Wenceslaus allowed this bull to be published in Bohemia, although he was soon disgusted by the impudent pretensions and proceedings of those who undertook the publication, as well as by the serious drain of money which was paid for commutation of personal service. The German clergy of Prague obeyed the papal orders;[h] but Hus and Jerome vehemently opposed the bull, denouncing it as an antichristian act that, for the non-fulfilment of the conditions on which the kingdom of Naples was held under the papacy, a crusade should be proclaimed against a Christian prince, and that indulgences should be prostituted by the promise of absolution as a reward for money or for bloodshed.[i] A new and formidable commotion arose. Some who had hitherto been associated with Hus—especially Stephen of Palecz, an eminent doctor of theology[k]—now took the papal side;

[d] Cf. Doc. 354.

[e] To this time belongs Hus's disputation with John Stokes, an English Carmelite. Opp. i. 108, seqq.

[f] Pius II. styles him "unicum extremæ avaritiæ barathrum," and tells ludicrous stories of the miserly habits which were imputed to him. Hist. Boh. c. 35, p. 204. Cf. Theob. 11.

[g] There are two bulls in Hus, Opp. i. 171-2*

[h] Doc. 736.

[i] Opera, i. 303*-304; Doc. 223; Palacky, III. i. 274.

[k] Palecz and Stanislaus of Znaym (who also turned against Hus) had at one time gone beyond him by adopting

and thus a breach was made in the party which had until then been bound together by community of national feeling and of philosophical and religious opinion. Palecz became one of the bitterest among the opponents of Hus; he and other doctors of the university wrote against him, and denounced all opposition to the bull; but Hus persisted in his course,[1] and, when some preachers inveighed against him in the churches, they were interrupted by the laity, who in general favoured the reformer.[m] Hus offered to maintain his opinions in disputation, on condition that, if proved to be wrong, he should be burnt, provided that the other party would submit to the same fate in case of defeat. But as they offered to sacrifice only one out of the many who were banded against the solitary champion, he declared that the terms were unequal, and nothing came of his strange challenge.[n]

The exciting discourses of Hus and Jerome were heard with enthusiasm by the students, who showed their zealous sympathy by escorting them home at night. But this was not enough for some of their friends, who caused the bull to be paraded about the city, fixed to the breasts of a prostitute who was seated in a cart, and afterwards to be burnt at the pillory. The chief contriver of this scene was Woksa of Waldstein, one of the king's courtiers; but the impetuous Jerome was so far favourable to it that it was generally ascribed to him, and afterwards became the foundation of one of the charges against him at Constance.[o]

June 7, 1412.

Wenceslaus now forbade all language of insult against the pope, and all resistance to his bulls, under pain of

Wyclif's doctrine as to the eucharist. See p. 309; Hefele, vii. 34.

[1] Doc. 448-51. He compares the resistance to the pope in the matters of the crusade and of Bethlehem chapel to the story of Balaam's ass rebuking the madness of the prophet. Respons. ad Stanisl., Opp. i. 299*.

[m] Doc. 736. [n] Palacky, III. i. 275.

[o] V. d. Hardt, iv. 672; Palacky, III. i. 277. In a paper of charges against Wenceslaus, presented to the council, he is blamed for keeping Waldstein about him after this affair. Doc. 640.

death.[p] But Hus continued his preaching, and the excitement became more alarming. One day, as a preacher of the crusade was setting forth his indulgences in a church, he was interrupted by three young men, belonging to the class of artisans, who told him that he lied, that master Hus had taught them the vanity of such privileges, and that the pope was antichrist for proclaiming them.[q] The three were carried before the magistrates of the city, and next day were condemned to die, in accordance with the king's late decree. Hus earnestly interceded for them, declaring that, if any one were to be put to death, he was himself more guilty than they;[r] and the council appears to have promised that their lives should be spared. But when the popular agitation had been thus calmed, the young men were hastily executed. The passions of the multitude were now stirred to the uttermost. When the executioner proclaimed, in the usual form, "Whoso doth the like, let him expect the like!" a general cry burst forth, "We are all ready to do and to suffer the like!"[s] Female devotees[t] dipped their handkerchiefs in the blood of the victims, and treasured it up as a precious relic; some of the crowd even licked the blood.[u] The bodies were carried off by the people, and were borne with solemn pomp to interment in the chapel of Bethlehem, which thence took the name of the Three Saints or Martyrs.[x] Hus himself did not hesitate to speak of them as martyrs in sermons and writings;[y] and, although he had not even been present at the funeral procession, he continued to the end of his life to be charged with having been the author of the movement.[z]

July 10.

[p] Steph. Dolan. 380; Neand. ix. 415.
[q] Steph. Dolan. l. c.
[r] Ib. 381.
[s] Palacky, III. i. 280.
[t] Stephen of Dolan calls them *beguinæ*, p. 381.
[u] Ib.
[x] Ib.
[y] De Eccl. Opp. i. 245*; Mladenovicz, in Doc. 312-13.
[z] Steph. Dolan. l. c.; V. d. Hardt, iv. 327, 676; Doc. 312; Cochl. 39-40; Neand. ix. 417-19. The celebration of

The agitation at Prague continued. Hus combated the abuse of indulgences with untiring zeal, in sermons, disputations, and tracts; he denied that any human judge could with certainty forgive sins,[a] and maintained that an excommunication unjustly uttered was no more to be dreaded than the ban of the Jewish synagogue.[b] The parties became more violent and exasperated; the Germans were for pulling down Bethlehem chapel,[c] while, on the other side, Hus had often to lament the discredit brought on his cause by partisans whose zeal was neither tempered by discretion nor adorned by consistency of life.[d] Archbishop Albic, feeling himself unequal to contend with the difficulties of the case, exchanged his see for a lower but more tranquil dignity, and was succeeded by Conrad of Vechta, a Westphalian, formerly bishop of Olmütz, who, after having acted as administrator of the diocese for some months, was enthroned in July 1413.[e]

The university of Prague had again condemned the forty-five propositions ascribed to Wyclif in July 1412;[f] the clergy of the city had addressed to the pope a letter against Hus;[g] and on the festival of the Purification, 1413, it was decreed by a council at Rome, under John XXIII., that all Wyclif's works, of whatever kind, should be burnt, inasmuch as, although there might be truth in some of them, it was mixed with error.[h] Hus was excommunicated and anathematized for his disregard of

the three as martyrs was charged on Jerome as idolatry, on the ground that no one can be sainted without the papal sanction. (V. d. Hardt, iv. 676.) Stephen of Dolan attacks the inconsistency of the reverence paid to the bodies of these men with the principles of the Hussites as to relics. 381-2.

[a] Adv. Indulgentias, Opp. i. 181-3. There is a curious passage in which he objects to indulgences that they would destroy purgatory and all the practices connected with it. 184[c].

[b] De Erectione Crucis, ib. 188.

[c] Doc. 728. [d] Neand. ix. 414.

[e] Palacky, III. i. 288. Æneas Sylvius says of Albic, "Cum familiam edentem bibentemque ferre non posset, et minore contentus officio avaritiæ serviebat" (Hist. Bohem. c. 42). It is said that he received a compensation in money for the loss of dignity. Theobald, 15.

[f] Doc. 451, 455; Hefele, vii. 49.

[g] Doc. 457.

[h] Ib. 467; Rayn. 1413. 1-3. See below, p. 336.

citations to the papal court. Every place in which he might be was to be interdicted; all who should countenance him[i] were to be partakers in his condemnation; and it was ordered that the sentence should be everywhere published with the most solemn forms of the church.[k] The new archbishop proceeded, with the king's consent, to carry out these decrees, pronouncing an interdict on all Prague except the royal quarter, and ordering that Bethlehem chapel, as being the centre of the reforming movement, should be demolished.[l] Hus protested against his condemnation; he set forth an appeal to the Saviour, in very earnest terms,[m] and, after having caused a protest to be engraved on the walls of Bethlehem chapel, he withdrew from the tumults of Prague, at the king's request, and with an assurance that Wenceslaus would endeavour to bring about a reconciliation with the clergy.[n] For a time he lived in retirement, partly in the castles of nobles who favoured his opinions,[o] but chiefly in the neighbourhood where the Hussite town of Tabor was afterwards founded.[p] He kept up a lively correspondence with his followers at Prague, whom he exhorted not to allow the old place of his ministrations to be destroyed;[q] and, notwithstanding the sentences which had been pronounced against him, he continued his preaching, which, wherever he went, aroused a strong indignation against the system of the Roman church, with its corruptions of doctrine and of

Dec. 1412.

[i] "Participantibus loquendo, astando, assurgendo, coambulando, coequitando, salutando, sociando, comedendo, bibendo, molendo, coquendo, emendo vel vendendo, vestes vel calceamenta faciendo, potum vel aquam dando, aut alia necessaria vel amictus qualitercunque præstando, aut in quocunque solatio humano participari præsumant." p. 634.

[k] De Eccl. Opp. i. 253*; Doc. 461-4.

Hus ascribed this to the exertions of Michael de Causis, ib. 465.

[l] Palacky, III. i. 287.

[m] Doc. 464; cf. De Eccl. 235*. See a note in Seyfr. 88.

[n] Palacky, III. i. 288. There are many papers relating to attempts at making peace. Doc. 486, seqq. See Hefele, vii. 52.

[o] Neand. ix. 433. See Palacky, III. i. 305. [p] Ib. 293. [q] Ep. 16, etc.

practice.[r] His pen, too, was actively employed in the production of writings in Latin, Bohemian, and German;[s] and to this time belongs the treatise 'Of the Church,' which is the most important of his works.

Resting on the rigid doctrine of predestination, Hus says that to be *in* the church is not the same as to be *of* the church. Some are in the church both in name and reality; some neither in the one nor in the other, as the foreknown heathen; some in name only, as the foreknown hypocrites; some in reality, although nominally they are without, as those predestined Christians whom the officers of antichrist profess to exclude by ecclesiastical censures.[t] No one can be assured of his predestination, except through special revelation, so that it is surprising how the worldly clergy can have the confidence to claim the true membership of the church.[u] Christ alone is head of the church; St. Peter was not its head, but was chief of the apostles. The pope is the vicar of St. Peter, if he walk in his steps; but if he give into covetousness, he is the vicar of Judas Iscariot.[x] The pope and cardinals are not the body of the church; but they are the chief part of it as to dignity, if they follow Christ in humility.[y] The pope owes his pre-eminence to Constantine, whose alleged donation Hus believes as firmly as he believes the tale of pope Joan.[z] He reprobates the flattery which was commonly used towards the pope,[a] and denounces the luxury and other corruptions of the cardinals.[b] He disowns the charge of disobedience to the church, justifies himself as to the

[r] Schröckh, xxxiv. 605-15.

[s] Palacky, III. i. 297. Hus's Bohemian writings have been edited by K. J. Erben, Prague, 1865. See Mr. Wratislaw in 'Contemp. Rev.' x. 530.

[t] Opera, i. 200. [u] Ib. 203*-204*.

[x] Ib. 210, 211*, 220, 222*. Cf. Ep. 29. At fol. 234, we have a piece of etymology like that of Claudius of Turin (see vol. iii. p. 315): "*Apostolicus* dicitur viam *Apostoli cus*todiens."

[y] Opera, i. 207-8.

[z] Ib. 224*. The story of the female pope, whom he calls Agnes, is very often brought forward by Hus. Ib. 207, 220, etc. [a] Ib. 229. [b] Ib. 234*.

matters which had brought him under censure, and declares that excommunications, interdicts, and other sentences, if unjustly pronounced, are of no effect, and are not to be regarded.[c] God alone, he says, knows to whom sin is to be forgiven; and Christ is the only true Roman high-priest, whom all are bound to obey in order to salvation.[d]

This treatise was written in consequence of the proceedings of a synod at Prague, where Hus was represented by John of Jessinitz, a doctor of canon law; but there was no definite result;[e] and it was followed up by other writings against the chiefs of the ecclesiastical party. While Hus had been compelled to leave Prague, Jerome, too, withdrew, probably of his own accord, and betook himself again to travel—in the course of which he made his way into Russia.[f] Before his return, Hus had already set out to present himself before the council of Constance. Dec. 1412.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE ELECTION OF POPE ALEXANDER V. TO THE END OF THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE.

A.D. 1409-1418.

THE hopes of union and of reformation which had been connected with the council of Pisa were not to be realized.

[c] Opera, 231, 235*-6, 244-5*, 251-2.

[d] Ib. 215*, 218. The contents of the book 'De Ecclesia' are in great part repeated in Hus's writings against Palecz and Stanislaus of Znaym, and in his 'Answer to the VIII. Doctors.'

[e] Palacky, III. i. 294-6. See the 'Repetitio M. Jo. Jessinitz,' in Hus. i. 336.

[f] Ib. 300.

Both Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. continued to maintain their claims to the papacy, so that instead of two popes there were now three, or, in the language of a writer of the time, the church had received a third husband in addition to those who already claimed her affections.[a] Soon after the election of Alexander V., Gerson addressed to him a discourse on the duties of his office;[b] but Alexander was not inclined to benefit by this advice. Although a learned theologian, he was altogether without the strength of character which is requisite for government.[c] His easiness of disposition led him to grant all that was asked of him. Himself careless as to matters of business, he advanced many Franciscans to places for which they were unfitted by their want of pratical habits; in order to provide for the multitude of applicants, he increased the offices of his court to such a degree that they fell into contempt;[d] and although, having no kindred, he was free from the temptations of nepotism, he was lavish in gifts, especially to the order of which he had been a member, and in whose society he continued to live.[e] Such was his profusion in his new dignity, that he spoke of himself as having been rich as a bishop, poor as a cardinal, but a beggar as pope.[f] Instead of attempting at once the work of reform, he professed to reserve it for a council which was

[a] "Bivira fueram et triviram fecerunt." Th. de Vrie, Hist. Conc. Constant. in V. d. Hardt, i. 148. (This book is a mixture of prose and verse—in form an imitation of Boëthius de Consolatione Philosophiæ. The speakers are Christ and the church. It begins by setting forth the disorders of the time. The church expresses doubts, but the Saviour assures her. He quotes Gratian's 'Decretum' largely, relates the events of the council of Constance, and profusely eulogises Sigismund.)

[b] Gerson, ii. 131. That it is wrong to suppose this a sermon preached before the pope, see Schwab, 213; Hefele, vi. 895.

[c] Pet. de Alliaco, De Diffic. Reform. Eccl. in Conc. Generali, ap. Gerson, ii. 872.

[d] Theod. Niem, iii. 51-2; Pet. de Alliaco, l. c.; Giesel. II. iv. 5.

[e] Th. Niem, iii. 51. Wadding is very angry that anything should be said against the Franciscan pope, and collects testimonies in his favour. ix. 338-40.

[f] Platina, 282.

to meet in 1412; and on the 7th of August 1409 he dissolved the council of Pisa.[g]

Soon after this Alexander displayed his partiality for his associates, and added to the subjects of discord which already existed in the church, by a bull, in which he authorized the members of the mendicant orders to receive tithes, and not only to hear confessions and to give absolution everywhere, but to administer the other sacraments, without regard to the rights of bishops or of parish priests; and the parochial clergy were charged to read in all churches this annihilation of their own rights, under pain of being punished as contumacious and obstinate heretics.[h] Immediately a great ferment was excited. While the Augustine friars and the Franciscans took advantage of it, and the latter especially displayed much elation on account of their new privileges, the Dominicans and the Carmelites disowned it, as something which they had not asked for and of which they had no need.[i] The university of Paris, headed by Gerson, sent envoys to the papal court for the purpose of inspecting the original document, as if nothing less than such evidence could be enough to warrant its genuineness; and, as it professed to be issued with the consent and advice of the cardinals, the envoys waited on the members of the college individually, whom they found unanimous in disavowing all concern in it.[k] By

Oct. 12.

[g] Mansi, xxvi. 1155-6. As to the authority of this council, which claimed to be œcumenical, there have been differences of opinion in the Roman communion. St. Antoninus of Florence treats it as doubtful (iii. 470-1). Bellarmine speaks of the council as "nec approbatum nec reprobatum," although he inclines to regard Alexander and his successor as the true popes (De Concil. et Eccl. i. 8, Opp. t. ii. ed. Col. Agr. 1618), while other curialists, in later times, have declared for Gregory XII. The Gallicans, from Gerson downwards, have generally regarded it as œcumenical. See Giesel. II. iv. 8; Schwab, 257-8; Hefele, i. 52.

[h] "Regnans in excelsis," ap. Mon. Sandion. iv. 290; Gerson, ii. 431, seqq.; D'Argentré, I. ii. 180; Bul. v. 200. The bull is said to have been procured chiefly at the instance of John Gorel, a Franciscan, who will be mentioned elsewhere. Bul. v. 201.

[i] Mon. Sandion. iv. 290.

[k] Ib.

this bull were rescinded no less than seven bulls of former popes. The papal privilege was met in France by the expulsion of the Franciscans and Augustinians from the university of Paris, and by a royal order, issued at the request of the university, forbidding the parochial clergy to let the mendicants hear confessions or preach in their churches.[l]

Gregory XII., after his attempt to hold a council at Cividale, had withdrawn to Gaeta,[m] where he lived under the protection of Ladislaus, to whom it is said that he sold his rights to the sovereignty of Rome and the papal states.[n] Ladislaus got possession of the city; but after a time it was regained for Alexander by the legate of Bologna, Balthazar Cossa, who was aided by Lewis of Anjou, by the Florentines, and by an insurrection within Rome itself.[o] Alexander was driven from Pisa by a pestilence; but instead of complying with the invitation of the Romans, who sent him the keys of their city, he was constrained by Cossa, whose ascendency over him was absolute, to make his way across the Apennines through snow and ice to Bologna, where he arrived on the Epiphany,[p] and died on the 3rd of May 1410. His end was generally explained by the ready supposition of poison, and this was supposed by many to have been administered through the contrivance of the legate.[q]

A.D. 1409-10, Oct. 1409.

[l] Mon. Sandion. iv. 308; Milm. v. 464; Hefele, vii. 3. The bull was revoked by John XXIII. Bul. v. 204.

[m] Th. Niem, iii. 50.

[n] Mon. Sandion. iv. 28, 62; Th. Niem, iii. 23; Sozom. Pistor. in Murat. xvi. 1193. Muratori, in quoting Sozomen, adds, "Si ciò è vero, gran tradimento fece costui alla chiesa." Annal. IX. i. 65.

[o] Th. Niem, iii. 52; Anton. Petri, 1003; Gregorov. vi. 596-7 See in Rayn. 1409. 85, Alexander's denunciations summoning Ladislaus to answer for his conduct.

[p] Th. Niem, iii. 51; Vita Joh. XXIII. in V. d. Hardt, ii. 355-8; Cron. di Bologna, in Murat. xviii. 598.

[q] See Antonin. 476 (who does not charge the crime on Cossa); Mon. Sandion. iv. 322; Cron. di Bologna, 559; Hus, Ep. 83; Giesel. II. iv. 9. Bp. Hefele disbelieves the story (vii. 5), which seems improbable.

On the 16th of May—the third day after the conclave had been formed—Cossa was chosen as pope by seventeen cardinals, and took the name of John the Twenty-third.[r] The accounts of his earlier life are such that we can hardly conceive how, if they may be believed, he should have been able to gain influence as an ecclesiastic, and eventually to attain the papal chair by the votes of his brother cardinals; yet all contemporary writers agree in the substance of the story, and the very blackest parts of it were brought against him without contradiction at the council of Constance.[s] Born of a noble Neapolitan family, Cossa had early entered into the ranks of the clergy; but his clerical profession had not prevented him from engaging in the piratical warfare between Naples and Hungary; and in this stage of his life he acquired a habit, which afterwards adhered to him, of waking by night and sleeping by day.[t] After having resided for some time at Bologna, where he affected the character of a student, he was made archdeacon of that city by Boniface IX.,[u] who afterwards transferred him to Rome and appointed him papal chamberlain. In this office Cossa exercised his genius in devising new forms of corruption for the benefit of the ecclesiastical revenues."[x] To him is ascribed the system of sending out preachers to vend indulgences with the most impudent pretensions,

[r] Bekynton, Epp. 243-4. For the exertions of Charles Malatesta, lord of Rimini, to deprecate a new election, see Mart. Coll. Ampl. vii. 1162-86.

[s] "Vir in temporalibus quidem magnus, in spiritualibus vero nullus omnino et ineptus." Leon. Aret. in Mur. xix. 927; see Schröckh, xxxi. 376; Sism. vi. 153; Milm. v. 466. Bp. Hefele reasonably reduces the charges against him, vii. 9-11.

[t] Th. Niem, in V. d. Hardt, i. 338-9. This agrees with a passage of Antony Petri, who tells us that he and others were unable (A.D. 1409) to get an interview with Cossa until after vespers. "Causa fuit ista: Dominus Cardinalis non surrexit usque ad meridiem; post meridiem audivit missam; post missam, voluit se radere. Multa essent scribenda quæ demitto in calamo." 1005.

[u] Th. Niem, l. c. 340.

[x] Ib. 340-4. See the story of his despoiling and putting to death a preacher who was returning from beyond the Alps with a large collection of money. Ib. 343-4.

while he himself was notorious for enriching himself by simony and bribes.[y] In 1403 he was sent back to Bologna as cardinal-legate—partly, it is said, with a view of removing him from the neighbourhood of his brother's wife, with whom he carried on a scandalous intercourse.[z]

At Bologna he established a despotic and tyrannical power. The people were ground by taxation, monopolies, and plunder:[a] licenses were sold for the exercise of infamous occupations—of usury, keeping of gaming-houses, prostitution.[b] His cruelty towards those who offended him was so widely exercised, that it is said to have visibly thinned the population of the city;[c] his lust was so inordinate, that within the first year of his legation two hundred maidens, wives, or widows, and a multitude of consecrated nuns, are said to have fallen victims to it.[d] He is charged with having bribed the cardinals to desert Gregory, whose arms he defaced on the public buildings of Bologna before setting out for the council of Pisa;[e] and in that council he took a prominent part, although, on being proposed for the papacy, he found it expedient to put forward Alexander, as one whom he might make his tool, and who was not likely to stand long in his way.[f] At Bologna, the conclave was subject to the legate's control, and various stories are told as to the manner in which he carried his own election, by the use of bribery and of terror;[g] but as, in the course of the later proceedings against him, no charge was brought on this point, these stories may perhaps be safely rejected.[h]

[y] Th. Niem, 337.

[z] Ib. 337, 346. Boniface eulogizes him profusely on occasion of sending him as legate. Rayn. 1403. 9.

[a] Th. Niem, l. c. 349. [b] Ib. 350.

[c] Ib. 348. [d] Ib. 339.

[e] Cron. di Bologna, Murat. xviii. 593; Döllinger, ii. 296; Hefele, vii. 9. Gregory styles him "iniquitatis alumnus et perditionis filius" in his manifesto of Dec. 14, 1408.

[f] Ib. 355; De Schism. iii. 51.

[g] Th. Niem, in V. d. Hardt, ii. 304, 357-8; Platina, 283. "In cujus electione multi scandalizati sunt, quia ut tyrannus rexisse Boloniam et vitæ mundanæ deditus dicebatur." Gobel. Pers. 330.

[h] Milm. v. 469; Hefele, vii. 7. For the ceremonies of his coronation in the

John began his pontificate by promulgating rules for his chancery which sanctioned the worst of the existing corruptions,[i] and by uttering curses, according to usage, against his rivals Gregory and Benedict.[k] The growing power of Ladislaus gave just ground for alarm; and John had a personal cause of dislike against him for having condemned two of the pope's own brothers to death as pirates—from the execution of which sentence they had with difficulty been rescued by the intercession of Boniface IX.[l] John declared the king to be excommunicate and deposed, and proclaimed a crusade against him with those offers of indulgences[m] which, as we have seen, excited a commotion in Bohemia; and, in conjunction with Lewis of Anjou, he carried the war against Ladislaus into southern Italy. May 17, 1411. At Rocca Secca, near Ceperano, the pope and his allies gained a victory; but Lewis was unable to follow up this advantage, and found himself obliged to return to Provence, from which he made no further attempt on Italy.[n]

After a time John found it expedient to enter into negotiations with Ladislaus, who agreed to abandon Gregory XII., but exacted heavy conditions—that the pope should disallow the claim of Lewis of Anjou to Naples, and that of Peter of Aragon to Sicily; that he should acknowledge Ladislaus as king of both territories, should declare him standard-bearer of the Roman church and empire, and should pay him a large sum of money.[o] Gregory, finding himself obliged to leave the king's territories, made his way from Gaeta Jun. 15, 1412.

church of St. Petronius, see Monstrelet, ii. 129, seqq.; Matth. de Griffon. in Murat. xviii. 218; Cron. di Bologn. ib. 543.

[i] Giesel. II. iv. 11; cf. as to his practices Th. Niem de Necess. Reform. i. 27.

[k] Rayn. 1411. 2.

[l] Th. Niem, in V. d. Hardt, i. 346-7.

[m] Mon. Sandion. iv. 608.

[n] Ib. 390-6; Th. Niem, in V. d. Hardt, ii. 364-5; Leon. Aret. in Mur. xix. 927; Antonin. 477; Sism. vi. 134.

[o] Th. Niem, in V. d. Hardt, ii 367; Gregorov. vi. 606-7.

by sea—not without danger from hostile ships—to Rimini, where he found a refuge with Charles Malatesta, the only potentate who still adhered to him;[p] and through this friend he carried on for a time negotiations with pope John—each of the rivals endeavouring to persuade the other to resign by liberal offers of compensation.[q]

Dec. 24, 1413.

As if in fulfilment of the engagements into which his predecessor Alexander had entered, John affected to summon a council to meet at Rome in 1412, with a view to the reform of the church. But the number of bishops who attended was very scanty, and the only result seems to have been a condemnation of Wyclif's writings, which were burnt on the steps of St. Peter's.[r] The council broke up without any formal dissolution, in consequence of the troubles in which the pope was involved.[s]

Feb. 13, 1413.

At Rome John had been received with acclamations and festive displays;[t] but he soon made himself detested by the heaviness of the

April 11, 1411.

[p] Th. Niem, in V. d. Hardt, i. 368. Leonard of Arezzo, who accompanied him, praises Malatesta very highly (926); and the monk of St. Denys styles him "litteratus et facundus, et summe in rethorica expertus." iv. 218.

[q] Th. Niem, in V. d. Hardt, i. 361.

[r] Ant. Petri, 1033; Mansi, xxvii. 505; Hefele, vii. 17-18.

[s] Bekynton, Ep. 245; Hefele, vii. 18. At Constance it was charged against John that the Roman council reproved him for many of his faults, but that he did not amend. (Art. 28, in V. d. Hardt, iv. 200.) He refers to this council in his summons for that of Constance (Mansi, xxvii. 537). There is a story that, when the pope had taken his seat, an owl came forth from some hiding-place with a screech, perched on a beam opposite to him, and remained there staring at him. A whisper ran among the cardinals—"En in specie bubonis Spiritus adest!"—and there was general laughter, until the pope in confusion broke up the meeting. At the second session the owl appeared again, and kept his place until he was driven from it, and was killed with clubs. (Nic. Clemang. super materia Conc. Generalis, Opera, p. 75.) But this story seems to have grown out of one told by Theodoric of Niem—that an owl appeared as the pope was celebrating vespers on Whitsunday, at the beginning of the hymn, 'Veni Creator Spiritus,' and that this was regarded as an omen. Vita Joh. p. 375; cf. Lenfant, Conc. de Pise, ii. 115; Neand. ix. 131; Hefele, vii. 18.

[t] Ant. Petri, 1124.

taxation which he imposed. The richer citizens were drained of their money; officials of all kinds were compelled to pay largely for their places; a rate was levied on trades and mechanical occupations; the coin was debased; the duties on wine were increased to such a degree that the growers found themselves driven from the Roman market.[u] On this account, and because Ladislaus did not support the pope in an attempt to extort a second payment of fees from prelates and others who had held office under Gregory, a fresh rupture took place.[x] The king got posession of Rome by surprise, while John fled to Viterbo and thence to Florence and Bologna. The palaces of the pope and cardinals were plundered; many of the churches were turned into stables.[y] The castle of St. Angelo, after having held out for some time, was treacherously surrendered; and Ladislaus overran the whole country as far as Siena.[z] June 1413.

In the distress to which he was now reduced, John found himself obliged to turn, as his only resource, to Sigismund, the emperor-elect. At the death of Rupert, in May 1410, it had seemed as if the empire, like the church, were to be distracted between three claimants; for, while some of the electors wished to bring forward the deposed Wenceslaus again, one party chose his brother, king Sigismund of Hungary, while another party chose Jobst or Jodocus, marquis of Moravia.[a] But Jodocus, who is said to have been ninety years old, was speedily removed by death,[b] and Sigismund received the votes of those who had before stood aloof from him—among others that of Wences- July 21, 1411.

[u] Vita Joh. 370, 375. [x] Ib. 374-6. [y] Eberhard Windeck says this even of St. Peter's. Mencken, i. 1091. [z] Ant. Petri, 1035; Th. Niem, Vita Joh. c. 35; Matth. de Griffon. in Murat. xviii. 222; Cron. di Bologn. ib. 603; Antonin. 477; Gregorov. vi. 615-17. [a] Gobel. Pers. 331; Aschbach, 'Kaiser Sigmund,' i. 283, 292-3; Palacky, III. i. 259. [b] Murat. IX. i. 74.

laus himself, with whom he was formally reconciled.[c] For a time Sigismund's energies were chiefly occupied by a war with the Venetians for the possession of Dalmatia; but a truce of five years, concluded in 1413, set him free to attend to the affairs of the empire and of the church.[d] Sigismund was the most powerful emperor since the days of Frederick II., and at this time his influence was the stronger because France and England were about to renew their great struggle, and France, in addition to its dangers from the foreign enemy, was a prey to the bloody feuds of the Burgundian and Orleanist factions.[e] The emperor's noble presence, his accomplishments and knightly deportment, his love of splendour and magnificence (although this was continually restrained by pecuniary difficulties arising out of the imprudence of his youth), procured him general popularity. The faults of his earlier days—among which faithlessness, harshness, and excessive love of pleasure are noted—appeared to have been abandoned as the great dignity which he had attained brought with it a deep feeling of duty and responsibility.[f] Most especially he was desirous to heal the schism of the church. As king of Hungary, he had acknowledged John, and at his election to the empire the archbishop of Mentz had exacted from him an oath that he would not accept the crown from any other pope than John or a successor of the same line.[g] With regard to Ladislaus, Sigismund's interest was one with that

[c] Gobel. Pers. l. c.; Andr. Ratisb. in Pez, IV. iii. 622; Th. Niem, in V. d. Hardt, ii. 375; Palacky, III. i. 261; Aschbach, i. 304-7. John, in a letter to Sigismund, takes credit for having favoured his election. V. d. Hardt, iv. 260.

[d] Th. Niem. in V. d. Hardt, ii. 378; Aschbach, i. 349.

[e] As the house of Burgundy used the St. Andrew's cross, we find that, when the Burgundians were in the ascendant, that form was substituted in crucifixes for the rectangular cross of France, and some priests followed the same pattern in making the sign of the cross at baptism and in the mass. Juv. des Ursins, 232, 236.

[f] Leon. Aret. in Murat. xix. 936; Schmidt, iv. 95; Sism. vi. 143; Aschb. i. 416-18.

[g] Schröckh, xxxi. 391; Schmidt, iv. 85.

of John; for Ladislaus, in addition to the ambitious projects which he had formed as to Italy, directly claimed Sigismund's kingdom of Hungary, and even had views on the imperial dignity.[h]

With a view to the reunion of the church, Sigismund urged on John the necessity of a general council. If such an assembly were to meet, the question as to the place of its meeting was important for John's interest. He himself told his secretary, Leonard of Arezzo, that it must not be in any place where the emperor was too powerful; that, while professing to give full powers to the commissioners whom he was about to send to Sigismund, he intended secretly to limit their choice to certain Italian cities: but at taking leave of the commissioners, acting on a sudden impulse, he professed entire confidence in them, and destroyed the list of places.[i] On finding that they had agreed to fix on Constance, a town beyond the Alps and within the imperial dominions, he burst out into bitter reproaches against them, and cursed his own folly in having departed from his first resolution.[k] At Lodi he had a meeting with the emperor, and urged on him that the council should be held in some city of Lombardy; but Sigismund, who had already issued his summons, was not to be diverted from his purpose. The plea that the patriarchs and cardinals would be unwilling to cross the Alps was met by the answer that the ecclesiastical electors of the empire would be equally unwilling to do so in the opposite direction.[l] Nov.—Dec. 1413.

[h] Schmidt, iv. 96. See above, p. 241.

[i] Leon. Aretin. in Murat. xix. 928; Palacky, Documenta, 513; Theod. Vrie, in V. d. Hardt, i. 105.

[k] Leon. Aret. l. c.; Palacky, Doc. 516-17.

[l] Th. Niem, i. 37; Ulr. Reichenthal, in Marmor, 15; Gobel Pers. 331. The advantages of Constance are set forth by Ulrich of Reichenthal, in Marmor, 13-14. The account of the council by Ulrich, who was an eye-witness, was published in 1483 and in 1534. A facsimile of the best MS., with its illustrations, was published in 1870; but I have been obliged to content myself with so much of the book as is contained in Marmor's 'Concil zu Con-

Sigismund, in respectful terms, exhorted the pope to amend the courses by which he had scandalized Christendom, especially as to simony; and John promised compliance. The emperor accompanied him as far as Cremona on his return towards Bologna.[m] The French reformers, finding that the influence of their own nation had been insufficient to heal the schism, had now turned their hopes towards the emperor, and Gerson had urged the assembling of a council on him as a duty of his office which could not be neglected without mortal sin.[n] In accordance with this view, Sigismund, as temporal head of Christendom, had sent forth his citation for a general council, while John, as pope, was persuaded to do the like. The time fixed in both documents, as if by independent authority, was the first of November in the following year.[o] The emperor invited both Gregory XII. and Benedict to attend, with their adherents, but refrained from giving to either of them the title of pope.

Oct. 31.

Dec. 9.

John was already committed to the council, when he was informed that Ladislaus, against whom he was endeavouring to enlist troops, had suddenly died at Naples.[p] By this event his position was rendered easier,

stanz' (Const. 1858), and with quotations in other works. Another German chronicler of the council, Dacher, although used by V. d. Hardt, has not been published. See notes on Seyfrid, 6-7.

[m] Leon. Aret. in Murat. xix. 928; V. d. Hardt, iv. 204. See, as to the wretched state to which the two great potentates found the north of Italy reduced by war, etc., Leonard Aret. l. c. Gabrino Fondolo, who had made himself tyrant of Cremona, and was eventually beheaded at Milan, professed on the scaffold to feel no remorse for anything except that, when showing the valley of the Po to the pope and the emperor from the lofty bell-tower of his city, he had not given way to an impulse which he felt to throw them both down. Sism. vi. 151.

[n] "Sub pœna peccati mortalis et gehennæ perpetuæ" (t. ii. 187). Theodoric of Niem argues the emperor's power to correct the disorders of the papacy—referring to the acts of Otho I., etc. De Schism. iii. 7, 9-10. So Gerson (?), i. 178, etc.

[o] Mansi, xxviii. 537; V. d. Hardt, vi. 5, seqq.; Palacky, Docum. 515; Bekynton, No. 246.

[p] See Th. Niem, in V. d. Hardt, ii. 388; Leon. Aret. 929; Antonin. 479; Monstrel. iii. 257; Laonic. Chalcocon

and less dependent on the alliance of Sigismund, so that he entertained the idea of taking up his abode at Rome instead of fulfilling his promise to appear at Constance. Some of his friends endeavoured to alarm him by telling him that, if he should go to Constance as pope, he would return as a private man. But the cardinals, fearing lest he should plunge into hazardous schemes for recovering the whole of the church's territory, insisted on the fulfilment of his promise, and he unwillingly set forth from Bologna.[q] In passing through the Tyrol, he had an interview with duke Frederick of Austria,[r] whom he knew to be hostile to Sigismund; and it was agreed that in case of necessity the pope might reckon on the duke's protection. As John was descending the Arlberg he was upset in the snow, and vented loud curses on his own folly in having set out on such an expedition;[s] and when he arrived in sight of Constance, its appearance drew from him the exclamation, "So are foxes caught."[t] Oct. 1.

Almost from the beginning of the schism the cries for a reform of the church had been loud and frequent. Nicolas of Clemanges, then rector of the university of Paris, had led the way in 1394 by a forcible appeal to the king of France;[u] and about 1401 appeared a tract 'Of the Corrupt State of the Church,' which has been usually, although perhaps wrongly, ascribed to him.[x] In

dylas, l. v. p. 142; Raynald. 1414. 6; Giannone, iv. 177; Gregorov. vi. 623-9; Mansi (n. on Raynald.) puts the event on Aug. 3; others say Aug. 6, or 14.

[q] Aschbach, ii. 9.

[r] Frederick, by a partition with other princes of his house, had got the Tyrol and Vorarlberg. See l'Art de Vérif., xvii. 54; Coxe, i. 223.

[s] "Jaceo hic in nomine diaboli." Marmor, 18.

[t] Ib. His entry into Constance is described at p. 19.

[u] Ep. l. See Schröckh, xxxi. 288, 398.

[x] See Giesel. II. iii. 108. It is printed among the works of Nicolas, with the title 'De Corrupto Ecclesiæ Statu,' but more correctly (and with a different numbering of the chapters) by Von der Hardt, I. iii. seqq., where it is entitled 'De Ruina Ecclesiæ.' See Schröckh, xxxi. 402-7. C. Schmidt, in Herzog, art. *Clemanges*, holds with Müntz that it is not by Nicolas, but by some other member of the university of Paris, which alone escapes the writer's censures on the clergy. Schwab,

this the condition of things is painted in very dark, and perhaps somewhat exaggerated, colours. The writer enlarges on the decay of the church from the simplicity of its primitive days.[y] The three great vices of the clergy he declares to be luxury, pride, and greed;[z] vices which prevail among every class from the pope downwards. He censures the popes for their usurpation of patronage, for the unworthy bestowal of it on ignorant and useless men,[a] whereby the whole order of clergy had fallen into contempt, and for the exactions by which they oppressed the clergy.[b] He is severe on the corruptions of the Roman court;[c] on the pride of cardinals, their monstrous pluralities, their simony and venality, their unedifying manner of life.[d] Bishops neglect their dioceses and hang about the courts of princes, under the false pretence of being needed as their counsellors;[e] they are intent on getting money by discreditable means,[f] and spend their time in frivolous and indecent amusements.[g] Canons imitate in their degree the faults of the bishops.[h] Monks are so much worse than others as by their profession they ought to be better;[i] and mendicants vitiate the good deeds which they claim by their unseemly boasting of them, so that they are the Pharisees of the church, and our Lord's condemnations of the Jewish Pharisees are applicable to them.[k] In conclusion the writer warns of dangers which are at hand, and declares that the only safety for the church is in humiliation and

however, would restore it to Nicolas. 494.

[y] Cc. 1-2. [z] C. 3. [a] Cc. 5-7, 18.

[b] Abbots and other prelates dying in debt to the papal treasury had been deprived of Christian burial. C. 8.

[c] Cc. 11-12.

[d] Cc. 13-17. Cf. De Modis Un. et Ref. Eccl. ap Gerson, ii. 174-5.

[e] Cc. 19, 20. [f] Cc. 20-7. [g] C. 28.

[h] He styles them, among other things, "indoctos, Simoniacos, cupidos, ambitiosos, æmulos, obtrectatores, suæ vitæ negligentes, alienæ curiosos scrutatores ac reprehensores; ebriosos, incontinentissimos . . . vaniloquos, garrulos, tempus in fabulis et nugis terentes; et propterea . . . in cura ventris et gulæ, in carnis voluptatibus hauriendis, suæ vitæ felicitatem, ut porci Epicurei, constituunt." C. 29.

[i] C. 32. [k] Cc. 33-5.

amendment.[1] Peter d'Ailly, now cardinal and archbishop of Cambray, agreed with other writers in desiring reform, but saw greater practical hindrances in the way; and in 1410 he put forth a tract 'Of the Difficulty of Reformation in a General Council,'[m] urging the vacancy of the empire, the disorganized condition of the church, and the danger that the cardinals might not agree in an election, or might increase the existing perplexities. To this a reply was made in a treatise 'On the Ways of Uniting and Reforming the Church in a General Council,' which has been commonly (but perhaps incorrectly) attributed to Gerson.[n] The writer is strongly opposed to the assumptions and to the corruptions of the papacy. He considers that the necessity of the case is so strong as to overpower all ordinary difficulties. The pope, he says, is not above the gospel; he received his office for the general good, and for the general good he ought to resign it, if necessary.[o] The popes should be urged to cession; and if this cannot be obtained, it would be legitimate to pursue the great object even by the use of fraud, violence, bribery, imprisonment, and death.[p] In such a question all Christians,

[1] Cc. 42-6.

[m] Printed in Gerson's works, ii. 867, seqq. To D'Ailly has also been ascribed the tract 'De Necessitate Reformationis,' written some years later (in V. d. Hardt, I. vii., or Gerson, ii. 895, seqq.); but it is by a German, probably Theodoric of Niem. See V. d. Hardt's Introduction; Schwab, 481-2.

[n] V. d. Hardt, I. v.; or in Gerson, ii. 161, seqq. See Schwab, 470, 491, who points out differences of principle from Gerson as to doctrine and morals, and considers it to be probably the work of a Frenchman who had lived in Italy, and knew the curia by personal observation. He suggests Andrew, abbot of Rendufe, in the Portuguese diocese of Braga, as the probable author.

[o] Ap. Gerson, 168.

[p] "Quod si nec isto modo poterit ecclesia proficere, tunc dolis, fraudibus, armis, violentia, potentia, promissionibus, donis et pecuniis, tandem carceribus, mortibus, convenit sanctissimam unionem ecclesiæ et conjunctionem quomodolibet procurare." He grounds this on the authority of Cicero (De Offic. iii. 5)—"Hoc spectant leges, hoc volunt, incolumem esse civium conjunctionem; quam qui dirimunt, mortibus, exilio, vinculis et damnis coerceant secundum leges." (Gerson, col. 170.) [For the last three words the original reads only *coercent*.]

even to the lowest in station, are interested; all, and more especially those in high authority, are entitled to interfere.[q] The emperor, as general advocate of the church, ought to call a general council,[r] and a new pope ought to be chosen, who must neither be one of the existing claimants, nor a member of the college of cardinals; for cardinals ought, in the writer's opinion, to be always regarded as ineligible on account of the danger of collusion, which might lead to the choice of unsuitable men.[s] And the work concludes with suggesting some reforms which the future council ought to take in hand.[t]

The influence of the school to which these writers belonged had been apprehended by John, and he had endeavoured to gain them by bestowing large privileges and other benefits on the university of Paris, and by raising Peter d'Ailly, as one of its most eminent members, to the dignity of cardinal.[u]

The eyes of all Christendom were now turned with intense interest to the expected council. It was not merely to decide between the claims of rival popes, but was to settle the question whether a pope or a general council were the highest authority in the church. As the time of meeting drew near, multitudes of every class poured into Constance, and the arrivals continued for some months after the opening of the council.[x] Of the ecclesiastical members, some appeared in plain and simple style, and others in pomp which displayed the union of secular wealth with ecclesiastical dignity.

[q] Gerson, cols. 163, 171-2, etc.

[r] Ib. 187, 190, etc.

[s] Ib. 195. [t] Ib. 200-1.

[u] Th. Niem de Necess. Reform. c. 26 (V. d. Hardt, i.); Neand. ix. 129. At the same time (June 1411) other eminent men, as Zabarella and Fillastre, were made cardinals, seemingly with a view to the pope's reputation. Bp. Hallam, of Salisbury, is also commonly reckoned among them; but this seems inconsistent with the fact that the title is never given to him in the documents of the council of Constance. See Ciacon. ii. 800-4; Lenf., Conc. de Pise, ii. 71; Schwab, 466.

[x] Thus the Parisian deputation arrived on Feb. 18, 1415. Lenf. Conc. de Const. i. 112.

Among the latter class John of Nassau, the primate of Germany, distinguished himself by entering the city in complete armour, attended by a splendid train of 352 men, with 700 horses.[y] The whole number of ecclesiastics present, with their attendants, is reckoned at 18,000. During the sittings of the council there were usually 50,000 strangers within the walls of Constance; sometimes twice that number, with 30,000 horses.[z] Among those who were attracted to the great ecclesiastical assembly by the hope of gain were persons of all sorts—merchants and traders, lawyers in great numbers and in all their varieties,[a] artists and craftsmen, players, jugglers, and musicians to the number of 1700, and no less than 700 avowed prostitutes.[b]

John had obtained from the magistrates of Constance certain privileges as to jurisdiction. He ordered the arms of his rival Gregory to be torn down from the lodgings of Gregory's representative, the cardinal of Ragusa; and when this act was afterwards called in question, the majority of the council justified it on the ground that such a display ought not to have been made within the territories where John was acknowledged, nor unless Gregory himself were present.[c]

[y] This was "in profesto octavarum Epiphaniæ" (1415). Mart. Thes. ii. 1611.

[z] Lecn. Aret. in Murat. xix. 929; Hefele, vii. 91.

[a] Bernard Baptisé, a Gascon abbot, in a sermon before the council on the 11th Sunday after Trinity, 1417, speaks of one lawyer as having made 1000 florins that year. V. d. Hardt, i. 886.

[b] Ulr. v. Reichenthal in Aschbach 42, who adds, "On die heimlichen, die lass ich bleiben." Cf. G. Dacher, in V. d. Hardt, v. 50. Fistenport, in Hahn, 'Miscellanea,' i. 401, says 450 "publicæ meretrices," and 320 "joculatores et fistulatores," while a document in V. d. Hardt, v. 51, says "xvc [1500] meretrices vagabundæ." Hus reports the Swabians as saying, "Constantiam triginta annis purgari non posse peccatis quæ concilium in ea urbe perpetraverit." (Ep. 85.) See the 'Publica Conquestio' of a doctor named Theobald, in V. d. Hardt, i. 908-9. In V. d. Hardt, iv. 1017, seqq., are some regulations of the council as to lodgings, provisions, etc., which give curious hints as to prices and habits. Cf. v. 51-2.

[c] Mansi, xxvii. 532; V. d. Hardt, iv. 21. Gregory had refused to attend on the ground that the council had been

On the 5th of November the council was opened with a solemn service; and on the 16th the first general session was held.[d] Among the members of the council (of whom, however, many did not arrive until later) were the titular patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem,[e] twenty-two cardinals, twenty archbishops, nearly a hundred bishops and thirty-three titular bishops, a hundred and twenty-four abbots, and two hundred and fifty doctors, with many secular princes or representatives of princes.[f]

Of the Italian prelates, the most active in the council was Zabarella, cardinal-archbishop of Florence;[g] of those from the northern kingdoms, the leaders were Peter d'Ailly and the bishop of Salisbury, Robert Hallam, who had already borne a conspicuous part in the council of Pisa.

The treasures which John had at his disposal enabled him to exercise much influence. He contrived, by underhand movements, to divide the interests of the various nations, and to distract them from an agreement in action; and it is said that he made himself master of secrets through informants who resorted to him by night, and whom he was accustomed to absolve formally from the guilt of perjury which they incurred by their revelations.[h]

Very early in the proceedings of the council there were indications of a spirit which it was impossible for John to misinterpret. Thus, when it was proposed by some Italians, on the 7th of December, that the council of Pisa should be confirmed—a step by which the new

summoned by an intruder. Rayn. 1414. 4.

[d] V. d. Hardt. iv. 16.

[e] Simon de Cramault is also in the list, but is styled cardinal of Reims, without any reference to his title of Alexandrian patriarch.

[f] See the lists in V. d. Hardt, V. ii. 8, seqq.; Lenf. ii. 365, seqq.

[g] His tract 'De Schismatibus authoritate Imperatoris tollendis' is in Schard, 'Syntagma,' 235, seqq.

[h] Th. Niem, in V. d. Hardt, ii. 380-2, 389.

assembly would have bound itself to the pope of the line there established—it was resolved, in opposition to this proposal, that the council should be regarded as a continuation of that of Pisa, and therefore could not confirm its acts ;[i] and it was evident that the intention was not to decide between the rival claimants of the papacy, but to persuade all three to a cession of their claims, and to elect a new pope to the vacant office.[k]

On the morning of Christmas-day, before dawn, Sigismund, who had lately received the German crown at Aix-la-Chapelle,[l] arrived at Constance, having crossed the lake in a boat: and forthwith he proceeded to assist at a solemn mass which was celebrated by the pope. Habited in a dalmatic, and with the crown on his head, he read (according to the privilege of his office)[m] the gospel of the decree which went out from Cæsar Augustus ; and the words were heard as betokening an assertion of the imperial superiority over the papacy. John put into his hand a sword for the defence of the church : and the emperor swore that he would always labour for that end to the utmost of his power.[n] But, although this engagement was sincerely made, Sigismund was firmly resolved to pursue his own policy, instead of lending himself to the pope's schemes ; and it was in vain that John, knowing the necessities by which he was encumbered in the attempt to maintain the state of imperial dignity, endeavoured to propitiate him by presents or loans of money.[o]

Three days later, cardinal d'Ailly preached Dec. 28.
before the emperor, from the text, "There shall be

[i] Mansi, xxvi. 543 ; V. d. Hardt, II. viii. 193-6 ; Giesel. II. iv. 23 ; Schwab. 500 ; Hefele, vii. 72-3.

[k] Mansi, xxvii. 523.

[l] Nov. 8. He was crowned by Theodoric de Morse, who had been elected, but not yet consecrated, as archbishop of Cologne. Gobel. Pers. 339 ; Aschb. i. 410.

[m] See pp. 168, 169.

[n] Th. Vrie, in V. d. Hardt, i. 154-5 ib. iv. 28 ; U. v. Reichenth. in Marmor, 38-9.

[o] Milm. vi. 18.

signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars." The sun he interprets as representing the papacy, the moon as the imperial power, the stars as the various estates of the church. There can, he holds, neither be real reform without union, nor real union without reform. The pope, if he deviate from the likeness of the sun by entering ill, by living ill, by ruling ill, is but a false image of the sun. There cannot be three suns, but only one true sun. The emperor attends the council, not that he may be over it, but that he may benefit it;[p] not to define spiritual and ecclesiastical matters by royal authority, but to maintain by his power those things which the synod shall determine. The members of the council—the stars—are assembled by the call of the supreme pontiff, who alone has the right to convoke general councils. The stars are to have their share of influence, as well as the sun and the moon. The power of decreeing and defining belongs, not to the pope alone, but to the whole general council; and to assert the contrary is a flattery of the pope which deserves to be severely reprobated.[q]

In order to avoid disputes as to precedence, it was arranged that the members of the council should sit promiscuously, and that this should not be regarded as infringing on the privileges of any one.[r] But questions arose as to the right and as to the manner of voting. In earlier councils the power of voting had been restricted to bishops and abbots; but d'Ailly argued that it ought now to be extended to other classes; that the precedents of ancient councils showed much variety; that as the present questions did not relate to the church's faith or to the sacraments, the examples of former times were not

[p] "Non ut præsit sed ut prosit." Col. 442.

[q] V. d. Hardt, I. iii. 435, or Gerson, ii. 900; Hefele, vii. 76. See Raumer, Histor. Taschenbuch, 1849, pp. 61, seqq.

[r] V. d. Hardt, iv. 19.

binding; that the titular bishops, of whom many were present at the council, were not entitled to be held of the same account with the bishops of the earlier church; that the learning possessed by doctors of theology and of civil and canon law—a class which had arisen out of the universities, and had, therefore, been unknown in the days of the older councils—was of such value as to render them fitter to be members of a council than an ignorant bishop or abbot; and that the representatives of princes, of absent prelates, and of capitular churches, ought also to be admitted.[s] Fillastre, cardinal of St. Mark, in arguing on the same side, maintained that many parish priests were, both by the weight of their character and by the importance of their charges, more to be regarded than some bishops; and he declared "that an ignorant king or prelate is but a crowned or mitred ass."[t] The arguments for extending the right of voting prevailed, to the disadvantage of John, who had relied on the numbers of his titular bishops. But his interest was yet more seriously affected by a novelty which was introduced as to the manner of voting. Hitherto the decisions of councils had been determined by a majority of the whole body. But as John had at his command a host of insignificant prelates—titulars, officials of his court, and needy occupants of petty Italian sees—it was proposed, in order to counteract this undue influence, that each nation should debate by itself, and that the final decision should be given by the representatives of the several nations, which were thus to be on an equality. Feb. 7.

This proposal, derived from the arrangements of the university of Paris, was carried by the emperor's influence; and the four nations—Italian, French, German, and English—proceeded to their separate deliberations.[u] Their

[s] V. d. Hardt, ii. 224-7. [t] Ib. 228. As to the constituent parts of the nations, see Marmor, 31. For instance,
[u] V. d. Hardt, ii. 230, seqq.; iv. 40.

meetings were held in the refectories and chapter-houses of the various convents in the town, while the general sessions of the council took place in the cathedral.[x]

Feb. 15. Cardinal Fillastre, who, as dean of Reims, had formerly been a zealous champion of the papacy, sent forth a paper, in which, after a consideration of other expedients, it was proposed that each of the rival popes should cede his claims, and should receive valuable preferment in the church by way of consolation.[y] On becoming acquainted with this scheme, John is said to have been violently angry; but stronger measures were at hand.

A paper of charges against John was produced before the council—it is supposed, by an Italian.[z] These charges were in part so dark and monstrous that it was said that they ought to be kept secret, out of reverence for the papal office, and in order to avoid the general scandal of Christendom.[a] John, who through his secret informants became aware of the movement, was inclined to admit some of the accusations, to deny others, and to take his stand on a supposed principle that a pope could not be deposed except for heresy; but he was persuaded by his confidential advisers to await the progress of events. In the meantime the German, French, and English nations, without knowing that he had any suspicion of the charges, resolved that he should be advised

Feb. 16. to resign his dignity; and John, alarmed by the intelligence which he had secretly gained,

the English nation included Ireland, "das ist Schottenland," together with Arabia, Media and Persia, India, Prester John's country, Ethiopia, Egypt, Morocco, etc. (Ulr. v. Reichenth. ib. 35.) The cardinals, on May 2, claimed that they might have a vote as a nation—being almost as numerous as the English representatives, and personally more important; but they were told that they must vote with their respective nations. V. d. Hardt, iv. 140.

[x] Marmor, 24-8.

[y] V. d. Hardt, ii. 208, seqq.

[z] The date is not certain. Lenf. i. 105.

[a] Th. Niem, in V. d. Hardt, ii. 391

agreed to the proposal, with the condition that his rivals should also resign.[b] Immediately after having entered into this engagement, he began to attempt an escape from it; he rejected two forms of cession which were proposed by the council, and the council rejected a form of his proposing;[c] but at length he was induced, at the second general session, to swear before the high altar of the cathedral, after having himself celebrated mass, that he would freely resign the papacy if the other claimants would also resign, or if in any other way his resignation might extinguish the schism and restore peace to the church.[d] This promise was received with unbounded joy; the emperor kissed John's feet, and thanked him in the name of the council, and the patriarch of Antioch added the thanks of the whole church. *Te Deum* was sung, and the bells of the cathedral announced the happy event to the world.[e] When, however, John was asked to put his engagement into the form of a bull, he refused with vehement anger; but on being requested by Sigismund in person, he saw that further resistance would be useless, and on the 7th of March he issued a bull of the desired tenor.[f] March 2.

It was Sigismund's wish that the council should settle the religious difficulties which had arisen in Bohemia, as well as the great schism. He therefore requested his brother Wenceslaus to send Hus to Constance, and promised him a safe-conduct.[g] Hus, who had always professed to desire the opportunity of appealing to a general council,[h] willingly accepted the summons. He presented

[b] V. d. Hardt, ii. 233; Th. Niem, ib. 392; Th. Vrie, ib. i. 160.

[c] Ib. iv. 43-4; Th. Niem, ib. ii. 393-4.

[d] Ib. ii. 240-1; iv. 45-6.

[e] Ib. ii. 241; iv. 46; Mart. Thes. ii. 1616.

[f] V. d. Hardt, iv. 53. "Pacis bonum," etc.

[g] Petrus de Mladenovic (secretary to John of Chlum), in Docum. 237-8.

[h] Palacky, Gesch. III. i. 312.

himself before a synod held by the archbishop of Prague in August 1414, and publicly challenged any one to impugn his faith, on condition of suffering, in case of defeat, the same penalties which would have fallen on Hus if convicted.[i] The challenge was not accepted, and Palecz describes the Hussite party as so exasperated that it was unsafe to call them by their leader's name.[k] The archbishop, on being questioned by the nobles who befriended Hus, declared that he had no charge of heresy to bring against him, but that as he had been accused by the pope, he must make his excuses to the pope; and they wrote to Sigismund, requesting that Hus might be allowed to defend himself freely, lest Bohemia should be unjustly discredited.[l] Hus obtained certificates of his orthodoxy from the king, from the archbishop, and from the papal inquisitor for Bohemia—Nicolas, bishop of Nazareth, to whom he had submitted himself for examination.[m] Yet in truth his position was one which it is now hardly possible to understand; for while he believed himself to be a faithful adherent of the system established in the church, his opinions were, in some respects, such as later experience has shown to be altogether subversive of it.[n]

On the eve of setting out for the council he showed some signs of misgiving. He was warned by friends not to trust the promised safe-conduct; and some letters which he wrote by way of farewell indicate a foreboding that he might never be allowed to return.[o] On the 11th of October, without waiting for the arrival of the safe-conduct,[p] Hus began his journey under the escort of three

[i] Mladenov. 238; Hus, Epp. 33-5.

[k] Ap. Hus, Opera, i. 255*. Palecz spoke of them as *Quidamistæ*. Ib.

[l] Docum. 53.

[m] Opera, i. 2*, 3*; Mladenov. 239. 242-4.

[n] Neand. ix. 459.

[o] *E.g.*, Epp. 37-8; Palacky, Gesch. III. i. 315. In Ep. 38 (which was not to be opened until after his death), he warns a friend against the company of women and other temptations of th clergy—among them, against an undue fondness for chess, over which Hus laments that he himself, before he was a priest, had sometimes lost his temper.

[p] Ep. 37; Mladenov. 244.

noblemen appointed by the Bohemian king, John and Henry of Chlum, and Wenceslaus of Dubna. As he passed through the towns of Germany, he offered to give an account of his faith, and engaged in frequent discussions. Notwithstanding the old national quarrel as to the university of Prague (which was afterwards revived as a charge against him), he was well received everywhere, especially at Nuremberg; nor was there any attempt to enforce the interdict which had been pronounced against any place in which he might be.[q]

On the 3rd of November Hus arrived at Constance,[r] and two days later (on the very day of the opening of the council) he received the promised safe-conduct, which Sigismund had granted at Spires on the 14th of October.[s] In answer to an application by John of Chlum, John XXIII. declared that Hus should be safe at Constance if he had slain the pope's own brother; and he suspended the interdict and ban, although he desired that Hus should refrain from attendance at mass, lest some excitement should arise.[t] But Hus never ceded his right to perform the priestly functions, and he continued to celebrate mass as before.[u] In the meantime two of his bitterest enemies arrived at Constance,—Stephen of Palecz,[x] whose breach with him has been already mentioned, and one Michael of Deutschbrod, who, after having been a parish priest at Prague, had become a projector of mining speculations, but had since been appointed by the pope to the office of proctor in causes of faith, and thence was commonly styled *De Causis*.[y] These and other adversaries

[q] Epp. 39, 41, 43; Mladenov. 245; Opera, i. 4*; Palacky, Gesch. III. i. 316-17. See p. 321.

[r] Ulr. v. Reichenth. in Marmor, 69.

[s] Epp. 40, 49; Mladenov. 245; Palacky, Gesch. III. i. 318.

[t] Ep. 43; Opera, i. 4*; Mlad. 246.

[u] Ep. 42. The writer (perhaps John Cardinal, a Bohemian priest), reports that "Aliquis, nescitur an amicus vel inimicus, heri intimavit in ecclesia, quia Mgr. Hus dominico proximo prædicabit ad clerum in ecclesia Constantiensi, et *cuilibet præsenti dabit unum ducatum.*"

[x] Mlad. 246.

[y] Ep. 77; Opera, i. 4; Mlad. 246

posted upon the doors of churches bills denouncing Hus as an excommunicated and obstinate heretic; they supplied the pope, the cardinals, and other members of the council with extracts maliciously selected from his writings; they circulated tales and rumours against him, representing his errors as of the darkest kind, and yet as so popular in Bohemia that, if he were allowed to return, the lives of the clergy would not be safe there.[z]

Proposals were made by which Hus might probably have been allowed to escape easily; but he had always insisted on a public hearing, and he looked for the expected arrival of the emperor.[a] By the industrious exertions of his enemies, and by a false report that he had attempted a flight from Constance,[b] the authorities were persuaded to place him under restraint. On the 28th of November he was decoyed into the pope's residence, and was thence removed for custody to the house of the precentor of the cathedral;[c] and on the 6th of December he was transferred to a dungeon in the Dominican convent, where the stench and other inconveniences soon produced a serious illness, so that his medical advisers prescribed a removal.[d] Meanwhile his friend John of Chlum protested loudly against his imprisonment as an insult to the emperor, who had granted a safe-conduct. He reproached the pope to his face, and, by an appeal to Sigismund, procured an order that Hus should be set

V. d. Hardt, iv. 21, 146; Palacky, Gesch. III. i. 320. Another enemy, Stanislaus of Znaym, died while preparing to set out. Theob. 21.

[z] Mlad. 246; Palacky, Gesch. III. i. 321.

[a] Epp. 36, 41; Opera, i. 5; Neand. ix. 466. John Cardinal writes on Nov. 10, "Auca nondum est assata, nec timet de assatione, quia præsenti anno sabbato ante Martini festum ipsius occurrit celebris vigilia, ubi aucæ non comeduntur." Ep. 42.

[b] See Lechler, ii. 195.

[c] Mlad. 248-9, 252; V. d. Hardt, iv. 22; Palacky, Gesch. III. i. 322-3. Nauclerus and Ulric of Reichenthal say that he was caught in an attempt to escape (Cochl. 73). Against the idea of his having attempted to escape, see Lenf. i. 88-90; Seyfr. 143; Milman, vi. 15; Hefele, vii. 70.

[d] Mlad. 252; Theob. 23; Palacky, Gesch. III. i. 324-6.

at liberty ;[e] and as this was disregarded, he affixed to the church doors on Christmas-eve, when the emperor was approaching the city, a protest in Latin and in German against the treachery which had been practised towards Hus, and the neglect of the emperor's warrant for his liberation.[f]

While confined in his noisome prison, without access to books, and almost at a loss for the means of writing,[g] Hus composed some tracts on religious subjects, at the request of his keepers and for their instruction, and was required to draw up answers to a set of charges brought against him by Palecz and Michael de Causis,[h] the pope having on the first of December appointed certain commissioners for the investigation of his case.[i] These charges were partly grounded on extracts unfairly made from his treatise 'Of the Church' and other books, partly on the evidence of unguarded letters which had been intercepted.[k] On being questioned as to the articles, he explained the sense in which he believed them ; but on being asked whether he would defend them, he answered "No," and added that he stood at the determination of the council.[l] He declared his wish to adhere to the church, to the tradition of the fathers, and to the canons, except where these were opposite to Scripture ; and he professed himself willing to retract any errors, and to be instructed by any man[m]—of course, with the secret condition that the instruction should agree with his previous convictions. As being accused of heresy, he

[e] V. d. Hardt, iv. 26 ; Mlad. 251 ; Palacky, Gesch. III. i. 324-5 ; Neand. ix. 474. In answer to John of Chlum, the pope said that the arrest was the act of the cardinals ; but in a letter written by his direction to the university of Paris (Mansi, xxvii. 14) he speaks of it as his own act.

[f] V. d. Hardt, iv. 27 ; Mlad. 252-3.

[g] Opp. i. 29*, seqq. In Ep. 45, he entreats John of Chlum to send him a Bible ; "et si Petrus [de Mladenovic] scriptor vester habet incaustum, ut mihi det, et pennas aliquot, et unum parvum calamare."

[h] Doc. 194, 199, 204, seqq.

[i] Opera, i. 7 ; Mlad. 252, 254 ; Hefele, vii. 71.

[k] Epp. 48, 51 ; Neand. ix. 478.

[l] Ep. 51.

[m] Ib.

was not allowed the assistance of an advocate; whereupon he told the commissioners that he committed his cause to Him who would shortly judge them all, as his advocate and proctor.[n]

With regard to the treasury of the merits of the saints, their intercession, and the power and dignity of the blessed Virgin, he expressed himself in accordance with the current theology of the time.[o] As to the eucharistic presence, he held that it was enough for a simple Christian to believe the verity of the Saviour's body and blood; but for himself he acknowledged the change denoted by the name of transubstantiation, and made use of the term itself.[p] This change he held to be wrought by Christ himself through the medium of the priest; and therefore that a wicked priest might consecrate effectually, although to his own condemnation.[q] One of the charges against him related to the administration of the cup to the laity. The necessity of this had been maintained by one James (or Jacobellus) of Misa, a parish priest of Prague,[r] after Hus had set out for Constance; and Hus, on having his attention drawn to the question, declared the practice to be scriptural, primitive, and desirable, but would not affirm the necessity of it.[s]

[n] Ep. 54. A Parisian deputy, in speaking on the affair of John Petit (see below), said that if Hus had been allowed an advocate, he could never have been convicted. (Gerson, v. 444; Neand. ix. 478.) But perhaps this means that the speaker disapproved, not of the condemnation of Hus, but of the arts employed on behalf of Petit.

[o] Opp. i. 51.

[p] Ib. 39-40, 162; Neand. ix. 487.

[q] Opp. i. 39-40.

[r] As to Jacobellus, see notes on Seyfrid, 34, 56. His diminutive name was given to him as being short of stature. He was a native of Stibro, a Bohemian town which in Latin is called Misa, from the neighbouring river Miess. He is charged with having departed from the order of the church in many points—among them, by the use of unauthorized hymns. See the Anonymi Epist. ad Jacobellum, in V. d. Hardt, iii. 337, seqq., and other tracts in the same volume.

[s] Doc. 194; Opera, i. 42-4; V. d. Hardt, iii. 336, 356, seqq.; iv. 187; Ep. 51. Hus's correspondence with Jacobellus was intercepted and copied, in order to be used against him, by the contrivance of Michael de Causis (Ep. 48). Jacobellus has been said to have

Unfortunately for Hus, the liberal or reforming party in the council was not disposed to favour him. The Parisian school, while bent on limiting the power of the papacy, insisted on strictness of orthodoxy, and regarded Hus as likely, by opinions which to them seemed extravagant and revolutionary, to bring danger and discredit on their own projects of reforms; moreover, as nominalists, they were opposed to the realism of his philosophical tenets.[t] Gerson had written to the archbishop of Prague, urging him to use severe measures against the errors which had arisen in Bohemia, and, if ecclesiastical censures should be insufficient, to have recourse to the secular arm.[u] He had obtained from the Theological faculty of Paris a condemnation of twenty propositions extracted from Hus's writings;[x] and in forwarding this condemnation to the Bohemian primate, he had spoken of the doctrine that one who is in mortal sin has no dominion over Christian people[y] as one against which "all dominion, both temporal and spiritual, ought to rise, in order to exterminate it rather by fire and sword than by curious reasoning."[z] From Gerson and

derived his opinion from Peter of Dresden, a Waldensian who had been driven to take refuge in Bohemia. (Æn. Sylvius, Hist. Bohem. i. 35, p. 204.) But the existence of this Peter is questioned, and it is said that the story is not found until twenty years later; so that the opinion of Jacobellus is probably traceable rather to the teaching of Matthias of Janow (Palacky, III. i. 332-3; Neand. ix. 488). Hus, when asked by the Bohemians at Constance, on May 31, 1415, to declare himself as to the administration in both kinds, said that it was scriptural, and that he would wish it to be granted by bull to such as out of devotion should desire it, "circumstantiis adhibitis" (V. d. Hardt, iv. 291). After the council had condemned it, on June 15, he wrote more strongly in favour of it (Epp. 78, 80; Giesel. II. iv. 414); but an undated letter, in which he is made to exhort a priest to inculcate the practice (Ep. 92), is probably spurious or interpolated.

[t] Mosheim, iii. 20.

[u] Doc. 523, May 27, 1414. A passage quoted above, p. 343, n. P, has been alleged as illustrating the extravagances into which Gerson is supposed to have been led by his zeal for unity, and the unscrupulousness with which he was prepared to treat Hus as an enemy to the church's peace. But, as we have seen, there is reason to doubt the authorship.

[x] Ib. 185, 528.

[y] See above, p. 292.

[z] Doc. 528, Sept. 24, 1414. Hus writes, "O si Deus daret tempus scri-

his party, therefore, no sympathy was to be expected by the Bohemian reformer.

Sigismund, on receiving from John of Chlum the first notice of Hus's imprisonment, was indignant at the violation of his safe-conduct, and threatened to break open the prison.[a] After reaching Constance he was still so much dissatisfied on this account, that he even withdrew for a time from the city; but it was represented to him that, if he persisted in such a course, the council must break up, and he shrank from the thought of not only endangering his own reputation for orthodoxy, but rendering all his labours void and perpetuating the division of Christendom.[b] He was plied with arguments and with learning from the canon law, urging that his power did not extend to the protection of a heretic from the punishment due to his errors; that the letter which he had granted ought not to be used to the injury of the catholic faith; that he was not responsible, inasmuch as the council had granted no safe-conduct, and the council was greater than the emperor.[c] It would seem, too, that his feelings with regard to Hus were altered by the reports which reached him, so that he came to regard the Bohemian reformer as a teacher of mischievous errors, both in politics and in religion. The king of Aragon wrote to him that "faith is not broken in the case of one who breaks his faith to God;"[d] and unhappily the emperor consented to violate truth, honour, and humanity by declaring that the council was

bendi contra mendacia Parisiensis cancellarii, qui tam temerarie et injuste, coram tanta multitudine, non est veritus proximum erroribus annotare. Sed forte Deus scripturam mea vel sua morte præripiet, et melius in judicio definiet, quam ego scriberem." Ep. 56.

[a] V. d. Hardt, IV. i. 26.

[b] Sig. to the Bohemians, Doc. 612; Palacky, III. i. 328; Schwab, 583; Aschb. ii. 97.

[c] V. d. Hardt, iv. 396; Cochl. 74; Schröckh, xxxiv. 625-6; Schmidt, iv. 139.

[d] Doc. 540. But this letter probably did not reach Sigismund until after his step had been taken. For passages written in a like spirit, see Schwab, 283.

at liberty to take its own course as to inquiries into charges of heresy.[e] At a later time he attempted to palliate this concession by alleging the importunities with which he had been assailed, and the difficulties of his position.[f]

The consent which pope John had given to the violation of the imperial safe-conduct in the case of Hus was to recoil on himself; and it was in vain that, when the council proceeded against him, he appealed to the promises which had been made to him. In the hope of propitiating the emperor (of whom it is said that he habitually spoke in very contemptuous terms),[g] he bestowed on him the golden rose, which was the special mark of papal favour;[h] but March 10, 1415. Sigismund was not to be diverted from his purpose by this gift, which, instead of keeping it, he dedicated to the blessed Virgin in the cathedral of Constance.[i] Strict orders were issued that no one should be permitted to leave the town; and John, after March 14. some urgency, was brought to promise that he would not depart until after the council should have ended its sessions.[k] Some differences of opinion now began to show themselves between the nations. The Germans and the English were bent on sacrificing John for the unity of the church; Hallam, bishop of Salisbury, told him to his face, in the emperor's presence, that a general

[e] V. d. Hardt (iv. 32) and Hefele (vii. 76) give Jan. 1, 1415, as the date; but Schwab seems to be right in saying that this is too early. 282.

[f] Letter to the Bohemians, in Lenf. ii., Suppl 450. Schwab (583) quotes a letter of John of Montreuil (in Martene, Coll. Ampl. ii. 1445), as if Sigismund had taken credit (*sich gerühmt*) at Paris for his breach of faith. But surely this is not the meaning of the words—"Hoc . . . non est veritus palam . . . *confiteri*."

[g] "Asserens eum esse pauperem et bibulum," and falsely asserting that he wanted to get money from the pope as the price of keeping him in the papacy. Th. Niem, 396.

[h] See p. 189.

[i] V. d. Hardt, iv. 55.

[k] Ib. ii. 393; iv. 59, 126, 133. But this may have been ambiguous—the pope assuming that his departure would put an end to the council. Lenf. i. 123.

council was superior to the pope, and the speech met with no rebuke from Sigismund, to whom John complained of it.[l] But the Italians had always been with John, and the French now began to show a milder disposition towards him—chiefly, it would seem, from a spirit of opposition to the English members, whose king was at this very time preparing to carry his arms into the heart of France.[m]

In the hope of effecting some diversion, John proposed that the council should remove to Nice, or some place in its neighbourhood, or that he himself should repair to the same region for a conference with his rival Benedict; but these schemes met with no favour, and he found himself driven to another course.[n] On the evening of the 20th of March,[o] while the general attention was engrossed by a tournament given by duke Frederick of Austria (whom, as we have seen, John had before engaged in his interest),[p] the pope escaped from Constance in the disguise of a groom, and fled to Schaffhausen, which was within the duke's territory.[q] Thence he wrote to the council that he had no intention of evading his engagements, but had left Constance in order that he might execute them with greater liberty and in a more healthful air; and he declared that duke Frederick had not been privy to his flight.[r]

March 16.

On the 23rd of March, when the council was about to send envoys to the fugitive pope, Gerson delivered a discourse in which the principles of the reforming party

[l] V. d. Hardt, iv. 59. John afterwards absurdly represented the bishop as having said that he himself was above the pope and the whole council. Ib. ii. 260.

[m] Ib. iv. 58.

[n] Ib.

[o] Hefele, vii. 90.

[p] V. d. Hardt, ii. 246. See above p. 341.

[q] Th. Niem, 395; V. d. Hardt, v. 56-9.

[r] Ib. ii. 252. In his letter to the Duke of Orleans, he admitted the contrary. Ib. 261; Hefele, vii. 92, 96.

were strongly pronounced.[s] The Head of the church, he said, is Christ; the pope is its secondary head. The union between Christ and the church is inseparable, but the union of the church and the pope may be dissolved. As the church, or a general council which represents it, is directed by the Holy Ghost, even a pope is bound to hear and to obey such a council under pain of being accounted as a heathen and a publican. A pope cannot annul its decrees, and, although it may not take away the pope's power, it may limit that power. A general council may be assembled without the consent or mandate of a lawfully elected and living pope—among other cases, if he should himself be accused, and should refuse to call a council; and also if there be a doubt between rival claimants of the papacy. And the pope is bound to accept the decisions of a council with a view to the termination of a schism.[t]

About the same time the university of Paris sent two papers of conclusions, which, although not fully adopted by the council, were of great use to it.[u] In these papers it was laid down that the pope could not dissolve the council, and that any attempt to do so would bring him under suspicion of schism, if not of heresy; that the church is more necessary, better, of greater dignity, more honourable, more powerful, more steady in the faith, and wiser than the pope, and is superior to him; that the pope holds his power through the church and as its representative; and that the council may judge and depose him, even as it may be necessary to take a sword out of the hand of a madman.[x]

[s] V. d. Hardt, ii. 265-74; iv. 65; Mart. Thes. ii. 1619.

[t] Gerson, Opera, ii. 201, seqq. In his treatise 'De Auferibilitate Papæ ab Ecclesia,' Gerson said that a pope may be taken away by resignation, or by the church, or a general council representing it, either with or without his own consent, if his continuance would be injurious to the church. Opp. ii. 209, seqq.

[u] As to the dates, see Hefele, vii. 116.

[x] V. d. Hardt, ii. 273, seqq.; cf. iv. 175-6.

The language of Gerson's sermon became known to John on the same day by means of the envoys to whom it had been addressed. In the hope of breaking up the council, he immediately summoned his cardinals, with the members of his household and the officials of his court, to join him; and seven cardinals, with many of the inferior persons, obeyed the summons.[y] Yet it would seem that the pope was made a coward by his conscience; for, instead of hurling anathemas at his opponents in the lofty style of Hildebrand, he could only have recourse to complaints and evasions.[z] He wrote to the king of France, to the duke of Orleans, to the university of Paris, and others, querulously setting forth his grievances against the emperor and the council.[a]

March 23.

There was indeed reason to fear that the council would be unable to continue its sessions; some were even afraid that it might end in a general tumult and plunder; but Sigismund, by firmly exerting his authority and influence, succeeded in keeping the great body of the assembly together, and in holding them to the pursuit of the object for which they had met. At the third general session, on the 26th of March, it was affirmed that, notwithstanding the withdrawal of the pope, or of any others, the sacred council was not dissolved, but remained in its integrity and authority; that it ought not to be dissolved until it should have effected the extirpation of the schism and a reform of the church in faith and morals, in head and members; that it was not to be transferred to any other place; and that none of the members should leave Constance without its permission until its proceedings should be duly concluded.[b]

[y] V. d. Hardt, ii. 253; iv. 67, Theod. Niem, ib. ii. 398-9.

[z] Milman, vi. 33.

[a] V. d. Hardt, ii. 253, 262. The university urged John to rejoin the council, and the council to recall him. (Apr. 2) Bekynton, Epp. 253-4.

[b] Ib. iv. 707; Th. Niem, ib. ii. 398. To this time belongs a placard, which was posted on the doors of the bishop's

In a general congregation, on the 29th of March, Gerson proposed a strong censure against John on account of his flight; but the cardinals succeeded in averting it.[c] At the fourth session, on the following day, it was resolved that the council's power, derived immediately from Christ, was superior to all dignities,—even to that of the pope, who was bound to obey it in matters relating to the faith and to the extirpation of the schism.[d] When this document came to be read aloud by cardinal Zabarella, he was persuaded by his brother-cardinals to leave out such parts as were most strongly antipapal;[e] but, as the nations complained loudly of this, the omitted passages were at the next session read out by the archbishop of Posen.[f] At the same session it was resolved that Sigismund should be requested to bring back John,[g] who, in alarm at the intelligence which he daily received as to the proceedings of the council, had removed on Good Friday from Schaffhausen to the castle of Lauffenburg.[h] There, in the presence of witnesses, he executed a written protest, declaring that his concessions had been made through fear of violence, and therefore were not binding;[i] and he wrote to the council, alleging the same motive for his flight.[k] From Lauffenburg he withdrew further to Freiburg, in the Breisgau,[l] where a deputation from the council, headed by two cardinals, waited on him, with a request that he would appoint proctors to carry out the

April 6.

March 29.

April 27.

palace, reflecting severely on John and the cardinals, and exhorting the council to steadfastness. See Mart. Thes. i. 1620.

[c] V. d. Hardt, iv. 81, 85; Hefele, vii. 99-101.

[d] V. d. Hardt, iv. 86. Bp. Hefele treats this point tenderly. The council, he says, was not a general council until its last session, when it was in harmony with Martin V. vii. 104.

[e] V. d. Hardt, ii. 281. The mutilated form is given, ib. iv. 89.

[f] Ib. ii. 82; iv. 88, 96, 98. See Lenf. i. 151-6.

[g] V. d. Hardt, iv. 102.

[h] Th. Niem, v. 399.

[i] Ib. 400.

[k] V. d. Hardt, iv. 102.

[l] Th. Niem, v. 400.

promised act of resignation. The pope received them in bed, and answered roughly, but promised to send proctors after them.[m] From Freiburg he sent to the council a statement of the terms on which he was willing to resign —that he should be legate throughout all Italy for life, and should have a like authority in the region of Avignon, with an income of 30,000 florins, and a share with the other cardinals in the emoluments of the *capella*. But the council regarded the proposal as a proof that John intended to trifle with them by requiring extravagant and impossible conditions.[n] Frederick of Austria was cited to answer for his complicity in the pope's flight,

April 7. and, as he did not appear, was put under the ban of the empire as a traitor to it, the council, and the church.[o] His neighbours, both ecclesiastical and secular, were summoned to chastise him,[p] and, in conjunction with the imperial forces, they overran his territories, so that he was compelled to sue at the emperor's feet for forgiveness, to promise that

May 5. he would give up the pope, and to receive submissively by a new investiture a portion of his former dominions, to be held at the imperial pleasure.[q]

From Freiburg John, still wishing to be at a greater distance from the council, proceeded to Breisach and to Neuenburg, but Frederick, in fulfilment of his engagement to bring him back, desired that he would return to Constance; while the papal officials, finding no prospect

[m] "Adhuc jacens in lecto, et scalpendo se inferius inverecunde, respondit satis aspere." V. d. Hardt, ii. 400.

[n] Ib. 403-4; iv. 106.

[o] Ib. iv. 103.

[p] Although the Swiss had lately concluded a fifty-years' peace with him, the emperor insisted that this would not excuse them from performing their feudal duty. Mailáth, i. 223; Aschb. ii. 74-5.

[q] Th. Vrie, 199; Mart. Thes. ii. 1631, 1635; V. d. Hardt, ii. 405-6; iv. 103, 158-93; Mailáth, i. 224-7. Hence he got the name of *Frederick with the empty pocket* (Hefele, vii. 121); but he afterwards became rich again Coxe, i. 225-8, 231.

of advantage in adhering to John, deserted him and rejoined the council.[r]

In the meantime argument ran high in that assembly. The patriarch of Antioch, although hostile to John personally, asserted the papal pretensions in their extremest form—quoting from Gratian a dictum that if the pope, by his misconduct and negligence, should lead crowds of men into hell, no one but God would be entitled to find fault with him.[s] But to this d'Ailly replied in a tract, which was afterwards embodied in his larger treatise 'Of Ecclesiastical Power,' maintaining the authority of the general council over the pope, and taxing the patriarch with having been one of the flatterers who, "by feeding John with the milk of error, had led him to his ruin."[t] Wearied and irritated by John's evasions and artifices, the council, at its seventh session, May 2. cited him to appear in person within nine days, in order to answer charges of heresy, schism, simony, maladministration, notorious waste of the property of the Roman and other churches, and diminution of their rights; of incorrigibly scandalous life; and of having attempted, by his clandestine flight, to hinder the union and reformation of the church.[u] John proposed that, instead of appearing, he should appoint three cardinals as his proxies; but those whom he named declined the task, and the council resolved that in a criminal case proxies could not be admitted.[x] Witnesses were examined in support of the charges.[y] On the 13th of May, there seemed to be a chance of a diversion in John's favour, as Sigismund received letters informing him that the Turks were ravaging Hungary, in alliance with the Venetians; but

[r] V. d. Hardt, ii. 405-6. Some are said to have returned "quia sperabant reperire bonam coquinam." Mart. Thes. ii. 1621.

[s] Grat. Dist. xl. c. 6; V. d. Hardt, ii. 295-300; iv. 129; Lenf. i. 136-7; Hefele, vii. 112.

[t] V. d. Hardt, iv. 129-31; vi. 63, seqq.

[u] Ib. iv. 143-6.

[x] Ib. 165, 169-70.

[y] Ib. 187.

his answer was that, even if he should lose the whole kingdom, he would not forsake the church and the council.[z] On the 14th the pope was cited, and, as he did not answer, was pronounced contumacious; on the following day sentence of suspension was publicly pronounced against him;[a] and the council resolved to proceed to deposition, if it should be necessary. A fresh examination of witnesses—thirty-seven in number—was then undertaken, and some of John's wrongful bulls and grants were put in evidence.[b] The heads of accusation were seventy-two, but there was much of iteration among them.[c] Some of them were not read aloud, out of regard for decency and for the reverence due to the papacy.[d] Carrying back the inquiry to his earliest years, the indictment charged him with having been rebellious to his parents, and given to all vices from his youth. He was said to have got his preferments by simony; to have been guilty of gross maladministration as legate; to have contrived the death of Alexander V. As pope, he was charged with having neglected the duties of religion; with rape, adultery, sodomy, incest; with corruption of every sort in the bestowal of his patronage. He was styled a poisoner, a murderer; he had denied the resurrection of the dead and eternal life; he had intended to sell the head of St. John the Baptist, from the church of St. Sylvester, to some Florentines for 50,000 ducats. It was alleged that his misconduct was notorious and scandalous to all Christendom; that he had obstinately neglected the admonitions which had been addressed to him from many quarters; that he had dealt deceitfully with the council, and had absconded from it by night in the disguise of a layman.[e]

May 16. May 25. Sess. XI.

[z] Mart. Thess. ii. 1632-3, 1640.
[a] Ib. 181-6.
[b] V. d. Hardt, iv. 219, 228, 253.
[c] Hefele, vii. 130.
[d] V. d. Hardt, iv. 196, seqq., 228; Gobel. Pers. 340.
[e] The fifty-four articles which were read aloud are in V. d. Hardt, iv. 237.

The evidence was considered to be so strong that his deposition was resolved on, as being guilty of simony, maladministration of his office, dilapidation of the church's property, and scandalous life.[f] His seal was broken; all Christians were released from allegiance to him; and he was condemned to be kept in custody until the election of a new pope, to whom the further disposal of him was to be left. It was decreed that no election should take place without the consent of the council, and that no one of the existing claimants should be eligible.[g] May 29.

John had been brought back by duke Frederick to Radolfszell, near Constance,[h] whence, on the 26th of May, he addressed a letter to the emperor, reminding him of favours which the pope professed to have done to him in helping him to the crown, in seconding his wishes as to the council, and in other ways, and imploring him to observe his promise of a safe-conduct. But Sigismund, instead of being softened by this letter, appears to have been rather irritated by the contrast between its tone and that which he knew to be employed by John in speaking and writing of him to others.[i] On the second day after the sentence of the council had been passed, it was announced to John by a deputation of five cardinals. He listened to it with submission and calmness, begging only that regard might be had to his dignity in so far as might be consistent with the welfare of the church. He voluntarily swore that he would never attempt to recover the papacy, and, stripping off the insignia of his office, he declared that he May 31.

248; the others, which are said to have been proved, although not read, ib. 248, seqq. Cf. ii. 407. As to the witnesses, see iv. 250.

[f] Ib. iv. 269.

[g] Ib. 281-4. It was regarded as significant that, on the 29th of May, the words "Nunc judicium est mundi: nunc princeps hujus mundi ejicietur foras" (Joh. xii. 31) were read in the Gospel at high mass.

[h] May 18. V. d. Hardt, iv. 82.

[i] Ib. 259-62; Th. Niem, ib. ii. 408.

had never known a comfortable day since he had put them on.[k]

The ex-pope was made over to the care of the elector palatine; for it was considered that the iniquities which had been proved against him, and his attempt to escape, had annulled the imperial safe-conduct.[l] For some years he was detained as a prisoner, chiefly at Heidelberg;[m] and this continued even after the council, at its first session under Martin V., had decreed that he should be transferred by the emperor and the elector to the pope.[n] At length, however, by the payment of a large sum to the elector, he obtained leave to go into Italy, where at Florence he made his submission to the new pope, and from him received the dignity of cardinal-bishop of Frascati. But within a few months he died at Florence, without having taken possession of his see.[o]

Dec. 28, 1417.

The council had, after John's flight from Constance, again directed its attention to the case of Hus, who, having been discharged from the custody of the pope's servants, was made over to the bishop of Constance, and by him was kept in chains at the neighbouring castle of Gottlieben.[p] The Parisian reforming party, as has been

[k] V. d. Hardt, iv. 276, 286, 291-6.

[l] Ib. iv. 297-8; Th. Niem, ib. ii. 408. On June 3, he was removed to Gottlieben, lately the place of Hus's confinement. Ib. iv. 296.

[m] J. Fistenport, in Hahn, Miscell. ii. 402. "Quo tempore, ut ipse ex eo audivi, vix hominem aliquando nactus est quocum liceret humano sermone conferre." Andr. Billius, in Murat. xix. 43. See Rymer, ix. 539, 610.

[n] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1497.

[o] Leon. Aret. in Murat. xix. 930-1; Vita Mart. V., ib. III. ii. 863; Antonin. 487; Hefele, vii. 322. Cossa arrived at Florence on the éve of Corpus Christi, 1419, and died Nov. 23. (Ist. di Firenze, in Murat. xix. 962-3, where there is a curious account of his burial in the Baptistery of Florence.) It has been commonly said that the greatness of the Medici family was advanced by the wealth which rewarded its kindness to the dethroned pontiff (Platina, 291); but in truth he had very little to leave. Roscoe, Life of Lorenzo, 54; Reumont, ii. fin.

[p] Opera, i. 7*; V. d. Hardt, iv. 287; Mladenov. 255.

already said, was resolved to assert its own orthodoxy by disavowing all sympathy with one whose ideas it regarded as crude, unsound, and revolutionary; and when a new commission was appointed for the examination of his case[q]—the flight of pope John having vitiated the authority of the earlier commissioners—d'Ailly, as a member of it, took a strong part against him. Reports of James of Misa's practice as to administration of the eucharist in both kinds were received from Prague, and were circulated in exaggerated forms. It was said that Hus's principles as to endowments had been carried out by the spoliation of many Bohemian churches.[r] The bishop of Leitomysl, one of Hus's bitterest and most persevering enemies, represented that in Bohemia the sacramental wine was carried about in unconsecrated bottles, and that the laity handed it to each other; that laymen of good character were considered to be better authorized to administer the sacraments than vicious priests; that cobblers presumed to hear confessions and to give absolution.[s] April 6.

The Bohemian and Moravian nobles protested strongly and repeatedly both against the treatment of Hus and against the imputations which were thrown on the faith of their nation.[t] They urged that Hus might be allowed a free hearing, while he himself made requests to the same purpose, and declared that he was willing to be burnt rather than to be secluded;[u] and as the proposal of a hearing was supported by Sigismund, the reformer was transferred from Gottlieben to the Franciscan con-

[q] V. d. Hardt, iv. 100.

[r] Opp. i. vi. [misprinted xii.]; cf. Doc. 198.

[s] V. d. Hardt, iv. 287; Mladenov. 258, 264.

[t] V. d. Hardt, iv. 32, 33, 288; Mladenov. 259, 261, 264, 266; Doc. 535. 548, 552 (a letter with the seals of 270 nobles, May 12), 259 (the bishop of Leitomysl's reply); Hefele, vii. 131, 171. See Palacky, Gesch. III. i. 344-5, as to the pretences set up in answer.

[u] Ep. 60.

vent at Constance, and on the 5th of June was brought before the council.[x] Worn by long imprisonment, by the severities by which it had been aggravated, and by serious illness of various kinds, he was called on to answer the questioning of all who might oppose him, while, as being suspected of heresy, he was denied the assistance of an advocate.[y] An attempt had been made, before his admission, to get him condemned on account of certain passages which his enemies had extracted from his writings; but this had been defeated by the exertions of John of Chlum and Wenceslaus of Dubna, who requested the emperor to intervene.[z]

June 7. On the first day of Hus's appearance, the uproar was so great that he could not find a hearing;[a] on the second day, Sigismund himself attended, to preserve order—a task which was by no means easy.[b] Of the charges brought against him, Hus altogether denied some, while he explained others, and showed that his words had been wrongly construed.[c] In the doctrine of the eucharistic presence, he agreed with the current teaching of the church, and differed from that of Wyclif, with whom it was sought to connect him. D'Ailly, a zealous nominalist, endeavoured to entrap him by a scholastic subtlety as to the ceasing of the universal substance of bread after the consecration; to

[x] V. d. Hardt, iv. 290, 306; Hefele, vii. 149.

[y] Epp. 63, 66-7; Palacky, III. i. 331. In Ep. 67, Hus mentions that he had dreams which had been fulfilled—not, he says, to claim the character of a prophet, but to show what were his trials of body and mind. In a letter, written in the beginning of June, he says to John of Chlum: "Qui concesserunt pecunias, nescio quis solvet eis præter Dominum Jesum Christum, propter quem concesserunt. Optarem tamen quod aliqui ditiores componerent et solverent pauperioribus." This is a remarkable illustration of the reformer's principle as to the maintenance of the clergy. Stephen of Dolan charges the Hussites with contradicting their own principles, by getting all that they could in benefices, offerings, bequests, etc. Pez, IV. ii. 569.

[z] V. d. Hardt, iv. 306-7; Mladenov. 275; Palacky, III. i. 331.

[a] Ep. 63; Mlad. 275; V. d. Hardt, iv. 307.

[b] Ib. 308.

[c] Ib. 308, seqq.; Mlad. 274.

which Hus replied that, although the substance ceases to be in the individual piece of bread, it remains as subject in other individual pieces.[d] An English doctor suggested that the accused was equivocating like Berengar and Wyclif; but Hus declared that he spoke plainly and sincerely.[e] Another Englishman protested against the introduction of irrelevant philosophical matters, inasmuch as Hus had cleared his orthodoxy with regard to the sacrament of the altar.[f]

Much was said as to the connexion of Hus's doctrines with those of Wyclif, which the council had lately condemned under forty-five heads;[g] indeed an English Carmelite, named Stokes, with whom Hus had formerly been engaged in controversy, sarcastically told him that he need not pride himself on his opinions as if they were his own, since he was merely a follower of Wyclif.[h] Hus explained that he had found himself unable to join in the late condemnation on all points; thus, he would not say that Wyclif erred in censuring the donation of Constantine, or in regarding tithes as alms and not as an obligatory payment.[i] On being pressed as to having expressed a wish that his own soul might be with that of Wyclif, he explained that he had said so in consequence of the reports which had reached him as to Wyclif's good life, and before his writings were known in Bohemia; nor had he intended to imply a certainty of Wyclif's sal-

[d] Ep. 65; Mlad. 277; V. d. Hardt, iv. 308.

[e] Ep. 65; Mlad. 277, 309; V. d. Hardt, iv. 309.

[f] Mlad. 277. Lenfant thinks that the eucharist was probably the subject of one of the two articles which Hus (Ep. 63) speaks of as having been struck out of the indictment. i. 312.

[g] May 4. See Mansi, xxvii. 631; V. d. Hardt, iii. 168, 212, seqq.; iv. 137; Hefele, vii. 116-19. It was decided that, as Wyclif had died an impenitent heretic, his body and bones, "si ab aliis fidelium corporibus discerni possint," should be exhumed and cast out of ecclesiastical sepulture (V. d. Hardt, iv. 150-7). As to the execution of this sentence, see Rayn. 1427. 14; Fuller, ii. 423-4.

[h] Doc. 308. See above, p. 323.

[i] V. d. Hardt, iv. 310, 327; Mlad. 279.

vation.[k] As to the opinion that a priest in mortal sin could not consecrate, he stated that he had limited it by saying that one in such a state would consecrate and baptize unworthily.[l] But when he was charged with holding that a king, a pope, or a bishop, if in mortal sin, was no king, pope, or bishop, his answers were such as to provoke from Sigismund an exclamation that there had never been a more mischievous heretic, as no man is without sin.[m] Much was said on predestination and the subjects connected with it; as to which Hus seems to have drawn his opinions from Wyclif.

The question of the papal supremacy brought out the uncritical nature of Hus's views. He traced the pope's pre-eminence to the supposed donation of Constantine; and, although D'Ailly told him that he would do better to refer it to the sixth canon of Nicæa (as that canon was then commonly understood), he still adhered to his belief in the donation.[n] In answer to a charge of having urged his followers to resist their opponents by force of arms, Hus denied that he had recommended the material sword; and it would seem that some words of his as to the spiritual armour of the Christian had been misinterpreted.[o]

The affair as to the expulsion of the Germans from Prague was brought forward, and was urged by Palecz and by another Bohemian doctor;[p] but as to this it

[k] V. d. Hardt, iv. 311; Mlad. 280.

[l] V. d. Hardt, iv. 310, 322; cf. Doc. 184. At a later hearing he said that popes, bishops, etc., being "foreknown" and in mortal sin, "non sunt vere tales quoad merita, vel digne coram Deo, pro tunc sunt tamen quoad officia tales." Mladenov. ib. 310.

[m] Ib. 299; V. d. Hardt, iv. 321. Gerson was severe on these notions (Neand. ix. 511). Even Neander thinks that Hus would have done better by explaining his paradoxical expressions. Ib. 508.

[n] V. d. Hardt, iv. 316-17. Mladenov. 291. Hus also refers repeatedly (as he had before done in his writings) to the story of the supposed female pope. V. d. Hardt, iv. 317, 323; Mladenov. 305.

[o] V. d. Hardt, iv. 311.

[p] It is not clear whether the name *Naso* is descriptive or a form of his real surname.

appears that Hus was able to satisfy his judges.[q] He was also questioned, among other things, as to having said that, unless he had voluntarily come to Constance, he could not have been compelled to do so by all the authority of the council and of the emperor. In explanation of these words he said that he might have been safely concealed among the many castles of the nobles who were friendly to him; and this was eagerly confirmed by John of Chlum, while cardinal d'Ailly angrily cried out against Hus's audacity.[r] D'Ailly told him that he had done wrong in preaching to the people against cardinals and other dignitaries, when there were no such persons to hear him; to which Hus could only reply that his words had been meant for the priests and learned men who were present.[s]

June 8. At the end of a trial which lasted three days, Palecz and Michael de Causis solemnly protested that they had acted solely from a sense of duty, and without any malice towards the accused; and d'Ailly then again repeated an opinion which he had often expressed in the course of the proceedings—that Hus had been treated with much consideration, and that his opinions were less offensively represented in the charges than they appeared in his own writings.[t] Exhausted by illness and fatigue, Hus was led back to prison, receiving as he passed a pressure of the hand and some words of comfort from John of Chlum. The emperor, who had in vain urged the prisoner to retract,[u] then declared that any one of

[q] V. d. Hardt, iv. 312; Mladenov. 282; Doc. 197.

[r] V. d. Hardt, iv. 313; Mladenov. 283.

[s] Ib. 293; V. d. Hardt, iv. 317. Cf. Doc. 198.

[t] V. d. Hardt, iv. 328; cf. 309, 318, 320; Mladenov. 278, 285, 294. A Carthusian, speaking apparently of some private examination, says of Hus, "Nunquam vidi ita audacem et temerarium ribaldum, et qui ita caute sciret respondere detegendo (?) veritatem." Mart. Thes. ii. 1635. The date "xix. Maii" is evidently a misprint for xxix.

[u] Mladenov. 309.

the errors which had been brought home to him would have been enough for his condemnation; that, if he should persist in them, he ought to be burnt; that his followers ought to be coerced, and especially that his disciple who was then in custody—Jerome of Prague—should be speedily dealt with.[x]

After his third appearance before the council, Hus was left in prison for nearly a month. During this time attempts were made by many persons—among them by cardinal Zabarella—to persuade him to abjure the errors which were imputed to him. It was urged on him that by so doing he would not admit that he had ever held the errors in question; that in England excellent men who were wrongly suspected of Wyclifism had made no scruple as to abjuring it.[y] But Hus regarded the matter in a more solemn light, and thought that to abjure errors which were falsely laid to his charge would be nothing less than perjury.[z] He regarded his fate as sealed, although he still professed himself willing to renounce his opinions if any others could be proved to be truer;[a] and he wrote pathetic letters of farewell to some of his Bohemian friends.[b] On the 30th of June he was visited by Palecz, to whom, as having been his chief opponent, he expressed a wish to confess; but another confessor, a monk and doctor, was sent, who behaved with great tenderness to him, and gave him absolution without requiring any recantation of his opinions. At a later interview, Palecz wept profusely, and Hus entreated his forgiveness for any words of reproach which he might have used against him.[c]

June 8—July 6.

On the 6th of July, at the fifteenth session of the council, Hus was again brought forward—having been

[x] Mladenov. 314; V. d. Hardt, iv. 328-9.

[y] Epp. 75, 85; V. d. Hardt, iv. 313, 325-6, 329-33, 342, 345-6.

[z] Ib. 329.

[a] Ib. 345; Mladenov. 316.

[b] *E.g.*, Epp. 71, 73.

[c] Ep 84; V. d. Hardt, iv. 344-5.

detained outside the church until the mass was over, lest his presence should profane the holy action. The bishop of Lodi, James Arigoni, a Dominican, preached on the text, "Our old man is crucified with Him that the body of sin might be destroyed" (Rom. vi. 6), applying the words to the duty of extirpating heresy and simony. The acts of the process against Hus were then read, ending with an exhortation to Sigismund to perform the sacred work of destroying the obstinate heretic by whose malignant influence the plague of error has been so widely spread.[d] To the charges was now added a new article—that he had supposed himself to be a fourth person in the Godhead; but this he disavowed with horror as an idea that had never entered his mind.[e] He declared that he had come to Constance freely, in order to give an account of his faith, and under the protection of the imperial safe-conduct; and as he said these words, he turned his eyes on Sigismund, who blushed deeply.[f] He frequently interrupted the reading of the charges against him, in order to protest his innocence; but the cardinals d'Ailly and Zabarella reduced him to silence.[g] He appealed to the Saviour, and it was stigmatized as an attempt to overleap all the order of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. But Hus continued to protest and to appeal, and he added a prayer for the forgiveness of his enemies, which called forth derision from some members of the council.[h]

[d] V. d. Hardt, iii. 1-5; iv. 389; Mladenov. 317.

[e] Ib. 318; V. d. Hardt, iv. 393. The number of articles condemned was thirty, and they were afterwards included in Martin V.'s bull of Feb. 22, 1418—"Inter cunctas." Ib. 1526; Hefele, vii. 200-4.

[f] Opera, ii. 346; V. d. Hardt, iv. 393. This incident became so famous that Charles V., when he was advised to arrest Luther at the diet of Worms, answered, "I have no mind to blush, like my predecessor Sigismund." Yet Bp. Hefele, in his desire to extenuate the affair of the safe-conduct, thinks it a fabulous addition to the story, as it does not appear in Mladenovicz. (vii. 223.) Hus's expressions in Ep. 70, written in June, seem to countenance the statement of his afterwards having put Sigismund to shame by a reference to the safe-conduct.

[g] Mladenov. 318; V. d. Hardt, iv. 392.

[h] Mladenov. 319-20.

The ceremony of degradation from the priesthood followed. Hus was arrayed in the vestments of the altar, and the various articles symbolical of the priestly authority and of the inferior orders of the ministry were severally taken from him by bishops, while at every stage he made some remark by way of protest.[i] As to the tonsure, a question arose whether it should be obliterated by shaving, or by clipping the surrounding hair. "Lo," said Hus, addressing the emperor, "these bishops cannot agree even as to the way of mocking me!"[k] When the degradation was completed, a tall paper cap, painted with hideous figures of devils, was placed on his head, and a bishop said to him, "We commit thy body to the secular arm, and thy soul to the devil." "And I," said Hus, "commit it to my most merciful Lord, Jesus Christ."[l] As he was led away to death, he passed a spot where a heap of his books, which had been condemned by the council, was burning amidst the merriment of the crowd. At this sight he smiled, and repeated a remark which he had before made as to the condemnation of his Bohemian writings by persons who could not read them.[m] In answer to a question, he professed a wish to confess; but, as the confessor insisted that he should begin by acknowledging and renouncing his errors, Hus said that confession was not necessary, as he was not in mortal sin.[n]

On reaching the place of execution, he entreated that the bystanders would not believe him guilty of the errors which were imputed to him.[o] After he had been bound to the stake, he was once more asked by duke Lewis of Bavaria whether he would recant; but he remained firm[p]

[i] V. d. Hardt, iv. 398, seqq.; Mlad. 320.

[k] V. d. Hardt, iv. 394; Mlad. 321.

[l] Ib; V. d. Hardt, iv. 433.

[m] Mladenov. 321; Joh. Barbatus, in Doc. 556; V. d. Hardt, iv. 343, 394, 436, 445-6.

[n] Ulr. v. Reichenthal, in Marmor, 74-5.

[o] V. d. Hardt, iv. 447.

[p] Mladenov. 323.

and suffered with unshaken constancy, uttering to the last cries for mercy, professions of faith in the Saviour, and prayers for the forgiveness of his enemies.[q] His ashes and the scorched remnants of his clothes were thrown into the Rhine, lest they should be venerated as relics by his adherents.[r]

The death of Hus has usually been regarded as a deep stain on the reputation of the council which decreed it, and of the emperor who, notwithstanding the assurance of protection which he had given to the reformer, consented to his doom. But attempts at exculpation have often been made in the interest of the Roman church;[s] and even very lately it has been argued, by a writer whose moderation and candour are usually no less to be admired than his ability and learning, that there was no breach of faith in prosecuting Hus to the death, notwithstanding the safe-conduct which he had received.[t] The name of safe-conduct, indeed, appears to have been used in two senses—sometimes signifying the escort which accompanied Hus from Bohemia, and sometimes the passport which, although promised, did not reach him until after

[q] Mladenov. 323; V. d. Hardt, iv. 447-8. There is a story that Hus, seeing a poor peasant (or, according to some, an old woman) carrying a faggot to add to his funeral pile, said with a smile, in words borrowed from St. Jerome, "O holy simplicity!" (Luther, Præf. III. in Hus, Opera. See Palacky, III. i. 367.) Another story—that Hus prophesied of Luther in the words "Hodie anserem uritis, sed ex meis cineribus nascetur cygnus, quem non assare poteritis"—is repeatedly given in Luther's works, and may probably have been made up in his time from some expressions in Hus's letters and from words spoken by Jerome of Prague at his death. See Gieseler, II. iv. 417; Palacky, l. c.; Hefele, vii. 213.

[r] Ulr. v. Reichenth. in Marmor, 75; V. d. Hardt, iv. 448; Th. Vrie, ib. i. 171; Doc. 558-9; Byzyn. in Ludewig, Reliqq. MSctorum, vi. 135. It is said that the earth on which Hus and Jerome had been burnt was carried off as holy by the Bohemians. Cochl. 153.

[s] Thus Mansi defends the proceedings against Hus on the ground that he had disregarded the prohibition to teach, etc. N. in Rayn. vii. 416; cf. Rayn. 1415. 22.

[t] See Hefele, vii. 218, seqq. Schwab, on the other hand, reprobates the older writers of the Roman communion who had tried to explain away the breach of faith. (583.) Aschbach (also a Roman catholic) says that Sigismund sacrificed his personal honour for the benefit of Christendom. ii. 128.

his arrival at Constance; and this double meaning will explain some difficulties which have been raised as to the emperor's proceedings.[u] It is pointed out that the passport did not profess more than to secure for Hus an unmolested journey to and from Constance; that Sigismund did not undertake, and could not have undertaken, to assure him against the consequences of an accusation of heresy; that the violation of the safe-conduct amounted to nothing more than the arrest of Hus before trial or conviction; that the Bohemians do not charge the emperor with breach of a written engagement, but only with having taken part against Hus, whereas they had reckoned on him as a friend.[x] Yet even according to this view, the arrest of Hus, which is admitted to have been a breach of the safe-conduct, instead of being followed by his liberation, in compliance with the protests of his friends and with Sigismund's own declarations, led to his being immured in one loathsome dungeon after another, to his being loaded with chains, ill fed, and barbarously treated; and, when reduced to sickness and debility by such usage, and deprived of all literary means of defence, he was required to answer to the capital charge of heresy. Even on this supposition, therefore, the wrong by which the safe-conduct was violated was one which, in its consequences, subjected the accused to cruel sufferings, and destroyed the fairness of his trial.

But in truth it seems clear that the safe-conduct was supposed to imply much more than is here allowed. The excitement which arose on Hus's arrest is not to be accounted for by the mere informality of that act,[y] nor is

[u] See Lenf. i. 217; Neand. ix. 502; Hefele, vii. 156, 218.

[x] Palacky, III. i. 170, 357; Hefele, vii. 124, 220, 224. Sigismund, in his apologetic letter to the Bohemians (Paris, Mar. 24, 1416), says that if Hus had previously met him, and had accompanied him to Constance, the result might have been different. Doc. 612.

[y] "Revera est hodie perturbatio propter salvum conductum sibi præstitum." Letter of the representatives of the university of Cologne, in Martene, Thes. ii. 1611.

it easy to reduce the complaints of his Bohemian partisans within the limits which the apologists of the council mark out.[z] Hus himself plainly declares his understanding of the matter to have been, that, if he should decline to abide by the sentence of the council, the emperor would remit him in safety to Bohemia, there to be judged by the king and the ecclesiastical authorities; he complains that the safe-conduct had been violated, and mentions warnings which he had received against trusting to it[a]—warnings which were suggested, not by any idea that the instrument itself might be defective, but by the apprehension that it might be treacherously set aside.

That this must be explained away by speaking of Hus as inconsistent, is, like the denial of Sigismund's having blushed on being reminded of the safe-conduct,[b] a necessity of the cause which is to be defended.[c] And how, unless there was some deception in the case, should the king of Aragon and the council have asserted principles which would justify the blackest perfidy towards one who was accused of heterodoxy?[d] Why should it have been necessary to urge that a safe-conduct could not protect a heretic, unless Sigismund, as well as Hus, had supposed that the document in question would avail? Why should the council have attempted to get over it by the false and unsuccessful assertion that Hus had not received it until a fortnight after his arrest?[e] Why, if the safe-conduct was not supposed to assure the safety of Hus at Constance, as well as on the way, were such efforts made to extort the recal of it from the emperor?

But, although the means by which his condemnation was brought about were iniquitous, and although there

[z] See V. d. Hardt, iv. 188, 208-9, 212; Theob. 31; Mart. Thes. ii. 1632.

[a] Ep. 70. [b] See p. 375.

[c] The proof of inconsistency is drawn from Hus's declarations that he was ready to die for his faith. Hefele, vii. 225.

[d] See p. 358.

[e] See V. d. Hardt, iv. 212; Hefele, vii. 132.

was much to blame in the circumstances of his trial, we can hardly wonder at the condemnation itself, according to the principles of his age. Hus set out from Bohemia with a confident expectation of being able to maintain his soundness in the faith; yet it is not easy to suppose such a result possible, if the nature of the tribunal be considered. The attestations of orthodoxy which he carried with him were probably in part influenced by the desire of the authors to clear their country from the imputations which had been cast on it, and were therefore not likely to tell strongly in his favour. In every point, except that of the eucharistic doctrine, Hus was but an echo of Wyclif, whose opinions had long been proscribed—whose English followers had been condemned to the stake by the church and the state alike. He did not, seemingly, understand how greatly his principles were opposed, not only to the system of the Roman court, but to the very being of the hierarchy.[f] Much of his language sounded very dangerous: and if the sense, when explained by him, was more harmless than it seemed, it might reasonably be asked what likelihood there was that this sense would be understood by the simple hearers to whom the words had been addressed. It would seem that his demeanour had in it something which suggested the suspicion of obstinacy or evasion; and his continual professions of willingness to renounce his opinions, if he could be convinced that they were wrong, must have appeared to his judges as merely nugatory; for no one surely would avow that he deliberately prefers error to truth.[g]

At the time when Hus set out from Prague, his old associate Jerome was absent on one of those expeditions in which his religious zeal and his love of adventure alike found a frequent exercise. On learning, at his return,

[f] Palacky, III. i. 331-2.

[g] See Gerson, i. 33, 36-7.

the fact of his friend's imprisonment, Jerome resolved to join him at Constance, where he arrived on the 4th of April 1415.[h] Finding that Hus had as yet been unable to obtain a hearing, he withdrew to a little town in the neighbourhood, and publicly announced by a placard his readiness to defend his faith, if the council would grant him a safe-conduct for going and returning; and he added that, if he should be convicted of heresy, he was willing to bear the punishment.[i] But as his petition was refused, he complied with the solicitations of his friends, and set out towards Bohemia, carrying with him letters testimonial from his countrymen who were at Constance.[k] The council, however, at its sixth session, cited him to answer for himself; he was arrested, and was carried back in chains to Constance,[l] where at length the council granted him a safe-conduct, but with the significant reservation, "as much as is in us, and as the orthodox faith shall require, yet saving justice."[m] On the 23rd of May, Jerome, immediately after his arrival, and laden as he was with heavy chains, was examined before a general congregation of the council. Men who had been acquainted with his old adventures at Vienna and Heidelberg, at Paris and Cologne, gave evidence against him; among them was Gerson, who told him that at Paris his conceit of his eloquence had led him to disturb the university by many

April 7.

April 24.

[h] Hus, etc., Opera, ii. 349; V. d. Hardt, iv. 93.

[i] Hus, etc., Opera, ii. 349*; V. d. Hardt, iv. 104; Theob. 26.

[k] Hus, etc., Opera, ii. 349; V. d. Hardt, iv. 134; Palacky, III. i. 340.

[l] V. d. Hardt, iv. 119, 146, 216; Hus, etc., Opera, ii. 349*; Hefele, vii. 114. See a letter from the duke of Bavaria to the council, and the council's thanks to him, in Döllinger, Beitr. zur Culturgesch. ii. 318, 321.

[m] V. d. Hardt, iv. 119. The last words are wanting in some MSS. See Lenfant, i. 180, who remarks that there was no such reservation in the safe-conduct granted to Hus, and that, if there had been, he would not have ventured to go to Constance. On the other hand, Cochlæus coolly says, "Qualis et Joanni Hus datus fuisse creditur. Quod si rex Sigismundus in suo conductu ea cautela usus non fuit concilium tamen declaravit, aliter conductum hæreticis dari non debere." 72.

scandalous propositions as to universals and ideas.[n] At the end of the day he was committed to the care of the archbishop of Riga, and was imprisoned in a tower, where he was chained more cruelly than before, and for two days was kept on a diet of bread and water. At the end of that time, however, Peter Mladenovicz discovered the place of his confinement, and was allowed to supply him with better nourishment.[o]

After having been subjected to several examinations, Jerome, worn out by the hardships of his imprisonment, was brought on the 11th of September to condemn the errors imputed to Wyclif and Hus—with the reservation that, although mistaken and offensive, they were not heretical—that he did not commit himself to the truth of the imputations, and that he intended no disrespect to the characters of the teachers, or to the truths which they had delivered.[p] This qualified submission, however, was not enough for the council; and at the nineteenth general session, on the 23rd of September, a fresh declaration was extorted from him, in which he more explicitly abjured the tenets of Wyclif and Hus, and even included in the abjuration an opinion as to the reality of universals.[q] At this same session it was decreed, with an exact reference to the circumstances of Hus's case, that no safe-conduct granted by any secular prince, by whatsoever sanction it might have been confirmed, should prejudice the catholic faith or the church's jurisdiction, so as so hinder the competent spiritual tribunal from inquiring into and duly punishing the errors of heretics or persons charged with heresy, even although such persons might have been induced to

[n] Narratio, ap. Hus, ii. 350*; V. d. Hardt, iv. 216-18; Byzyn. in Ludewig, vi. 132-3.

[o] Narratio, l. c.; V. d. Hardt iv. 218; Poggius, ib. iii. 69.

[p] Hus, etc., Opera, ii. 351; Doc. Nos. 88-9; V. d. Hardt, iv. 498; Th. Niem, ib. ii. 415; Th. de Vrie, ib. i. 171-2.

[q] Ib. iv. 501-14.

present themselves at the place of judgment by reliance on the safe-conduct, and otherwise would not have appeared; and that the granter of such a document, if he had done his part in other respects, was in no way further bound.[r] By another document (which, however, may perhaps have been nothing more than a draft) it is declared that in the matter of Hus the king of the Romans had done his duty, and that no one should speak against him under pain of being held guilty of favouring heresy and of treason.[s]

Jerome, by abjuring the opinions which had been imputed to him, had entitled himself to liberty; but, although cardinal d'Ailly and others insisted on this, suspicions as to the sincerity of the prisoner's recantation arose, and were strengthened by a tract which Gerson put forth on the subject of "Protestation and Revocation in Matters of Faith."[t] Fresh charges, derived from Bohemia, were urged against him by Palecz and Michael de Causis; and when d'Ailly, Zabarella, and others, indignantly resigned their office as judges, a new commission was appointed, before which Jerome was again examined.[u] He was accused of various out-

Oct. 29, 1415.

April—May, 1416.

[r] "Nec sic promittentem cum alias fecerit quod in ipso est ex hoc in aliquo remansisse obligatum." (V. d. Hardt, iv. 521.) These words do not occur in all MSS., and the object of them is evidently not to exhort the giver of a safe-conduct to exertion, but to quiet his conscience in allowing himself to be overruled. Bp. Hefele's strong language of reprobation against Gieseler, as having misrepresented the council on this point (see Giesel. II. iv. 418; Hefele, vii. 227-8) appears to me very unjust. [And in this I find that Prof. Lechler concurs, ii. 230.] Martin V. wrote to Alexander, duke of Lithuania, in 1422—"Scito te fidem dare hæreticis violatoribus fidei sanctæ non potuisse, et peccare mortaliter si servabis, quia fidelis ad infidelem nulla potest esse communio." Rayn. 1422. 22.

[s] V. d. Hardt, iv. 521. See Schröckh, xxxiv. 664-5; Hefele, vii. 228. Lechler, ii. 130.

[t] Opp. i. 21-27; or V. d. Hardt, iii. 39, seqq. Bp. Hefele says that Gerson in this had no thought of Jerome, and that the tract was meant only against the bishop of Arras, who, in his advocacy of John Petit (see below), was accustomed to make great *general* protestations (vii. 240). But Schwab refers it to both. 599, 630.

[u] V. d. Hardt, iv. 634; Lenfant, i. 499, 546.

rages against monks and friars;[x] of having denied transubstantiation;[y] of having caused the canon of the mass to be translated or paraphrased into Bohemian verse, so that mechanics supposed themselves able to consecrate by chanting it;[z] of having in the course of his travels allied himself with the Russian schismatics in opposition to the Latins;[a] of having lived luxuriously and riotously while in prison.[b] Some of these charges Jerome denied;[c] and in his answers he showed much dexterity and readiness, not unmixed with asperity and contempt towards his opponents.[d] At his final examination, being allowed to defend himself, he delivered an eloquent speech. The display of authorities which he produced for his opinions excited admiration in those who considered that for 340 days he had been immured in a gloomy dungeon.[e] He related the course of his life and studies. He explained the case of the university of Prague, and the unfair influence which the Germans had exercised in it.[f] He declared that no act of his life had caused him such remorse as his abjuration of Hus and Wyclif,[g] with whom he now desired to make common cause in all things, except Wyclif's doctrine of the eucharist.[h] He professed himself ready to share the fate of Hus, whose offence he represented as having consisted, not in any deviation from the faith of the church, but in his having attacked the abuses and corruptions of the hierarchy. He replied with courage and

May 26.

[x] *E.g.*, that he had thrown a Dominican who had preached against Wyclif into the Moldau, holding him by a rope, and requiring him to own that Wyclif was a holy and evangelical preacher. The friar, it is said, would have been drowned, but that he was rescued by friends. V. d. Hardt, iv. 667.

[y] Ib. 668.

[z] "Cantilenas et carmina continentes in sensu et effectu verba canonis." Ib. 669.

[a] Ib. 678-80.

[b] Ib. 690.

[c] Ib. 634, 751-2.

[d] Thus he said to a Dominican, "Tace, hypocrita!" and of another opponent he never spoke except as a dog or an ass. Poggius in V. d. Hardt, iii. 66.

[e] Ib. 69.

[f] Ib. iv. 757-8.

[g] Hus, etc., Opera, ii. 352.

[h] See Hefele, vii. 231.

readiness to the many interruptions with which he was assailed; and the speech concluded with a commemoration of worthies, both heathen and scriptural, who had laid down their lives for the truth.[i]

Urgent attempts were still made to persuade Jerome to fall back on the recantation which he had formerly made; Zabarella especially showed a friendly interest in him, and visited him in prison for the purpose of entreating him to save himself.[k] But all such efforts were fruitless, and Jerome suffered at the stake on the 30th of May 1416, enduring his agony with a firmness which extorted the admiration of men so remote from any sympathy with his character as the scholar Poggio Bracciolini (who was himself a witness of the scene) and the ecclesiastical politician Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini.[l]

On the 4th of July 1415, two days before the death of Hus, Gregory XII., the most sincere of the rival popes in desiring the reunion of the church, resigned his dignity. For this purpose he had given a commission to Charles Malatesta, lord of Rimini, whose labours at

[i] V. d. Hardt, iv. 757-8; Poggius, ib. iii. 67-9.

[k] Poggius, ib. 70.

[l] "Nemo philosophorum tam forti animo mortem pertulisse traditur quam isti [Hus and Jerome] incendium." Æn. Sylv. Hist. Boh. c. 36. See Poggio's letter to Leonard Aretin, in V. d. Hardt, iii. 70-1; or Doc. No. 100; Shepherd's Life of Poggio, 69; V. d. Hardt, iv. 770; Byzyn. in Ludewig, vi. 137-41. Poggio's letter is strangely plagiarised by Redusio (Chron. Tarvisin. in Murat. xix. 829), and it has suggested a forged imitation, in which Poggio is made to relate the martyrdom of Hus (see Hefele, vii. 213). At Jerome's death, as at that of Hus, the bishop of Lodi (a Dominican) preached a sermon, in which he abused the two as obscure plebeians and rustics who had dared to disturb the peace of Bohemia—a reproach which, so far as Jerome's social station was concerned, was untrue. He taunts Jerome with the mildness of his treatment—*e. g.*, "Tortus non fuisti; et utinam fuisses, quia vel sic humiliatus omnes errores tuos penitus evomuisses." (V. d Hardt, iii. 54, 59, 60.) To this Jerome replied in a long speech, exposing the bishop's misrepresentations. (Ib. iv. 763.) Theodore of Vrie's account of Jerome's death is remarkable, and the more so as the Saviour is the supposed speaker. (Ib. i. 202-3; cf. Theod. Niem, ib. ii. 454.) Of Jerome, as of Hus, the story of "O sancta simplicitas!" is told. (Schröckh, xxxiv. 668.) There is also a story (no doubt made after the event) that he appealed to Almighty God, "ut coram eo centum annis revolutis respondeatis." Hus, Opera, ii. 357.

Pisa and elsewhere for the healing of the schism[m] have already been mentioned; and, in order to avoid an acknowledgment of the council as having been called by John XXIII., he affected to regard it as assembled by the emperor alone, and to add his own citation as pope, that it might entertain the proposed business.[n] Malatesta accordingly appeared at the fourteenth session, and formally executed the act of resignation;[o] whereupon the council decreed that no one should proceed to choose a pope without its sanction, and that it should not be dissolved until after an election should have been made.[p] The ex-pope became cardinal-bishop of Porto, and legate for life in the Mark of Ancona, with precedence over all the other members of the college.[q] His cardinals were allowed to retain their dignities;[r] and two years later, while the council was yet sitting, Angelo Corario died at the age of ninety.[s]

Benedict XIII. was still to be dealt with. Aragon and Scotland continued to adhere to him, and his pretensions were unabated. He had proposed a meeting with Sigismund at Nice, and John XXIII. had endeavoured to avert this by offering to confer in person with his rival; but the council, remembering the failure of the conference of Savona, had refused its consent.[t] It was now resolved that the emperor, as representative of the council, should treat with Benedict. On the 15th of July, Sigismund, kneeling before the high altar of the cathedral, received the solemn benediction of the assembly;[u] and three days later[x] he set out with four cardinals

[m] See his letters in Martene, Coll. Ampl. vii. 314, seqq.; Hefele, vi. 862, seqq.

[n] V. d. Hardt, iv. 366, seqq., 371; Th. de Vrie, 163, 167; Antonin. 479; Lenfant, i. 382; Hefele, vii. 183.

[o] V. d. Hardt, iv. 346, 375, 380; Th. Niem, ib. ii. 410.

[p] Ib. 375, 378.

[q] Ib. 474-81; Th. de Vrie, 168, 170.

[r] V. d. Hardt, iv. 376.

[s] Oct. 18, 1417. Lenf. i. 388; Hefele, vii. 184.

[t] See p. 245. Th. Niem, in V. d Hardt, ii. 395-6; Th. de Vrie, ib. i. 207.

[u] Ib. iv. 468-75; Th. Niem, ib. ii. 415.

[x] There is a letter from Gerson and

for Perpignan, where he had invited Benedict to meet him.[y] At Narbonne he was joined by Ferdinand of Aragon, whose ambassadors had been in treaty with the council.[z] But at Perpignan he found himself disappointed. Benedict had taken offence at being addressed as cardinal, whereas he held himself to be the sole legitimate pope; nay, even as a cardinal, he asserted that, being the only one who had been promoted to the sacred college before the schism, he was entitled to nominate a pope by his own voice alone.[a] In accordance with the letter of an agreement, he remained at Perpignan throughout the month of June; but when the last day of that month came to an end at midnight, he immediately left the place, and pronounced Sigismund contumacious for having failed to appear.[b] On the 19th of August he was at Narbonne, where he condescended to state his terms to the emperor's representatives.[c] But these and other proposals on the part of Benedict were so extravagant that it was impossible to accept them;[d] and Benedict, after some movements, shut himself up within the rocky fortress of Peñiscola, in Valencia, where the archbishop of Tours and others sought an interview with him, but were unable to persuade him to resign.[e] Sigismund succeeded in detaching from him the king of

d'Ailly to Benedict, entreating him to resign, and dated on July 18, in Bekynton, Ep. 241. A sermon by Gerson (ii. 273), in which the power of the council over popes is strongly asserted, was not delivered before the emperor's departure (as has often been said), but three days after it (Jul. 21). See Schwab, 520.

[y] V. d. Hardt, iv. 265; Th. Niem, ib. ii. 415. There is a narrative by the archbishop of Tours in V. d. Hardt, ii. 523, seqq. Sigismund was obliged to borrow for the costs of his journey. Aschb. ii. 136.

[z] V. d. Hardt, iv. 47, 264, 305; Th. Niem, l. c.

[a] V. d. Hardt, ii. 488, 529. He had said something like this to Gregory's envoys in 1407. Mon. Sandion. iii. 530.

[b] Hefele, vii. 244; V. d. Hardt, ii. 522.

[c] Martene, Coll. Ampl. vii. 1208, V. d. Hardt, II. No. xvi.

[d] Ib. ii. 490, seqq., 526; Martene, Thes. ii. 1647-50.

[e] V. d. Hardt, ii. 534-5. He had been at Peñiscola as early as 1413. See National MSS. of Scotland, ii. No. 30.

Aragon, with other princes who had thus far supported him;[f] and these, in person or by their representatives, formally renounced him at Narbonne on the 13th of December 1415.[g] The act was publicly declared at Perpignan on the Epiphany following[h] by the great Dominican preacher St. Vincent Ferrer, in whose reputation for sanctity the cause of the Spanish pope had found one of its strongest supports, but who now, in disgust at Benedict's obstinacy, turned against him, and zealously exerted himself to promote the reunion of the church.[i]

Sigismund then proceeded to visit the courts of France and of England, endeavouring to reconcile the enmity which had lately arrayed the nations against each other on the field of Agincourt (Oct. 25, 1415), and to unite western Christendom in a league against the Turks;[k] and on the 27th of January in the following year he reappeared at Constance, where he was received by the council with great demonstrations of honour.[l]

A.D. 1417.

[f] V. d. Hardt, ii. 538-9; Th. Niem, ib. ii. 423-4, 432, 434.

[g] It is said that he sent the king of Aragon a bull of anathema and deposition. Martene, Thes. ii. 1660.

[h] V. d. Hardt, ii. 554; Hefele, vii. 247-9.

[i] Theodoric of Niem says that Vincent was reported to have preached against Benedict even "quod juste persequendus sit usque ad mortem ab omnibus Christianis, et persequens aut interficiens eum mereatur." V. d. Hardt, ii. 431-2. Cf. ib. 522, 564; Antonin. 480; Mariana, xx. 7; Lenfant, i. 526.

[k] At Paris he gave great offence by taking the king's seat in the parliament, and by conferring knighthood on one of the parties in a suit, in order to qualify him for prosecuting it—"Car le roy est empereur en ce royaume, et ne le tient que de Dieu et l'espée seulement, et non d'autre." (Juv. des Ursins, 330.) Before landing at Dover, he was required to profess that he did not come as emperor. (Pauli, v. 132; Aschb. ii. 162.) For his reception in England, see Walsingh. ii. 305. Archbishop Chichele ordered prayers to be put up for his success in endeavouring to establish the unity of the church, Aug. 2, 1416 (Rymer, ix. 377). He made a very favourable impression in England (Gesta Henr. V. p. 104); but such were his necessities that he pawned the English king's gifts at Bruges. (Pauli, v. 141; Aschb. ii. 170.) His behaviour in England gave further offence to the French. Bulæus, v. 316.

[l] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1089. There is a letter in English from John Forrester to Henry V., describing the emperor's return. The bishop of Salisbury was the first to get possession of the pulpit, in order to offer his congratulations, to the exclusion of cardinal d'Ailly; and the English representatives were treated with great honour by Sigismund. It is said that the bishops of

In the meantime the representatives of the Spanish and Portuguese kingdoms had been admitted into the council as a fifth nation;[m] the agreement of Narbonne was confirmed,[n] and measures were urged forward against Benedict. Articles were drawn up, in which the charge against him was grounded chiefly on his breach of his engagements as to resignation,[o] and he was cited to appear within a certain time.[p] The envoys who were intrusted with the delivery of the citation at Peñiscola found him angry and obstinate, and brought back nothing but evasions and pretexts for delay.[q] After having been repeatedly cited in due form at the door of the cathedral, he was pronounced contumacious on the first of April.[r] Further articles were drawn up, and, after long formal proceedings,[s] sentence of deposition was pronounced against him, as having been guilty of perjury, of scandal to the whole church, of favouring and nourishing schism, and of heresy, inasmuch as he had violated that article of the faith which speaks of "one holy catholic church."[t] The delivery of this judgment was followed by a jubilant chant of *Te Deum;*

Nov. 5-28, 1416.

Jan. 22, 1417.

July 26.

Chester [*i.e.* Coventry] and Salisbury are resolved to "suive the reformation in the kyrk, in the hed and in the members." (Rymer, ix. 434; cf. Ulr. v. Reichenthal, in Marmor, 44.) In expectation of the emperor's return, the English, on Jan. 24, gave a banquet to the magistrates of Constance and others, which was followed by a play on the subject of the Nativity—this being the first instance of such a performance in Germany; and the play was repeated before the emperor on the 31st of January. V. d. Hardt, iv. 1088-9, 1091.

[m] Sept.—Oct. 1416. V. d. Hardt, iv. 909; Th. de Vrie, ib. i. 204.

[n] Ib. iv. 586, seqq.

[o] Ib. 956-67, 980-95.

[p] Ib. 992; Th. Vrie, 211.

[q] Hard. iv. 1124-9, seqq., 1148; Martene, Thes. ii. 1169. The envoys were black monks; and Benedict, on being informed of their arrival, said "Synodales corvos audiamus." When told of this, one of them remarked "Minime mirum videri debet, si corvi ad dejectum cadaver accedimus." V. d. Hardt, iv. 1145.

[r] Ib. i. 1132; iv. 1206, 1214, 1220, 1224-31.

[s] See ib. 1230, seqq.; 1270, 1280, 1294, 1310, 1315, 1317, 1332-3, 1335-6, 1351.

[t] Ib. 1367, 1373, seqq.; Th. Vrie 214; Hefele, vii. 313.

the bells of the churches were rung, and the emperor ordered that the sentence should be proclaimed with the sound of trumpets throughout the streets of Constance.[u]

Thus the papacy was considered to be entirely vacant, as the three who had pretended to it had all been set aside. But the question now arose, whether the council should next proceed to the election of a new pope, or to discuss the reformation of the church, which had been much agitated during the time of the emperor's absence.[x] On the one hand it was urged that, as the church had long been suffering from the want of an acknowledged head, the papacy should be filled without delay. On the other hand it was represented that the reforming designs of the council of Pisa had been ineffectual because reform had been postponed to the election of a pope; that, since a reformation of the church ought to include the head as well as the members, a pope, by exerting his influence on those who naturally desired to stand well with him, might be able to put a stop to any movement for reform; that the chair of St. Peter, after the pollutions which it had lately undergone, ought to be cleansed, before any man, even the holiest, could sit in it without fear of contamination.[y] The emperor, supported by the German and English nations, urged that the council should enter on the question of reform.[z] The cardinals, with the Italians in general,[a] pressed for the election of a pope, and drew to their side the Spaniards, who were new to the affairs of the council, and the French, whose eagerness for reform was now overpowered by their enmity against the English.[b] The contest was keenly carried

[u] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1377.

[x] Ib. 556, 1335, 1395. Various schemes are printed in vol. i.

[y] Ib. iv. 1418-24.

[z] Ib. 1335, 1354, 1395.

[a] Pileus, archbishop of Genoa, however, spoke strongly in favour of reform. Ib., I. p. xv.; iv. 1397.

[b] Ib. 1395-6, 1415, etc.; Milman, vi. 62; Aschb. ii. 267.

on, both with tongue and with pen. Prayers were put up for the good success of the council in its designs, sermons were preached in exposition of the various views,[c] and from each side a formal protest was made against the course which was proposed by the other;[d] while invidious imputations were freely cast on the emperor and his adherents, as if, by maintaining that the church could be reformed without a head, they made themselves partakers in the heresy of Hus.[e]

Still Sigismund stood firm, notwithstanding the taunts and insults which were directed against him, until at length he found his supporters failing him. Such of the French and Italians as had been with him fell away.[f] By the death of Hallam, bishop of Salisbury, on the 4th of September, he lost his most esteemed auxiliary,[g] while the English were deprived of a leader whose wisdom and moderation had guided them in the difficulties of their circumstances; and—partly, it would seem, in obedience to an order from their sovereign[h]—they joined the growing majority. Two of the most important German prelates were bribed into a like course;—the archbishop of Riga, who, having been hopelessly embroiled with the Teutonic knights, was to be translated by the council to Liége; and the bishop of Chur, to whom the see of Riga offered at once an increase of dignity and an escape from his quarrels with Frederick of Austria.[i] Finding that any further resistance would be useless, Sigismund yielded that the choice of a pope should precede the discussion of reform; but it was stipulated by him and

[c] See Gerson, ii. 313; Schröckh, xxxi. 488; Hefele, vii. 288, etc.

[d] V. d. Hardt, i. 916-20; iv. 1419-26.

[e] Ib. 1415; Mart. Thes. ii. 1680-5; Lenf. ii. 114; Aschb. ii. 270.

[f] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1418.

[g] Ib. 1414; Lenf. ii. 115; Aschb. ii. 274. For an engraving of the memorial of Bp. Hallam in Constance Cathedral, with a description by R. L. Pearsall, see the Archæologia, vol. xxx.

[h] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1426.

[i] Ib. 1427; Aschb. ii. 277. Boniface IX. had sold Riga to the Teutonic order against the will of the archbishop. Theod. Niem, de Schism. ii. 16; Vita Joh. XXIII. in V. d. Hardt, ii. 439.

the German nation that the future pope should, in conjunction with the council, make it his first duty to enter on a reform of the church, and that until this should have been effected the council should not be dissolved.[k]

At the thirty-ninth session, October 9, 1417, it was decreed that a general council should be held within the next five years, and another within the following seven years; that within every period of ten years for the time to come there should be a general council; that the pope might shorten the interval, but might not prolong it; and that for a sufficient cause (such as the occurrence of a schism) a council might be convoked at any time.[l] But when the Germans desired that the future pope should be pledged to the observance of these rules, they were told by the cardinals that a pope could not be so bound.[m]

Dissensions still continued to vex the council. The Aragonese, on joining it, had objected to the acknowledgment of the English as a nation—maintaining that they ought to be included with the Germans;[n] and in this they were aided by cardinal d'Ailly,[o] whose patriotism showed itself on all occasions in a vehement opposition to the English; while these stoutly asserted the importance of their nation and church by somewhat daring arguments, and put forward the venerable name of Joseph of Arimathea in opposition to that of Dionysius the Areopagite.[p] The Castilians had contests

Sept. 9, 12.

[k] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1431. [l] Ib.

[m] Ib. 1447.

[n] It need not be said that the outlying countries of the English nation (see p. 349, n. [u]) were not represented. Ulrich of Reichenthal says that the "Anglici et Scoti, Engelschen und Hyberni, das sind Schotten," were originally made a separate nation in consequence of the non-appearance of the Spaniards. (Marmor, 31.) Cf. Engl. Chronicle, ed. Davies, published by the Camden Soc. p. 44.

[o] *E.g.*, De Eccl. Potest., V. d. Hardt, vi. 41.

[p] Ib. iv. 952, 965-8, 1026-30; v. 57-103; Martene, Thes. ii. 1667. See a letter from the bishop of Durham, in Rymer, ix. 437. He mentions that Sigismund irritated the French by displaying the insignia of the Garter. An incredible story of a Spanish bishop on occasion of a question of precedence, taking up an English ambassador, and carrying him like a child, is given on Spanish authority by Lenfant, ii. 59.

of their own with the Aragonese; and they had even left Constance, in the belief that the council was hopelessly entangled, when they were brought back by the emperor's command. The cardinals asked for leave to withdraw, and met with a refusal; Sigismund is said to have intended to arrest some of the most troublesome among them; and the members of the college displayed themselves in their scarlet hats, as a token of their readiness to become martyrs in the church's cause.[q] In the midst of these difficulties it was announced that Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, and uncle to the king of England, was at Ulm, on his way to the Holy Land; and the English representatives suggested that by his reputation and authority, by his known influence with the emperor, and by his zeal for the peace of the church, he might be able to appease the differences which had arisen. The emperor with his own hand wrote to invite the bishop to Constance, where he was received with great honour; and by his mediation and advice he succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between the parties.[r] Oct. 20.

Beaufort had recommended that the election of a pope should at once be taken in hand; and new questions arose as to the right of sharing in it. Some wished to exclude the cardinals altogether, as having abused their privilege in time past; while the cardinals asserted that the right of voting belonged to them exclusively, but were willing to concede that, on this occasion only, representatives of the nations should be associated with them, and that the choice should be subject to the final

[q] Martene, Thes. ii. 1675-8; V. d. Hardt, iv. 1415-17, 1428.

[r] Ib. 1447; Walsingh. ii. 319; Lenf. ii. 134; Hefele, vii. 321-2. His services were rewarded by Martin V., who promoted him to the cardinalate *in petto* on Nov. 28, and made him legate for England and Ireland. Against this legation archbishop Chichele remonstrated, in a letter to Henry V.; but Beaufort was received as legate by Henry VI. Von d. Hardt, iv. 1502. See vol. iii. p. 12; Ciacon. ii. 845; Hook, v. 70-4.

approbation of the council.[s] In the meantime there were discussions as to the points in which a reform was desired. Among them were the duties of the pope, and the limits of his authority; the prevention of double elections to the papacy; the composition of the college of cardinals, in which it seemed desirable that the Italians should not be too strong;[t] reservations, annates, expectancies, commendams, simony, dispensations, non-residence; the qualifications and duties of bishops; the abuses of the monastic and capitular systems; the nature of the causes that should be treated in the Roman court; the question of appeals; the offices of the papal chancery and penitentiary; indulgences; the alienation of church property; the cause, for which a pope might be corrected or deposed, and the manner of procedure in such cases.[u]

Of these subjects, that of annates caused the greatest difference of opinion. The cardinals were in favour of the exaction, while the French nation denounced it as a novelty which dated only from the pontificate of John XXII.[x] On this question, cardinal d'Ailly, who had formerly been opposed to the tax, now took part with his brethren of the college.[y] With regard to the question of papal collation to benefices, it was remarked that, while many bishops, who were usually supporters of the papal interest, opposed it in this case from a wish to

[s] V. d. Hardt, ii. 586; iv. 1355, 1448. On October 1, 1416, d'Ailly delivered a discourse exposing the extravagances of some as to the power of the pope, and maintaining that the nations ought to share with the cardinals in the election. Ib. iv. 909.

[t] Some were even for the abolition of cardinals altogether, as being a class instituted neither by the apostles nor by councils, and detrimental to the church. Pet. de Alliaco, De Reform, Eccl. in Gerson, ii. 908.

[u] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1449-52. A paper by Zabarella, 'Capita Agendorum in Conc. Const.' (V. d. Hardt, t, I. p. ix.), gives much information as to the reforms which were desired. The writer had died on the 26th of September. V. d. Hardt, iv. 1429.

[x] Lib. de l'Egl. Gall. ii. 581, seqq.; Martene, Thes. 1542-1609; V. d. Hardt, I. pt. xiii. See below, c. xi. i. 4.

[y] De Auctorit. etc., in Gerson, ii. 937; or V. d. Hardt, vi. 51-6.

recover patronage for their own order, the representatives of universities sided with the pope, as being more likely than the bishops to favour the claims of learning in the bestowal of preferment.[z] In the course of these discussions much heat was occasionally displayed. At one meeting, the wish to delay the election of a pope was denounced as a Hussite heresy, and the emperor, in disgust at the pertinacity of the opposition, arose and left the hall. As the patriarch of Antioch and others of his adherents followed, a cry arose, "Let the heretics go!" and Sigismund, on being informed of the insult, knew that it was intended against himself.[a]

At length, on the 30th of October, the preliminaries of the election were settled: that six representatives of each nation should be associated with the cardinals as electors; and that a majority of two-thirds among the cardinals and in each nation should be necessary to the choice of a pope.[b] The day was fixed for the 8th of November, when high mass was celebrated, and the bishop of Lodi (whose eloquence had been less creditably displayed in the cases of Hus and Jerome) preached from the text, "Eligite meliorem"[c]—descanting on the qualities requisite for the papacy, and exhorting the electors to make choice of a pope different from those of the last forty years—one worthy of the office and bent on the reform of the church.[d] The electors—twenty-three cardinals and thirty deputies of the nations[e]—swore to the emperor that they would perform their duty faithfully, and were then shut up in conclave within the Exchange of Constance, under the guardianship of the master of the

[z] Hefele, vii. 317. Cf. Mart. Thes. ii. 1686. Compare the complaint of the university of Paris, above, p. 239, n. [n]. An English petition of 1399 stated that the statutes of provisors had operated against the preferment of the more deserving men. Art. 28, Wilkins, iii. 242.

[a] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1415.

[b] Ib. 1448, 1452; Antonin. 483.

[c] "Look even out the best" (Eng. Version) II Kings, x. 3.

[d] V. d. Hardt, i. 931, seqq.

[e] Ib. iv. 1473, 1479.

knights of Rhodes.[f] Their deliberations lasted three days, during which companies of people—Sigismund himself, and the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries, among them—frequently gathered round the building, imploring with prayers, and with hymns chanted in low tones, the blessing of God on the election.[g] At first, each nation was disposed to set up a candidate of its own;[h] but gradually this was abandoned, and on St. Martin's day

Nov. 11.

an overwhelming majority, if not the whole body of electors, agreed in a choice, which was forthwith announced through an aperture made in the wall of the Exchange—"We have a pope—Lord Otho of Colonna!"[i] The news spread at once throughout the city, and produced an enthusiasm of joy; at last the schism which had so long distracted Christendom was ended. All the bells of Constance sent forth peals of rejoicing. A multitude, which is reckoned at 80,000, flocked from all quarters to the scene of the election.[k] The emperor himself, disregarding the restraints of state, hurried into the room where the electors were assembled, and fell down before the pope, who raised him up, embraced him, and acknowledged that to him the peaceful result was chiefly due.[f] For hours together crowds of all classes thronged to the cathedral, where the new pope was placed on the altar and gave his benediction.[m] In honour of the day on which he was elected, he took the name of Martin V.; and, after having been ordained deacon, priest, and bishop on three successive days, he was anointed and crowned as pope on the 21st of November.[n]

[f] V. d. Hardt, 1394, 1474-80. Ulrich of Reichenthal's account of this is curious. Marmor, 120-5.

[g] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1481; Ulr. v. Reichenth. in Marmor, 131.

[h] Ulr., ib. 130-2.

[i] V. d. Hardt, iv 1482-3; Doc. No. 114.

[k] Ulr., v. Reichenth. in Marm. 132-3.

[l] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1483-6. The electors are said to have appeared as almost dead from the privations of the conclave. Ib. 1485.

[m] Ib. 1485 6.

[n] Ib. 1486-7, 1489-90; Ulr. Rei-

Martin was now about fifty years of age. He belonged to the highest nobility of Rome,[o] had been trained in the study of canon law, and had been created cardinal of St. George by Innocent VII. He had held to Gregory XII. until the council of Pisa declared against that pope, and he had been one of the last to forsake John XXIII. His morals were irreproachable, and the prudence and moderation of his character were much respected.[p] It is, however, said of him by Leonard of Arezzo, that whereas before his elevation he had been noted rather for his amiability than for his talents, he showed, when pope, extreme sagacity, but no excess of benignity.[q]

Very soon Martin began to give indications that those who had chosen him in the hope of reform were to be disappointed. Almost immediately after his coronation he set forth, as was usual, the rules for the administration of his chancery;[r] and it was seen with dismay that they differed hardly at all in substance from those of John XXIII.; that they sanctioned all the corruptions which the council had denounced—such as annates, expectancies, and reservations; nay, that this last evil was even aggravated in the new code.[s] And now that western Christendom had one undoubted head, a man in whom

chenth. in Marm. 133, seqq. See letters announcing the election to Henry V. of England, in Rymer, ix. 523, 534, 535. In the first of these, Martin includes Scotland among Henry's territories; in the last, he shows himself better informed.

[o] He was son of Agapetus Colonna, who, although he played an important part during the schism, was not, as Lenfant says (ii. 155), a cardinal. See in Litta, 'Famiglie Italiane,' the genealogy of the Colonnas, tav. iii.-iv.

[p] Schröckh, xxxix. 508; Milm. vi. 64; Schwab, 662; Gregorov. vi. 637-9.

[q] "Ita opinionem de se prius habitam redarguit ut sagacitas quidem in eo summa, benignitas vero non superflua neque nimia reperiretur." (Murat. xix. 930.) Eberhard of Windeck says that he was poor and modest as a cardinal, but when pope was avaricious, and too much given to the accumulation of money. (Mencken, i.) For a favourable view of the change in him, see a Life in Murat. III. ii. 859.

[r] Nov. 22. They were formally published on Feb. 26, 1418. Schwab, 662.

[s] The two sets of rules are in V. d. Hardt, vol. I. pt. xxi. See Schmidt, iv. 122; Schröckh, xxxi. 510; Milm. vi. 65-6; Hefele, vii. 329.

high personal character was added to the dignity of his great office, the authority of the council waned before that of the pope. The emperor himself was superseded in the presidency of the assembly, and Martin's power over it increased, while his address was exerted to prevent all dangerous reforms.[t] He set forth a list of matters as to which a reform might be desirable;[u] he constituted a reformatory college, made up of six cardinals, with representatives of the various nations,[x] and at the forty-third session of the council some decrees were passed as to exemptions, simony, tithes, the life of the clergy, and other such subjects.[y] But it was found that the several nations were not agreed as to the changes which were to be desired; and Martin skilfully contrived to take advantage of their jealousies so as to break up their alliance by treating separately with each for a special concordat.[z] When the French urged Sigismund to press for reformation, he reminded them that they had insisted on giving the election of a pope precedence over the question of reform, and told them that they must now apply to the pope, since his own authority in such matters had ended when the election was made.[a]

The Germans had presented two petitions for reform; among other points they urged that the cardinals should be fairly chosen from the various nations, and that their number should be limited to eighteen, or at the utmost should not exceed twenty-four.[b] They also desired that means should be provided for the correction of a pope,

[t] Giesel. II. iv. 37.

[u] V. d. Hardt, vol. I. pt. xxiii.; iv. 1509.

[x] Ib. 1492. [y] Ib. 1535-40.

[z] Ib. 1512. The concordat with the Germans is in V. d. Hardt, vol. I. pt. xxiv.; that with the English, in pt. xxv.; with the French, in vol. iv. 86, seqq. It does not appear what the concessions to the Spaniards were (ib. 1513). See Hübler, 'Die Costanzer Reformation,' Leipz. 1867.

[a] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1503; Gobel. Pers. 345.

[b] V. d. Hardt, I. pt. xxii.; iv. 1493; Schröckh, 511-13; Hefele, vii. 334.

so that popes might be punished and deposed by a general council, not only for heresy, but for simony, or any other grave and notorious offence. On this it would seem that no new enactment was considered to be necessary.[c] Martin, however, put forth some proposals for a reform of the curia, in which, while he eluded some of the chief points in the German scheme,[d] he agreed that the number of cardinals should be reduced, so as not to exceed twenty-four, that a regard should be paid to their qualifications, and that the dignity should be distributed in fair proportions among the various nations.[e] He promised also an improved disposal of his patronage, and a redress of various crying grievances. To the Germans the promise as to the cardinalate appeared to hold out an important boon; for the instances in which Germans had been admitted to that dignity were exceedingly rare;[f] but the hopes excited by Martin's concession were very imperfectly realized, as the number of German cardinals has never been great.[g]

The Spaniards, in ridicule of the faintness with which reform was taken in hand, put forth a satirical 'Mass for Simony.' The piece was composed in the usual form of such services, and included prayers for the removal of the evil, with a lesson from

Jan. 6 (?), 1418.

[c] V. d. Hardt, l. c., art. 13, p. 1008, 1033. There is a curious variation between a MS. at Vienna, which reads "Nihil respondit," and one at Gotha, which has "Non videtur, prout nec visum fuit multis nationibus, circa hoc aliquid novum statui vel decerni."

[d] Aschb. ii. 330.

[e] V. d. Hardt, vol. I. pt. xxiii. art. 1.

[f] Schmidt says (iv. 124) that the only German who had as yet been a cardinal was Conrad of Wittelsbach, archbishop of Mentz, whose promotion by Alexander III., in the year 1163, had been intended as a measure of annoyance against his sovereign, Frederick Barbarossa. (Ciac. i. 1083.) Other names of Germans in the time before the council of Constance may, however, be found in Chacon's index, t. iv. As to the later time, Albert Krantz, in mentioning Nicolas of Cusa as a German cardinal, adds: "quod est monstrum corvo rarius albo" (Wandalia, 285). See a discussion, under Sixtus V., in James of Volterra (Murat. xxiii. 94), where it is said that some German prelates had declined the dignity, because, in the diets of the empire, which were frequent, there was no special place for cardinals.

[g] Schmidt, iv. 129.

the Apocalypse, descriptive of the woman sitting on the scarlet-coloured beast.[h]

The concordats into which Martin had entered did not find much acceptance with the nations for which they were intended. That with England appears to have passed without notice.[i] In France, although the kingdom was then in the depth of the weakness caused by internal discords and by the English invasion, the spirit of ecclesiastical independence, hallowed by the saintly renown of Lewis IX., and strengthened by the policy of Philip the Fair, and by the ascendency of later French sovereigns over the court of Avignon, was strongly manifested. The king was made to declare himself desirous to obey the council, but with the limitation "so far as God and reason would allow."[k] The concordat was rejected by the parliament of Paris; the principles of the pragmatic sanction were maintained; and the dauphin, who governed in his father's name, refused to acknowledge Martin, whose election he supposed to have been carried by the hostile influences of Germany and England, until after the pope's title had been examined and approved by the university of Paris.[l]

Among the subjects which engaged the attention of the council, was a book in which John Petit, a Franciscan, had some years before asserted the right of tyrannicide in justification of the treacherous murder of the duke of Orleans by John "the Fearless," duke of Burgundy.[m] Petit himself had died in 1410, and is said to

[h] (C. xvii.) The 'Missa pro Simonia' is in V. d. Hardt, iv. 1504.

[i] Milm. vi. 69. It is in V. d. Hardt, pt. xxv. The sixth article provides that some Englishmen, chosen indifferently with men of other nations, shall be employed in the offices of the curia.

[k] Lib. de l'Egl. Gall. ii. 599. March 1418 (misprinted 1417 in the heading).

[l] Bul. v. 312; Schröckh, xxxi. 521-3.

[m] For the murder, which took place in 1407, see Monstrelet, i. 210, seqq. Petit's vindication had been pronounced before the king, March 8, 1408, and may be found in Gerson's works, vol. v. 15, seqq., or in Monstrelet, i. 241, seqq. For the part which he had taken in the proceedings of the university as to the schism, see the Monk of St. Denys, b. xxvi. cc. 1, 2, 17, etc.

have professed on his death-bed regret for the doctrines which he had published;[n] but his book had been examined, and eight propositions extracted from it had been condemned by an assembly of theologians, canonists, and jurists, under the presidency of the bishop of Paris, in 1414.[o]

The matter was brought before the council of Constance in June 1415 by Gerson, who had taken an active part in the earlier stages;[p] and it occupied much time, during which he and cardinal d'Ailly exerted all their powers to obtain a condemnation of the atrocious opinions which Petit had enounced.[q] The contest was obstinately and hotly waged, with the pen as well as with the tongue; Petit's defenders were stigmatized as Cainites and heretics, while they retaliated by comparing Gerson to Judas, Herod, and Cerberus,[r] and by taunting him with favours which he had formerly received from the Burgundian family.[s] The influence in favour of Petit was so powerful, that his book escaped with the condemnation of only one especially outrageous proposition,[t] while his name was unmentioned in the

Sess. XIII. June 15.

[n] Gerson, v. 168.

[o] Hefele, vii. 180. See on this affair, Gerson, vol. V. pt. ii.; Bourgeois du Chastenet; Bulæus, v. 236, seqq., 284, seqq.; D'Argentré, I. ii. 184, seqq.: for the sentence, Gerson, v. 322. The bishop of Arras remarks bitterly on the Paris condemnation. Ib. 391.

[p] V. d. Hardt, iv. 331; Monstrelet, iii. 268; Schwab, 438, seqq., 609, seqq. Gerson himself had, in earlier years, spoken of tyrannicide as lawful, quoting from Seneca, "Nulla Deo gratior victima quam tyrannus" (Consil. 7, Opp. iv. 624), and he was always opposed to the doctrine of passive obedience. But the murder of the duke of Orleans had changed his opinion as to tyrannicide, which he had denounced in his treatise 'De Auferib. Papæ.' Ib. ii. 218.

[q] D'Ailly was objected to as a judge, on the ground that he had shared in the Paris sentence. (V. d. Hardt, iv. 337.) He preached against Petit's doctrine, March 23, 1417 (ib. 1191-4; cf. 1087, 1091, etc.; Gerson, ii. 319-29, 330, 338, seqq.). The Dominicans pretended that the questions raised by Petit did not belong to faith, but to a cause of blood, and therefore were unfit to be treated by clergy. See against this, Gerson, ii. 326, 389.

[r] See two pieces in verse, Gerson, v. 552, 555-6.

[s] Ib. 745, B; Schwab, 610.

[t] "Quilibet tyrannus potest et debet licite et meritorie occidi per quemcunque vasallum suum vel subditum, etiam per insidias et blanditias vel

censure; and even this sentence was afterwards set aside on the ground of informality.[u] It is noted that among the defenders of Petit's book was Peter Caucher, vidame of Reims, who afterwards, as bishop of Beauvais, gained an infamous celebrity by his part in the condemnation of the Maid of Orleans.[x]

July 6, 1415.

Another book, the work of a Dominican, John of Falkenberg, was brought before the council, on the ground that the author, who wrote in the interest of the Teutonic knights, had grossly attacked the king of Poland, and had declared it to be not only lawful, but highly meritorious, to kill him and all his people.[y] Before the election of Martin, this book had been condemned to the flames by the committee on matters of faith; but the sentence had not been confirmed in a general session, and the Poles found that Martin, although he had himself subscribed the earlier condemnation, was resolved as pope to do away with its effect. Being thus denied redress, they appealed to a general council, but Martin declared that no such appeal from a pope could be allowed.[z] On this

adulationes, non obstante quocunque juramento, seu confœderatione facta cum eo, non expectata sententia vel mandato judicis cujuscunque" (V. d. Hardt, iv. 389, 439). Nine other propositions had been presented to the council, but it evaded condemning them. (Ib. 451, 722, 725, 728; Gerson, v. 274.) In them the word *tyrannus* does not seem to mean a sovereign, but one who gains a wrongful ascendency over a sovereign, and uses ill practices against him—one who in any way has power, and who abuses it. Thus Petit justifies the murder, on the ground that the duke of Orleans had compassed the king's death by magical arts (Gerson, v. 35, seqq.). He quotes very strange authorities on a subject of Christian morality—including Aristotle, Cicero, and Boccaccio (ib. 27). For a comparison of Petit's propositions with Gerson's statement of them, see Schwab, 612-14: for a defence of Gerson against charges of misrepresentation brought by Leyser, a law-professor of Wittenberg, A.D. 1735, see Ib. 644.

[u] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1513; Milm. v. 59. The duke of Burgundy afterwards compelled the bishop of Paris to recall his sentence against Petit, and the university to make a sort of disavowal of its proceedings in the matter. Monstrelet, iv. 117; Bulæus, v. 332-5; Sism. Hist. Fr. xii. 553.

[x] Martin, v. 555.

[y] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1531; Lenf. i. 211-12; Giesel. II. iii. 267-8; Schwab, 665; Hefele, vii. 343. Falkenberg had defended Petit with much asperity. See his tracts in Gerson, v. 1013, seqq.; Schwab, l. c.

[z] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1532; Giesel. II. iii. 267-8; Hefele, vii. 368-9.

Gerson put forth a tract in which the new pope's declaration was shown to be opposed to the principles on which the council had acted.[a] But Martin, whether acquainted with Gerson's tract or not, proceeded in direct opposition to his views. In answer to the allegations of the Poles, that the book contained "most cruel heresies," and therefore ought to fall under the censure of an assembly which had for one of its chief objects the extirpation of heresy, he declared that he approved of all that the council had done as to matters of faith. He enjoined silence on the complainants, under a threat of excommunication, and, although they still persisted, even to the last session of the council—styling Falkenberg's opinions a "doctrine of devils"—their struggles to obtain a condemnation were fruitless.[b]

At the forty-fourth session, Pavia was named as the place where the next general council should be held. The French representatives, who disliked this proposal, absented themselves from the meeting at which it was to be brought forward.[c] April 19, 1418.

The forty-fifth and last session was held on the 22nd of April 1418, when the pope bestowed his absolution on all the fathers of the council, with their followers, and on all other persons who had been present on account of business connected with it.[d] The emperor had been rewarded for his labours by a grant of a year's ecclesiastical tithe from his dominions;[e] and, although some German churches engaged a Florentine lawyer, Dominic de Germiniano, to oppose this grant as informal, illegal, and oppressive, such was the ascendency of the pope

[a] "An liceat a summo Pontifice appellare." Opera, ii. 303.

[b] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1551, 1555-60. As to Falkenberg's further history, see Quetif-Echard, i. 761. In consequence of the manner in which the cases of Petit and Falkenberg were treated, the friars continued to assert the lawfulness of tyrannicide as a *probable* opinion Giesel. II. iii. 268.

[c] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1547-9.

[d] Ib. 1560.

[e] Jan. 26, 1418. Ib. 1509; ii. 589.

over the council that the advocate, instead of carrying out his commission, was fain to conclude his pleading with a proposal that the impost should be collected in a way less burdensome than that which had been originally intended.[f]

Although Sigismund had endeavoured to prolong the pope's stay in Germany, and the French had urged him to settle at Avignon, his answer to such solicitations had been that Rome and the patrimony of St. Peter required his presence.[g] On the 16th of May, he left Constance with a magnificent display of pomp. Arrayed in his most splendid robes of office, he rode under a canopy which was supported by four counts, while the emperor and the elector of Brandenburg walked beside him, and held his bridle on either side. Frederick of Austria, with other secular princes and nobles, twelve cardinals, and a vast train of ecclesiastics of all grades, followed; and it is said that the whole cavalcade amounted to 40,000.[h] The scene might be regarded as symbolical of the victory which the papacy had gained. The council which had deposed popes had been mastered by the pope of its own choosing; the old system of Rome, so long the subject of vehement complaint, had escaped untouched; and no mention had been made of any reform in doctrine.[i]

While the pope was thus triumphant, Gerson, the great theologian of the council, withdrew from it to obscurity and exile. Paris was in the hands of the English, and of the ferocious duke of Burgundy, to whom he had made himself obnoxious. The university of which he had been the glory, and which had sent him forth at the head of its representatives, could no longer receive him; and he was glad to accept an asylum from

[f] V. d. Hardt, ii. 608; Giesel. II. iii. 43.

[g] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1580; Murat. III. ii. 862; Schröckh, xxxiii. 530.

[h] Ulr. v. Reichenth. in Marmor, 144; V. d. Hardt, iv. 1582-3; Lenfant, ii. 258.

[i] Milman, vi. 70-1.

the duke of Bavaria.[k] The offer of a professorship at Vienna drew from him a poem of thanks to Frederick of Austria;[l] but he remained in his seclusion until, after the assassination of the duke of Burgundy on the bridge of Montereau, in September 1419,[m] he removed to Lyons, where he spent the last ten years of his life in devotion, study, and literary labour.[n] The latest of his works was a commentary on the Canticles; and three days after having completed it he died, at the age of sixty-six, on the 12th of July, 1429.[o]

CHAPTER IX.

THE GREEK CHURCH—CHRISTIANITY IN ASIA—CONVERSIONS.

I. DURING the last period of the Byzantine empire, the relations of the Greek church with the papacy were mainly governed by political circumstances. The emperors, in their need of assistance against the Mussulmans, who pressed continually more and more on them, made frequent solicitations to the Christians of the west, and, in order to recommend their cause, they professed a zeal for the reconciliation of the churches. But in this they were supported only by a small courtly party, while the mass of the Greeks held the Latins in abomination;[a]

[k] V. d. Hardt, iv. 1583-4; Trithem. de Script. Eccles. 349.

[l] Opp. iv. 787; Schwab, 758.

[m] See Monstrelet, t. iv. c. 219.

[n] There are forty tracts, of greater or less size, which belong to the time of his residence at Lyons. C. Schmidt. in Herzog, v. 97.

[o] Ib., l. c. 98-9; Schwab, 772.

[a] Thus Petrarch testifies of them, "Constat quia nos canes judicant, et si loquendi libertas affuerit, canes vocant,

and, as the material aid, for the sake of which the desire of unity had been professed, was not forthcoming, such concessions as were made by the emperors or their representatives were usually disavowed with abhorrence by their people. Such, as we have seen, had been the result of the reconciliation which had been formerly concluded at the council of Lyons in 1274;[b] and, in their resentment on account of the subsequent breach, Benedict XI. and Clement V. encouraged Charles of Valois to assert by arms a claim to the throne of Con

A.D. 1306. stantinople, in right of his wife. Clement gave to the enterprise the character of a crusade, bestowed the privileges of crusaders on all who should take part in it, and assigned to Charles a tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues of France in order to furnish him with means. But nothing came of this project.[c]

At a later time, Andronicus II. and his grandson of the same name (who, after having been his colleague, assumed the whole government in 1328[d]) were driven by fear of the Ottoman Turks to make overtures to the popes and to the western princes.[e] In 1333 the younger Andronicus sent a message to John XXII. by two Dominicans who were returning from the east; and in consequence of this two bishops were sent from Avignon to the court of Constantinople.[f] But the Greeks, in distrust of the sophistical skill which they attributed to the western theologians, refused to have anything to do with what they styled the Latin novelties; and the

Interfui ego solemni die, dum Romano ritu missa celebraretur. Græcus quidam, homo non illiteratus, sed multo maxime stultus atque arrogans, exclamavit; 'Ego non possum pati,' inquit, 'Latinorum nugas.'" Senil. vii. p. 912, ed. Basil.

[b] See vol. vi. pp. 271, 279.

[c] See above, pp. 21, 63. Raynald. 1304. 28-30; 1306. 2; 1307. 6, seqq.

[d] Niceph. Gregor. l. ix. 6-7; Gibbon, v. 114-18. For this part of the history, see Finlay, Gr. and Byz. Empires, b. iv. c. 11.

[e] Raynald. 1324. 39; Allatius de Eccl. Occid. et Orient. perpetua Consensione, l. ii. c. 16; Schröckh, xxiv. 371.

[f] Niceph. Gregor. x. 8; Rayn. 1333. 17, 19; 1334. 1, seqq.

mission had no effect.[g] In 1337 Benedict XII. wrote to Andronicus for the purpose of confirming him in his desire of ecclesiastical unity; and two years later, Barlaam, a Basilian monk of Calabria, who had acquired great favour in the Byzantine court, appeared at Avignon with a knight named Stephen Dandolo, bearing recommendations from the kings of France and Sicily.[h] The instructions of these envoys charged them to labour for the reunion of the churches, while the need of assistance against the Turks was mentioned as a secondary and comparatively trifling matter. But it was requested that the aid might be sent at once, because the emperor would be unable, so long as the war should last, to assemble the eastern patriarchs for the general council which was proposed as a tribunal for the decision of the questions by which east and west were divided.[i] Even the Jews, said Barlaam, although the most ungrateful of mankind, after having been miraculously fed by the Saviour, wished to make Him a king; and, in like manner, assistance of this kind would prepare the minds of the Greeks to welcome the proposals of religious union.[k] The pope, however, declined the project of a general council, on the ground that the doctrine of the Holy Spirit's procession had already been settled by some of the greatest councils—even including (he said) the general council of Ephesus—and that he could not allow it to be again brought into question.[l] The proposal of a compromise, by which each party should for

[g] Nic. Greg. l. c. (who makes himself the hero of the affair); Rayn. 1334. 5.

[h] Bened. XII. in Allatius de Eccll. perp. Cons. 787, seqq.; Rayn. 1339. 19, seqq.; Migne, Patrol. Gr. cli. 1331. Nicephorus Gregoras, who had been in controversy with Barlaam, describes him as acquainted with Latin theology, but knowing nothing of Greek beyond a smattering of secular literature. XI. x. 1; XIX. i. 4.

[i] Barl. in Migne, Patrol. Græc. cli. 1334-5; Gibbon, vi. 214; Giesel. II. iii. 362.

[k] Barl. in Migne, Patr. Gr. cli. 1385.

[l] Bened. in Rayn. 1339. 25, 32, 34; Migne, l. c. 1337. The reference to the council of Ephesus may have meant that that council forbade the composition of new creeds. (Can. 7.)

the present be allowed to hold its own opinions, was rejected, on the ground that the faith of the catholic church could be but one.[m] Other expedients suggested by Barlaam found no great favour; nor was any hope of aid held out, except on condition that the Greeks should first renounce their errors, and should send some of their number to be instructed in the west.[n]

Barlaam, on returning to the east after this fruitless mission, became involved in a strange controversy with some monks of Mount Athos and their supporters. These monks, who were styled hesychasts (or quietists), imagined that by cultivating an ascetic repose they might attain to behold the light of the Godhead. They are described as fixing their gaze on the central part of their own persons, in the hope that through the contemplation both their spiritual and their bodily eyes would be enlightened by the divine radiance.[o] Barlaam, it is said, designedly chose out one of the more simple monks, whom the imperial chronicler John Cantacuzene describes as little superior to an irrational animal, and, by affecting the character of a disciple, drew from him answers which showed a very gross apprehension of spiritual things; whereupon he denounced the whole community, as if the views in question were shared by all its members.[p] At Thessalonica, where he first broached the subject, he was confronted by Gregory Palamas, a monk of Mount Athos, who enjoyed an extraordinary reputation for ascetic sanctity;[q] and, having fled in

[m] Rayn. 1339. 26; Migne, l. c. 1337.

[n] Ib. 1338; Giesel. II. iii. 364.

[o] Simeon Xerocercus in Allat. de Eccl. Occid. et Orient. perp. Consens. 829; Rayn. 1341. 71; Mosh. ii. 705. Gieseler refers to Kämpfer and to Bernier for evidence of like practices in Siam and in India. (II. iii. 368.) On the controversies arising out of this, see Petav. Theol. Dogm. l. I. cc. 12-13.

[p] J. Cantac. ii. 39, p. 329, ed. Paris, 1645. Barlaam derided the monks as ὀμφαλοψύχοι, Messalians, etc. (J. Cant. p. 329.) See Philotheus (patriarch of Constantinople), in Migne, Patrol. Gr. cli. 585; Tom. Synodic. ib. 680.

[q] J. Cantac. ii. 39, pp. 330-2; Philotheus, in Migne, Patrol. Gr. cli. 586, seqq. Palamas was afterwards appointed archbishop of Thessalonica, but

fear[r] of the rabid monks to Constantinople, where he persuaded the patriarch John to assemble a synod[s] for the consideration of the matter, he A.D. 1341. there again found Palamas his opponent.[t] The question of the light which the mystics of Mount Athos supposed themselves to see brought on a discussion as to the light which shone around the Saviour at His transfiguration. This light Palamas maintained to be uncreated;[u] while Barlaam argued that, if so, it must be God, forasmuch as God alone is uncreated. But, he continued, since no man hath seen God at any time, the hesychasts must hold the existence of two Gods—one, the invisible maker of all things; the other, the visible and uncreated light.[x] The decision of the council was adverse to Barlaam, who, according to John Cantacuzene, when he saw that the case was going against him, consulted the grand domestic (Cantacuzene himself), acknowledged himself to have been in error, and was joyfully embraced by Palamas.[y] But if this account be true, his submission must have been insincere; for he soon after removed to Italy, where he joined the Latin church, and wrote some letters in its behalf, which contrast strongly with his arguments of an earlier time as a champion of the Greeks.[z] Through the

was refused by the people, and was obliged to withdraw to Lemnos. (Joh. Cantac. iv. 15. For his miracles, Philoth. 636, seqq.) But, although regarded as a saint by some Greeks, he is violently reprobated by others, whose opinions are collected by Allatius, Græcia Orthod. i. 756, seqq.; cf. De Eccl. Perp. Consensu, 803-24. Palamas accused Barlaam of dishonest tricks. (Theophanes, in Migne, Patrol. Gr. cl. 913.) Nicephorus Gregoras is strongly against Palamas, and describes his partisans as ignorant, furious, and immoral. XVIII. i. 3-5; ii. 4; iii., seqq.

[r] Nic. Greg. XI. x. 3.

[s] This has been reckoned by some Greeks as the IXth general council. Petavius, i. 85.

[t] Philoth. 506, seqq., in Migne, cli. Palamas and other opponents of Barlaam are in the same volume. Cf. Nic. Greg. l. c. (ib. cxlviii.).

[u] Hagiorheticus, in Migne, Patrol. Gr. cl. 1231; Theophanes, ib. 925, 928; Joh. Cantacuz. ii. 39, pp. 332-3; ii. 40, p. 334; Mosh. ii. 707.

[x] Joh. Cantac. p. 333; Palamas, in Pat. Gr. cl. 928; Mansi, xxv., A.D. 1341.

[y] Joh. Cantac. ii. 40, p. 336. But the truth of this account seems very questionable. See Allatius de Eccl. Perp. Consensu, 830; Hefele, vi. 567.

[z] Patrol. Gr. cli. 1255, seqq.; Ray-

interest of Petrarch, whom he had assisted in the study of Plato,[a] he was promoted to the bishoprick of Gerace in 1342;[b] and his equivocal reputation as a divine is combined with a more creditable fame as one among the chief revivers of Greek letters in the west.[c]

The controversy begun by Barlaam was kept up by his pupil Gregory Acindynus;[d] but repeated judgments were pronounced against their opinions, and at a great synod, held at Constantinople in 1350, it was declared, with a show of patristic authority, that the light of Mount Tabor was uncreated, although not of the substance (οὐσία) of God,[e] while Barlaam and Acindynus were cut off from the body of the church, and were declared to be incapable of forgiveness after death.[f]

The death of Andronicus III., in 1341, left the empire to his son John Palæologus, a boy nine years old, who was under the guardianship of the grand domestic, John Cantacuzene.[g] After a time Cantacuzene, alarmed by the intrigues of a party which included the empress-mother and the patriarch John of Apri, endeavoured to seize the empire, as the only means of securing his own safety;[h] but he was driven into exile, from which he delivered himself by the fatal

Oct. 26, 1341.

nald. 1341. 73, seqq. Hence some (as Canisius, iv. 362) have fancied that there were two Barlaams. Allat. de Eccl. Perp. Cons. 840.

[a] Petrarc. Variar. Ep. 21, p. 1102.

[b] Ughelli, ix. 345.

[c] See below, c. xi. iv. 3.

[d] See his iambics against Palamas, Patrol. Gr. cl. 813.

[e] Mansi, xxvi. 127, seqq. (especially 139, 183); Philoth. in Patrol. Gr. cli. 600, seqq.; Tom. Synod. ib. 672-74; Gr. Acind. ib. 1191, seqq.; Joh. Cantac. ii. 40, p. 337; iii. 98; iv. 23; Giesel. II. iii. 370. Niceph. Gregoras, who took part against Palamas, is very full on this (xviii. 6–xxi.), and complains that his party was unfairly treated. As to Gregoras, see Joh. Cantac. iv. 24.

[f] Mansi, xxvi. 191; Joh. Cantac. iv. 23.

[g] Ib. ii. 2, p. 352; Nic. Greg. xii. 2-3; Gibbon, vi. 120.

[h] See his chronicle, book iii.; Nic. Greg. xii. 11-12. Cantacuzene says that Andronicus had often urged him to become his colleague. (ii. 40, p. 337.) John had been made patriarch through the policy of Cantacuzene while grand domestic (ii. 21). He assumed the state of a pope and of an emperor (iii. 2, 36), but eventually was deposed, and became insane. iii. 99; iv. 3; Nic. Greg. xiv. 3.

measure of calling the Turks into Europe as his allies—giving his daughter in marriage to their leader Orkan, on condition that she should be allowed to preserve her religion.[i] The empire was now shared by John Palæologus, his mother, Anne of Savoy, and Cantacuzene, who became the father-in-law of the young prince and held the chief power in his own hands.[k] While Cantacuzene was in exile, the empress-mother had addressed a letter to Clement VI., expressing a strong desire to unite her subjects with the church in which she had herself been brought up, and entreating the pope to send her assistance in the meantime.[l] Cantacuzene now sent ambassadors to the court of Avignon; and the reception which they met with from Clement led him to believe that a reconciliation was certain, and that a crusade was to be undertaken in his behalf.[m] But, although he repeatedly protested to the envoys whom Clement sent to Constantinople that he would gladly give his life for the re-union of the churches, he declared that the guilt of the separation lay on the Latins, who had caused it by their innovations and assumptions; and that he would not submit his conscience to any less authority than that of a council fairly gathered from the whole church.[n] The pope is said by Cantacuzene to have expressed his willingness to try this course;[o] but the negotiation was broken off by the death of Clement,[p] and by the forced abdication

Feb. 8, 1347. May 21.

A.D. 1347.

A.D. 1347-50.

Jan. 1355.

[i] J. Cantac. iii. 63, seqq.; Nic. Greg. xiii. 1, seqq.; Gibbon, vi. 122-7. Ducas says that it was the empress-mother Anne who first invited the Turks, and that Cantacuzene, by the offer of his daughter, detached Orkan from the opposite party. (8-9.) The example of such dealings with the barbarians had been set by a rival politician, Apocauchus. Nic. Greg. xiii. 8, seqq.

[k] J. Cantac. iv. 1, 4; Nic. Greg. xviii.; Ducas, 10; Gibbon, vi. 126; Finlay, Gr. and Byz. Emp. ii. 547, seqq.

[l] J. Cantac. iii. 87.

[m] Ib. iv. 9.

[n] Ib. iv. 9, pp. 735-6; Rayn. 1350. 32, seqq.; Gibbon, vi. 217.

[o] J. Cantac. iv. 9, p. 737.

[p] Ib. iv. 10.

of the emperor, who spent his last years as a monk on Mount Athos, where he employed himself in composing an uncandid history of his own time.[q]

But John Palæologus, when thus rid of his guardian, was of all Greek emperors the most inclined to make concessions to Rome.[r] As the son of a western princess, whose influence over him still continued, he felt nothing of the bigoted prejudice with which the Greeks in general regarded the Latins; and his dangers both from the Turks and from Cantacuzene's son made him ready to seek for assistance from the west on any terms.[s] In 1355 he made overtures to Innocent VI., offering to send his son Manuel to the pope, to have him instructed in Latin under the superintendence of a legate, and to establish schools for teaching Latin to young Greek nobles; and promising, if he should fail as to any of these proposals, to abdicate in favour of his son, who should then be wholly under the control of the pope.[t] A Carmelite, Peter Thomasius, was thereupon sent to the Byzantine court, and made an easy convert of the emperor.[u] In 1366 John subscribed in Hungary a form of faith agreeable to that of the Latin church, and professed homage to the pope; he renewed his assurances to Urban V.;[x] and in 1369, while Constantinople was under siege by Amurath, the pope's return from Avignon was adorned by the presence of the eastern emperor as well as by that of the emperor of the west at Rome.[y] John acknowledged the Roman supremacy, and the double procession of the Holy Spirit; he did homage to the pope in St. Peter's by bending the knee, and

Oct. 1369.

[q] J. Cantac. 42; Ducas, c. 11, p. 21; Finlay, ii. 574. For the character of the book, see Gibbon, vi. 114; Finlay, ii. 511, 530.

[r] Gibbon, vi. 217.

[s] Allat. de Eccl. Perp. Cons. 843; Gibbon, vi. 217-18.

[t] Raynald. 1355. 34; Vita II. Innoc. VI. in Baluz. i. 348.

[u] Vita St. Pet. Thomas., Acta SS., Jan. 29.

[x] Baluz. i. 403.

[y] See above, p. 189.

by kissing his feet, hands, and mouth; he assisted at a mass celebrated by Urban;[z] and he performed that "office of a groom" which the Christians of the west had been persuaded to connect with the memory of Constantine the Great.[a] But all these compliances were ineffectual as to the object for which they were made. The pope's exhortations to the knights of Rhodes, to the king of Cyprus, to the Venetians and the Genoese, that they should help the emperor against the enemies of Christendom, were unheeded. It was in vain that John endeavoured to enlist the great condottiere Hawkwood in his service. He himself, on his way homewards, was arrested for debt at Venice; and he found himself at last obliged to conclude a humiliating treaty with the Turks.[b]

The advance of these assailants continued without check. In 1395 Bajazet, who from the brilliant rapidity of his movements acquired the name of Ilderim (*lightning*),[c] penetrated into Hungary, and boasted an intention of subduing Germany and Italy, and of feeding his horses with oats at the high altar of St. Peter's at Rome.[d] The princes and nobles of France were roused by an embassy from king Sigismund of Hungary to hasten to his aid against the infidel invaders; and a brilliant array of 100,000 men set out, vaunting that, if the sky should fall, they would support it on the points of their lances, and indulging in visions of carrying their victorious arms even to the deliverance of Jerusalem.[e] But A.D. 1396.

[z] As it was not Christmas day, the privilege of reading the Gospel (see p. 168) did not come into question. See Gibbon, vi. 219.

[a] Wadding, 1369. 1, seqq.; Gibbon, vi. 218-19; Ffoulkes, ii. 307. (See vol. v. p. 165.)

[b] Gibbon, vi. 219; Finlay, ii. 579.

[c] Gibbon, vi. 166. Chalcocondylas translates the word by λαίλαψ (78). Cf. G. Phranzes, i. 26; Hammer, i. 216.

[d] Froissart, xiii. 292; Gibbon, vi. 167.

[e] Froissart, xiii. 292-6; Monach. Sandionys, xvii. 22, seqq.; Juv. des Ursins, 124-6; Gibbon, vi. 167; Mai láth, ii. c. 19; Hammer, i. 239; Sismondi, xii. 72-6, 87-91.

the foolhardy confidence of these crusaders—their luxury, licentiousness, and want of discipline—proved fatal to the enterprise. Disdaining the advice of Sigismund, which was founded on his knowledge of the Turkish mode of warfare, they were utterly defeated at the battle of Nicopolis. Some of their leaders were slain; others, among whom was the count of Nevers (afterwards noted as John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy), were made prisoners, and were detained for ransom, before the arrival of which not a few of them had perished under the cruel usage of their captors.[f] The failure of this expedition roused much indignation against the rival popes, whose pretensions distracted western Christendom, and made any combined action of its nations impossible.[g]

Sept. 28.

In 1391 John Palæologus was succeeded by his son Manuel, who was able to obtain the services of John le Maingre, one of the most distinguished soldiers in the late unfortunate crusade, and afterwards famous under the name of Boucicaut. By his advice Manuel, who had already applied by letter both to Boniface IX. and to the French king,[h] undertook in 1400 a journey into western Europe for the purpose of begging assistance.[i] Both in France and in England he was received with great honours;[k] but although Charles VI., in addition to bestowing a pension on him until his fortunes should

[f] Mém. de Boucicaut, in Petitot, vi. 454, seqq.; Mon. Sandion. xvii. 27, seqq.; Juv. des Ursins, 126-7; Froiss. t. xiii. l. iv. 52, 55, 58; Chalcocondylas, l. ii. pp. 39-40, ed. Paris, 1650; Ducas, 13, p. 26; Phranzes, i. 14 (Patrol. Gr. clvi.); Gibbon, vi. 169-70; Michaud, v. 280-4; Aschbach, i. 98-105. Von Hammer says that 10,000 prisoners were put to death. i. 242.

[g] Martin, v. 452.

[h] Juv. des Ursins, 139; Mon. Sandion. viii. 8; Rayn. 1398. 40.

[i] Mém. de Boucic. 499, seqq.; Ducas, c. 14; Mon. Sand. xx. 3; Chalcocondylas, l. ii. p. 44. This gives Chalcocondylas occasion to introduce some curious sketches of the western countries. See, *e.g.*, his account of Britain for the strange habits of promiscuous intercourse which he imputes to the English,—for London, the Thames and its tides, etc., l. ii. pp. 48-50.

[k] Mon. Sand. xxi. 1; Juv. des Ursins, 143; Walsingh. ii. 247.

improve,[l] promised him 1200 fighting men for a year,[m] and although Henry IV. vowed a crusade, and taxed his people as if for the relief of the Greek empire,[n] no effective aid was to be gained. Manuel, by adhering to his own religion,[o] by refraining from all interference in the controversy between the popes, and by passing through Italy in the year of jubilee without visiting Rome, offended Boniface IX., who charged him with irreverence towards an image,[p] and discouraged the idea of assisting him. He had been forced to submit to terms dictated by Bajazet;[q] and but for the overthrow of that conqueror by Timur, at the battle of Angora, while Manuel was yet in the west,[r] July 30, 1402. the fall of the Byzantine empire[s] would probably have been no longer delayed.

II. During this time there was frequent correspondence between the popes and the Armenian church, and projects of union were entertained with a view to an alliance against the Mussulman power.[t] But the Armenians failed to satisfy the popes entirely as to their orthodoxy; and the help which they obtained from the

[l] Mon. Sand. xxiii. 10.

[m] Boucic. 500.

[n] Rymer, viii. 174 (renewing an order of Richard II. two years earlier, ib. 82); Pauli, v. 64. See letter of excuse from Richard at an earlier time, in Bekynton, Ep. 203.

[o] Juvenal des Ursins says that at Paris the Greeks "faisoient le service de Dieu selon leurs manières et cérémonies, qui sont bien estranges, et alloit voir qui vouloit." (143.) Manuel went, however, to divine service with the French king, who was blamed by some for so associating with a schismatic. Mon. Sand. xxi. 8.

[p] Gibbon (vi. 222) suggests that this was probably a piece of sculpture, such as the Greeks were forbidden to venerate.

[q] Ib. 172; Hammer, i. 247.

[r] Ducas, 16; Chalcocondylas, l. iii. p. 82; Gibbon, vi. 190; Hammer, i. 311-14.

[s] It has been commonly supposed that the Greeks were represented by the archbishop of Kiew and others who appeared at the council of Constance in Feb. 1418 (V. d. Hardt, iv. 1511; Gibbon, vi. 225; Hefele, vii. 342). But in truth these had nothing to do with the Byzantine church or empire, and were sent by a prince of Lithuania who had become a convert to the Latin church. See Mouravieff, 74; Ffoulkes, ii. 314.

[t] *E.g.*, Rayn. 1317. 8, seqq.; 1321. 1, seqq.; Wadding, 1341. 2-3; Mansi, xxv. 655; Hefele, vii. 570.

west was insufficient to protect them against their assailants. In 1367 Armenia fell under the yoke of the Mamelukes; and the Christians were soon after exposed to persecution at the hands of the conquerors.[u]

In other quarters also, where the Mahometans extended their conquests, the Christians suffered severely, and many were put to death for their religion,[x] while others apostatized.[y]

III. The period which we are surveying was disastrous for the Christianity of the further east. Although the popes continually flattered themselves with the hope of gaining the Mongols, who were now pushing their conquests far and wide,[z] these for the most part embraced the religion of Islam; and the hopes of conversion which from time to time were held out by the envoys of Asiatic princes, on condition of an alliance against their Mussulman or other enemies, invariably proved to be delusive.[a]

In China, where, as we have already seen,[b] the Franciscan John of Monte Corvino laboured until about the year 1330, the propagation of the gospel was carried on with much success, chiefly by other members of the same order.[c] But in 1369 the Chinese drove out the Mongols, and established a system of jealous exclusion

[u] Giesel. II. iii. 371-8.

[x] Joh. Cantac. iv. 14-15. It was believed that the Jacobites were favoured because those of Egypt had the power of diverting the Nile from its course, and thus had a hold on the sultan of Egypt, and for his sake, as well as on account of the corn which that country exported, were treated with consideration by other Mahometan princes. Ib. 15.

[y] Giesel. II. iii. 378.

[z] *E.g.*, Rayn. 1318. 1, seqq.; 1333. 31, seqq.; 1340. 75, seqq. Wadding is full as to the share taken by the Franciscans; and there is a collection of letters in the appendix to Mosheim's Hist. Eccl. Tartarorum. See, too, Col. Yule's 'Cathay and the way thither.'

[a] Giesel. II. iii. 358.

[b] Vol. vi. p. 362.

[c] Joh. Vitodur. in Eccard, i. 1895-7; Wadding; Mosh. Hist. Eccl. Tart. 111, seqq. There were some Englishmen among these missionaries. Mosh. 112-13, 131.

of all foreigners; in consequence of which the Christianity of China soon became extinct.[d]

The great Asiatic conqueror Timur (or Tamerlane) appears to have observed an equivocal policy in matters of religion, and is described by some as friendly to Christians;[e] but, whatever his own belief may have been, he outwardly, and as a matter of policy, at least, conformed to Islam.[f] At the end of the period, a few scattered communities, chiefly Nestorian, were all that remained to represent the Christianity of Asia.

IV. In Europe the end of the fourteenth century witnessed the conversion of the last considerable people which had until then professed heathenism. Lithuania,[g] under its great-prince Jagello, had by conquests from Russia become a kingdom in all but name. In 1382 Jagello, whose mother had been a Christian, made proposals of marriage to Hedwig, who by the death of her father, Lewis, king of Hungary and Poland, had become heiress of the latter kingdom. He offered that he and all his people should be baptized, and that his territories should be united with Poland. The advantages of this arrangement outweighed both the contract into which she had already entered with an Austrian prince, and her personal dislike of Jagello.[h] Jagello was baptized by the name of Ladislaus.[i] Bishopricks were established at Wilna and in seven other towns; and the king set vigorously about the fulfilment of his promise as to the

[d] Schröckh, xxx. 525.

[e] Antonin. 454. See Th. Niem, ii. 29, 30; iii. 42.

[f] Mosh. Hist. Tart. 116-29; Schröckh, xxx. 526. There is a letter of Henry IV. congratulating Timur on his victory over Bajazet; and in other letters there is frequent mention of an Englishman, named John Greenlaw, as "archbishop of the east." Pauli, v. 65.

[g] As to earlier dealings with this country, see Rayn. 1323. 19; 1324. 45, seqq. It was said that the Teutonic order cared more for getting tribute from their neighbours as heathens than for converting and emancipating them. Joh. Vitodur. 1874.

[h] Rayn. 1382. 26; 1386. 14; Schröckh xxx. 493-4.

[i] Rayn. 1386.

conversion of his people. These were at first unwilling to change their religion; but when they saw temples and altars overthrown, the sacred groves cut down, and the serpents which had been objects of worship killed, their faith in their old gods was shaken, and they rushed to baptism in such multitudes that it was found necessary to lead them in companies to the bank of the river, where a whole band was sprinkled at once, and all the members of it received the same baptismal name.[k] Ladislaus himself travelled about the country, teaching the Lord's prayer and the decalogue; and the work of conversion was forwarded by the white woollen dresses, of Polish manufacture, which were bestowed on the neophytes.[l] Although, however, the profession of Christianity thus became general in Lithuania, Æneas Sylvius cites a Camaldolese monk, named Jerome of Prague, who visited the country in the beginning of the fifteenth century, as testifying that the worship of fire and of serpents was still widely kept up in it.[m]

The conversion of the Finns and of the Laplanders is also referred to this period; but it would seem to have hardly reached more deeply than to the reception of baptism, and of the priestly benediction in marriage.[n]

[k] Rayn. 1387. 15; Schröckh, xxx. 494-5. See above, vol. iv. p. 81.

[l] Rayn. 1387. 15; Schröckh, xxx. 494-6. See vol. iii. p. 468.

[m] De Europa, c. 26, pp. 417-18. This Jerome afterwards took part in the council of Basel. See below, Book IX. c. 1; Ambros. Camald. Epp. i. 2; v. 28; xx. 15-17, 24, etc. (Martene, Coll. Ampl. iii.)

[n] Schröckh, xxx. 499.

CHAPTER X.

SECTARIES—MYSTICS.

I. While the church was agitated by the reforming movements of Wyclif and Hus, some of the older parties which had incurred its condemnation continued to exist, and to draw on themselves fresh censures and penalties.

The Cathari, although almost extinguished in southern France by the wars of the thirteenth century, and by the relentless vigilance of the inquisition,[a] were very numerous in Bosnia and the neighbouring regions;[b] and the popes found little inclination on the part of successive kings of Hungary to exert themselves for the suppression of the sect.[c]

The Waldenses also, as appears from the records of the inquisition of Toulouse, were among the victims of that tribunal.[d] They are found in other parts of France,[e] as also in Germany, where many of them suffered death as heretics;[f] and it appears to have been in the beginning of this time that they made their way in considerable numbers into the valleys of Piedmont,[g] where fanciful history and impossible etymology represent them

[a] Giesel. II. iii. 301. See the 'Liber Sententiarum Inquisitionis Tolosanæ,' 1307-23, annexed to Limborch's 'Hist. Inquisitionis.' The cagots, in a letter addressed to Leo X., in 1514, claimed to be descended from the cathari. Giesel. l. c.

[b] Of this sort were perhaps the heretics in Austria who are mentioned by John of Winterthur, in Eccard, i. 1834. Many of them were burnt.

[c] Rayn. 1340. 73, etc.; Giesel. II. iii. 301-2.

[d] See, for the cases of Waldenses, as distinguished from others, the table opposite p. 1 of the Lib. Sentent.; and Maitland, 'Facts and Documents, 218.

[e] Gregory XI. complains of them to the king of France as existing in Dauphiny, Savoy, etc., and as favoured by the nobles. Rayn. 1373. 20; 1375. 26; Wadd. 1375. 12, seqq.

[f] Giesel. II. iii. 333-4; Mailáth, i. 192.

[g] Giesel. 303. The first mention of them in the diocese of Turin is in a decree of Otho IV., A.D. 1198, authorizing the bishop to extirpate these "tares"; but it does not appear in

as having lived even from the time of the apostles.[h] In the years 1402-3, the famous Spanish Dominican Vincent Ferrer was employed in that region for the conversion of the sectaries, among whom he says that there were Cathari as well as Waldenses;[i] but, although his eloquence is said to have been accompanied by miraculous circumstances—that the most distant persons in his audience heard him as distinctly as the nearest, and that his preaching was understood by all, although they might be ignorant of the language in which he spoke—its force was not sufficient to root out the opinions against which it was directed.[k] There was much persecution of the Waldenses in northern Italy during the

what part of that large diocese they were. There are some traces of them in the same region during the thirteenth century, and in 1312 they were numerous in certain valleys—their "chapters" being sometimes attended by 500 persons. (Herzog, xvii. 516.) In 1332, John XXII. complains that they had killed a parish-priest whom they suspected of having given information against them to the inquisitor, and had besieged the inquisitor himself in a castle. Wadd. 1332. 6.

[h] See vol. v. p. 327.

[i] Acta SS. Apr. 5, 480; Rayn. 1403. 24. Vincent Ferrer was born in 1357, died in 1419, and was canonized by Pius II. in 1458. Acta SS. 478, 522. See, however, as to dates, Quetif-Echard, i. 763-4.

[k] The miracle as to language is variously related. Nicolas of Clemanges says that Vincent (whose piety he highly extols), immediately on landing in Italy, spoke Italian like a native, and that while speaking in Italian he was understood by persons who knew nothing of the language. (Ep. 113.) But, according to his biographer in the Acta SS. (c. 14), he always preached in his native tongue, which persons unacquainted with it heard as if it were their own. The like is related of St Antony of Padua (Ib. June 13, p. 216; Hist. Litt. xxiv. 105), and of St. Bernardine of Feltre (Wadding, xiv. 432) To a reader who looks slightly at Vincent's sermons, one of the most striking things is the coolness with which he passes off legendary tales—or possibly his own inventions—as if they were authentic scripture. Thus, in a sermon on the institution of the Lord's Supper, we read—"Et communicavit seipsum, sicut sacerdos se communicat, deinde alios; nec frangendo placentulam frangebatur corpus Christi sicut modo frangitur imago in fractione speculi. Deinde communicavit apostolos, dicens, 'Accipite et manducate, hoc est corpus meum.' 'Domine, dixit Petrus, 'iste panis est corpus vestrum?' 'Petre,' dixit Christus, 'non est panis, sed est corpus meum ideo communica.' Dixit Petrus postquam communicavit, 'O Domine, iste cibus me comfortavit totum, et animam meam illuminavit.' Tunc dixit Christus sibi, 'Ego do vobis potestatem idem faciendi.' Communicavit etiam Judam, etc." (Sermones, Pars Hyemalis, 724, ed. Antv. 1572.) In the next sermon there is a very strange narrative as the blessed Virgin and the preparations for the last supper.

fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and in consequence of this many fled to Apulia and Calabria,[l] where their settlements continued to exist, until in 1560 they were exterminated by a massacre which is one of the blackest crimes connected with the suppression of the reformation in Italy.[m]

II. Other parties of separatists from the church were spoken of under the general name of beghards, which in Italy, Spain, and southern France, commonly designated fraticelli,[n] but in Germany and Flanders the sectaries of the "Free Spirit."[o] Of these Cologne was the chief seat, and many of them suffered there[p] and in other towns of the Rhine country.[q] The secret progress of their pantheistic and immoral doctrines was favoured by the difficulty of distinguishing between such beghards and the harmless devotees who were confounded with them under a common name; while the more dangerous class studied to conceal their peculiarities by affecting a likeness in dress and manners to those beghards and béguines whom the popes by repeated declarations endeavoured to preserve from molestation.[r] It is, indeed, probable that societies of beghards which were originally orthodox became gradually corrupted by the secret introduction of unsound opinions.[s] The name

[l] Herzog, xvii. 517-18.

[m] Giesel. III. i. 511.

[n] Ib. II. iii. 304-5; Eymeric, 281, 441; Liber Sentent. 298; Baluz. Misc. i. 481; ii. 288, 581, seqq., etc. See Mosheim de Beghardis. c. iv. Wadding labours anxiously, but in vain, to deny the Franciscan origin of the fraticelli; *e.g.* 1317. 25-45.

[o] J. Vitodur. in Eccard, i. 1906; Clementin. V. iii. 3; Rayn. 1312. 17, seqq.; Mosh. de Begh. 254, seqq.; Giesel. II. iii. 223, 306. For the sect of the Free Spirit, see vol. vi. p. 391.

[p] J. Vitodur, 1814.

[q] Mosh. de Begh. 270, 295, seqq.; Giesel. II. iii. 305-7. See as to count Ulric of Schaumburg, a great Austrian noble who belonged to this sect, Mailáth, i. 162. A bishop of Magdeburg, having discovered some women "de alto Spiritu" in 1336, imprisoned them for a short time, and having thus brought them to recant, set them at liberty. Mosh. 298.

[r] See vol. vi. p. 388; Giesel. II. iii. 220, 222, 306.

[s] Lechler, i. 159.

of Lollards, which eventually marked the followers of Wyclif, is found as early as 1309, when it seems to be applied to the sect of the Free Spirit in Holland and Brabant,[t] and was used indifferently with that of beghard.[u] Another name given to sectaries of the same kind was that of turlupins; those who were so styled in the Isle of France, about the year 1372, are described as having held that nothing which is natural is matter for shame;[x] and a woman of the sect, Mary of Valenciennes, is spoken of by Gerson as having written a book "with almost infinite subtlety" on the text, "Have charity, and do what thou wilt."[y]

III. The popes laboured to secure the co-operation of the secular power for the suppression of heresy. We have seen how, in a former age, the emperor Frederick II. attempted to rescue his own reputation for orthodoxy by the severity of his laws and proceedings against sectaries;[z] and in other cases the opposite motive of a desire to stand well with the papacy led to a course which was practically the same. Thus the emperor Charles IV., in the code which has from him the name of *Carolina*, ordered that obstinate heretics should be made over by the secular to the ecclesiastical authorities, in order to be burnt, and that receivers of heretics should forfeit their property; but the opposition of the Bohemians was so decided that these severe laws could not be put into execution.[a]

[t] See above, p 295; Giesel. III. ii. 221.

[u] Mosh. 279.

[x] "De nulla re naturaliter data erubescendum esse." Gerson, Serm. de S. Ludov., Opp. iii. 1345; cf. De Exam. Doctrin. ib. i. 19; Bayle, art. *Turlupins;* Mosh. 413, 416, seqq.

[y] "Adducens pro se illud ab apostolo [?] sumptum—*Charitatem habe, et fac quod vis.*" (Gers. De libris caute legendis. Opp. i. 55.) A party in Ireland, A.D. 1335, is said to have maintained that Christ suffered for his own sins, and to have denied the authority of the pope and the virtue of the sacraments. Theiner, Monum. 269, 299.

[z] Vol. iii. p. 158, 380.

[a] Pelzel, i. 317; Schröckh, xxxiv. 466-7.

The inquisition was now extended in Germany, France, Spain, Poland, and other countries.[b] Boniface VIII. had endeavoured to regulate its proceedings, and Clement V., at the council of Vienne, found himself obliged to admit that in many cases the inquisitors had given just cause of complaint. He therefore decreed that the bishops should be associated with these, who had until then been independent of the episcopal power; and while each of the orders was authorized to proceed in some respects without reference to the other, the co-operation of both bishops and inquisitors was in some cases required.[c] In some countries, such as England, however, the inquisition was never able to establish itself;[d] and elsewhere, as in the south of France, it found itself hampered by the unwillingness of the secular authorities to assist, by their interference with its sentences, or even by their direct opposition.[e] To the questions of heresy which had engaged the labours of the inquisitors was added in Germany the duty of inquiring into the practice of witchcraft.[f] The belief and the fear of this unhallowed art became rife,[g] and secular authorities, as well as those of the church, concerned themselves with discovering and punishing those who were supposed to be guilty of it.[h] Multitudes of wretches

[b] Schröckh, xxxiii. 472. Among the books destroyed by inquisitors were poems of the Carolingian cycle, in which the clergy were satirized. Hist. Litt. xxiv. 97.

[c] Clementin. V. iii. 1.

[d] See a letter from Benedict XII. to Edward III. in Rayn. 1335. 60.

[e] Martin, v. 309. Eymeric gives forms for excommunication of secular officials who abet heretics or refuse to aid the inquisition; also a form of interdict on the places where such persons have authority. 396, seqq., 560-2.

[f] Eymeric, 335; Glossa Archidiac. in VI. Decret. ib. 202; Schröckh, xxxiii. 168; see Janus, 275, seqq.

[g] Nic. de Clemangis, de Studio Theol. in D'Achery, i. 479; W. Nang. contin. ib. iii. 81; Gerson, i. 210, seqq.

[h] Hase, 337. It is not clear whether we should range under the head of heresy or under that of witchcraft the fate of Cecco [*i.e* Francis] of Ascoli, who in 1327 was burnt at Florence by the inquisition for a tract in which he applied principles of fatalism, derived from astrology, to the coming of antichrist and of the Saviour. (G. Villani, x. 39.) Sometimes the aid of sorcery was called in for purposes which in themselves were lawful. A council at Langres directs that people should be

suffered in consequence—many of them after having confessed the commission of monstrous and impossible crimes.[i] One writer reckons the number of sorcerers who were burnt within a century and a half at 30,000, or more, and believes that but for this wholesome severity the entire world would have been ruined by magical practices.[k]

IV. The practice of associating for penitential flagellation, which had been suppressed in the thirteenth century on account of the fanatical excesses connected with it,[l] was still revived from time to time. In seasons of public calamity, when trust in the ordinary resources of the church was shaken, this exercise was again and again taken up by multitudes as a more powerful means of propitiating the wrath of heaven.[m] The appearance of a flagellant party after the ravages of the Black Death, and the condemnation of flagellancy by Clement VI., have been already related.[n] One Conrad Schmidt, a Thuringian, on finding the principle of flagellation thus

taught that a good object, such as recovery of a child's health, or of stolen things, as church-plate, etc., does not excuse resort to unhallowed arts. (Rayn. 1404. 22.) See as to the pretensions, failure, and punishment of two persons, professedly Austin friars, who undertook to cure Charles VI. of his madness, Monach. Sandionys. xviii. 2; xix. 10; Juv. des Ursins, 136.

[i] For instance, a woman who was burnt at Toulouse in 1275 confessed "se multoties rem veneream cum Sathana habuisse, et ex eo monstrum peperisse, cujus caput erat lupinum, cauda serpentina, et reliquiæ partes corporis similes membris hominis; illudque monstrum nutrivisse per duos annos carnibus infantum anniculorum, quos nocte furabatur, et post duos illos annos monstrum illud aufugisse, et visum amplius non fuisse; se monstruosum hunc partum edidisse anno ætatis 53, quo tempore vidua erat." (Chron. Will. Bardin, in Hist. de Langued. t. iv. Preuves, col. 5.) There is curious matter in the proceedings against Dame Alice Kyteler by Richard Ledrede, bishop of Ossory, 1324 (published by the Camden Society). It appears that this bishop (who held his see forty-two years) was fond of charging people groundlessly with witchcraft and heresy. See the letter from Edward III. to Innocent VI. (about 1358), begging that he may be set aside. Letters from Northern Registers (Chron. and Mem.), 403-6.

[k] Paramus, Inquis. Sicula, quoted by Rayn. 1404. 23.

[l] See vol. vi. p. 237.

[m] Schröckh, xxxiii. 447; Giesel. II. iii. 313.

[n] Pp. 124-5.

discountenanced by the church, developed it into a system hostile both to the clergy and to their doctrines.[o] He taught that flagellation was a baptism of blood; that it superseded the sacraments and other rites of the church, which were said to be ineffectual on account of the vices of the clergy; that salvation was possible for such persons only as should flog themselves at least on every Friday at the hour of the Saviour's passion; that this was the new faith which saved all, whereas the old faith of the gospel condemned all; that the Saviour, by changing water into wine, had signified that in the last days the baptism of water was to be superseded by the baptism of blood.[p] The party claimed to represent the flagellants of sixty years before, from which time it was that they supposed the ministry and sacraments of the church to have lost their power. They had wild prophetical fancies—that Conrad Schmidt himself and one of his associates, who was burnt as a heretic, were Enoch and Elijah—the souls of those ancient saints having been infused into them at their birth; and that at the last day, which was fixed for the year 1364, Schmidt was to be the judge of the quick and the dead. With these and other strange opinions were combined the principles of dissimulation and evasion which are imputed to many kinds of sectaries; the flagellants were confounded with other parties under the general name of beghards; and their rule required them to conform outwardly to the church, and to punish themselves by stripes in secret for this compliance.[q] In 1372 Gregory XI. instructed an inquisitor in Germany that these people should be treated as heretics on account of their

[o] Th. Vrie, in V. d. Hardt, i. 86; Giesel. II. iii. 316-17.

[p] Gobel. Pers. 336; Giesel. II. iii. 17.

[q] Th. Vrie, in V. d. Hardt, i. 86-7, 126; Gobel. Pers. 336; Förstemann, 163; Giesel. II. iii. 319. One odd precept was that the best way of giving alms was in the shape of *hot* bread (Genesis xviii. 6 I). Ib. 318.

denial of the sacraments;[r] and this order was carried out at various times by burning many of them. Perhaps the most remarkable persecution was that of 1414, when about ninety of Schmidt's adherents were burnt at Sängershausen in Thuringia, and many others in other German towns.[s]

In Italy also the same fanaticism appeared from time to time.[t] And in 1399 a great movement—excited by two priests who are variously described as having come from Spain, from Provence, and from Scotland—began in Lombardy, whence it proceeded southwards to Florence, Rome, and Naples. The penitents professed to have received a revelation from the blessed Virgin that her Divine Son's wrath was provoked by the sins of mankind. They were dressed in white, and the numbers of their various companies, in which persons of all ranks were mixed, are reckoned at from 10,000 to 40,000. They chanted the *Stabat Mater* with vehement supplications for mercy; they declined all sustenance except bread and water, fasted much, and refused to make use of beds during the time of their pilgrimage. When one company had finished its devotions at Rome, it was succeeded by another. Multitudes were drawn to join the penitents; there was a profuse show of contrition in confessing of sins, enemies were reconciled, and in other ways there was much amendment of life. But Boniface IX. condemned the movement as being opposed to the

[r] Rayn. 1372. 33.

[s] Th. Vrie, in V. d. Hardt, i. 126 (where, after the church had complained of the flagellants, the Saviour is represented as consoling her by mentioning these burnings); Gobel. Pers. 337; Giesel. II. iii. 318.

[t] *E.g.*, Murat. Antiq. Ital. vi. 479; Cron. di S. Miniato, in Baluz. Misc. i. 458 (A.D. 1311). Innocent VI. wrote in 1361 to the archbishops of Benevento, Naples, and Salerno about a similar affair. Theodoric of Niem connects the white penitents with some 'trufatores' who found their way from Scotland to Italy, where they made crucifixes sweat by tricks, and drew many persons into fanaticism which ended in licentiousness. One of them was burnt at Acquapendente, and the others contrived to escape. ii. 26. See Murat.

discipline of the church; and its good effects soon passed away.[u] About the same time there was a fresh outbreak of flagellation in Flanders,[x] and Henry IV. of England issued a proclamation by which it was ordered that, if any of the party should arrive in an English port, they should not be suffered to land.[y]

A few years later, St. Vincent Ferrer appeared as the leader of a party of flagellants;[z] and from the fact of his countenancing such a movement we may infer that it was free from the fanatical excesses, and from the enmity to the clergy, which had marked the flagellants of earlier days. He seems, however, to have been convinced by the arguments of Gerson, and he wrote to the council of Constance that he submitted to the authority of that assembly in all things, and abandoned the manner of devotion which had been called in question.[a]

[u] Storia di Parma, in Murat. xii. 752; Annal. Mediol. ib. xvi. 832; Annal. Bergom. ib. 917-21; Sozom. Pistoriensis, ib. 1168; Chron. Placent. ib. 559; Chron. Patav. ib. xvii. 1166-8; Annal. Gennens, ib. 1170; Leon. Aret. ib. xix. 919; Chron. Aquit. in Murat. Antiq. vi. 861; Antonin. 445; Platina, 277; Walsingh. ii. 242-3; Raynald. 1400. 5; D'Argentré, I. ii. 157; Förstemann, 104, seqq. Muratori is very favourable to these penitents, and traces to them and to the earlier flagellants some confraternities which continued to exist in his own time. Antiq. Ital. vi. 474, 479-82; Annal. VIII. ii. 334-5.

[x] Corn. Zantfliet, in Martene, Coll. Ampl. v. 358. [y] Lingard, iii. 464.

[z] See Acta SS., Apr. 5, p. 492; Förstem. 147.

[a] Gerson, ii. 658, 660; P. de Alliaco, Ib. 659; Giesel. II. iii. 319; Förstem. 148-52, 158; Heller, in Herzog. art. *Ferrer*. Vincent was invited to the council, partly on account of this question, and partly in the hope of using his influence over Benedict XIII., but he did not attend it in person. (Schwab, 709.) Gerson pays him the compliment of saying that his name and his spiritual conquests seem to show that he is figured by him who in the Apocalypse (vi. 2) is described as riding on a white horse, "et data est ei corona, et exiit vincens, ut vinceret." (ii. 658.) Somewhat akin to the practices of the flagellants was the "dancing mania" which broke out in 1374. At Aix-la-Chapelle and elsewhere, men and women, holding each other by the hands, danced and leaped until they were exhausted —calling, it is said, on names of devils, "videlicet *Friskes* et similia." At Liége, the common people believed this to be a judgment because they had been badly baptized by concubinary priests, against whom they were about to direct their vengeance; but the clergy had recourse to exorcisms, by which the dancers were brought to a right mind. They then accounted for their leaping by saying that they had fancied themselves in a river of blood; whereupon the clergy were more honoured than before. (Pet. Herentals, in Baluz. Vitæ Pap. Aven. i. 484-5

V. Very different in character from these wilder movements was the mysticism which now appeared as prevailing widely in Germany. The origin and growth of this may be in no small degree referred to the peculiar troubles of the time. The clergy sank in estimation, and hence many persons of a religious disposition, as well as others, became inclined to disparage the outward forms of religion. The abuse of the sentence of interdict, which was now often pronounced for reasons merely political—a sentence which involved multitudes of innocent persons in suffering for the alleged guilt of their superiors, and which, by denying the ordinary means of grace, drove the awakened cravings of the soul to seek for sustenance elsewhere—contributed greatly to foster the mystic tendency. And the expectation that the end of all things would speedily come, the eager study of such prophecies as those of St. Hildegard and abbot Joachim, the readiness to believe in visions and new revelations, affected the mind in a similar way.[b]

Some of these mystics styled themselves "Friends of God"—a name derived from the Saviour's words "Henceforth I call you not servants; but I have called you friends."[c] They abounded chiefly on the upper Rhine, especially at Basel and Strasburg; but they had also correspondence with brethren in Switzerland, Italy, and Hungary, at Cologne, and in the Low Countries.[d] It has been disputed whether the name designated an organised society, connected with the Waldenses or other sectaries who were avowedly separated from the church;

Herm. Corn. in Eccard, ii. 1126; Hist. Monast. S. Laurent. Leod. in Mart. Coll. Ampl. iv. 1118; Förstem. 224; cf. C. Zantfliet in Mart. Coll. Ampl. v. 301.) This dancing was called after St. Vitus, because, on a renewal of it at Strasburg, in 1418, the affected persons were carried for cure to two chapels in the neighbourhood, dedicated to that saint. Giesel. II. iii. 282; Hecker, Epidem. of Middle Ages, tr. by Babington, ed. 3, 74-84; Förstem. 235.

[b] Neand. ix. 550.

[c] Ib. 551. (St. John xv. 15.)

[d] C. Schmidt, 'Die Gottesfreunde im XIV. Jahrhundert,' Jena, 1854; 'Nicolaus von Basel,' Vienna, 1866, p. 30.

but this idea seems to be now abandoned. The "friends of God" were not a sect, although liable to be mistaken for sectaries, and involved by the vulgar in the general odium of beghardism. The visions and revelations on which they relied[e] are foreign to the character of the Waldensian system.[f] While judging the clergy freely, they did not venture to question the doctrine of the church. They were devoted to the blessed Virgin,[g] they reverenced saints and relics, they held the current belief in purgatory. Their love of symbolism enabled them to reconcile the ordinary faith and worship with the peculiarities of their own system, which they regarded as additional, but not contradictory, to that of the church.[h]

In this society were included monks and clergy, nobles, merchants, men and women of all classes, even down to tillers of the soil.[i] They had priests to administer the eucharist, but in other respects they did not attach importance to ordination.[k] Thus Nicolas of Basel, a layman, who had founded the party, was regarded as its chief, and as its most enlightened member; and one of its characteristics was the principle of submission to certain men whose superior sanctity had raised them to the highest class, and invested them with oracular authority, "as in God's stead."[l] The "friends," while professing to be purely scriptural, interpreted the Scriptures allegorically and mystically, and some parts of their system were

[e] C. Schmidt's 'Tauler,' 165, 168; Gottesfr. 13-14.

[f] Giesel. II. iii. 244-5, 251; Milm. vi. 374. This Dr. Schmidt acknowledges (Gottesfr. 7), after having maintained the opposite view in his book on Tauler (161, 194-5); and he gives up the distinction which he (Tauler, 27; cf. Hahn, ii. 356) formerly drew between the friends who were in communion with the church and those whom he supposed to be sectaries. See, too, his book on Nicolas of Basel, p. 10.

[g] See the strange fanciful account of her devotions in Tauler's sermon on the Purification.

[h] Schmidt, Tauler, 166; Gottesfr. 8; Neand. ix. 554. See also Schmidt's article *Gottesfreunde*, in Herzog.

[i] Schmidt, Tauler, 169.

[k] Id., Gottesfr. 15-16; Nic. v. Basel, 30.

[l] Ib. 16-18. See Giesel. II. iii. 250; Neand. ix. 560; Schmidt's Tauler, 196.

concealed from the lower grades of believers by being disguised in a symbolical form.[m] They denounced the subtleties and the dryness of scholasticism, and regarded the mixture of philosophy with religion as pharisaical.[n] Their preachers were distinguished by the warmth, the earnestness, and the practical nature of their discourses; instead of contenting themselves, as was then common, with warning against the grossest sins by the fear of hell, they rather dwelt on the blessedness of heaven, and exhorted to the perfection of the Christian life, and to union with God.[o] They taught that these objects were to be sought by entire resignation to the Divine will; if such resignation were attained, men would pray neither for heaven nor for deliverance from hell, but for God Himself alone.[p] Hence they did not, like the monks, break away from their earthly ties, but regarded these as the providential conditions under which their work was to be carried on; and although some of them gave themselves to contemplation, the principle of resignation to God's will became an incentive to action for others, whom it taught to regard themselves as instruments for the fulfilment of that will.[q] It was held that the highest reach of love was to prefer the salvation of another to our own.[r]

On the same principle of resignation, it was taught that all temptations ought to be welcomed; even sensual temptations were to be regarded as a check on spiritual pride, and to be without temptation was a token of being forsaken by God.[s] All bodily discipline was represented as designed for spiritual purposes, and as marking a stage after passing through which such things would not be necessary for the believer. But sufferings of God's sending were always to be gladly accepted.[t]

[m] Schmidt's Gottesfr. 8, 15.
[n] Id., Tauler, 165.
[o] Neand. ix. 552.
[p] Schmidt, Tauler, 195; Gottesfr. 9.
[q] Ib. 9-11.
[r] Tauler, quoted by Schmidt, 166.
[s] Schmidt, Gottesfr. 12-13.
[t] Ib. 11-12; Neand. ix. 555, 590-1

The history of Nicolas, the founder of this remarkable society, is for the most part very obscure. His very name is discoverable by inference only, and in his accounts of himself there is so large a mixture of visionary, marvellous, and allegorical matter, that it is impossible to determine how much is intended to be accepted as literal truth.[u] He was born about 1308, the son of a merchant, to whose business he succeeded; but the companionship of a young knight induced him to withdraw from trade, and for a time to engage in the amusements of the world. On the eve of the day appointed for his marriage, he prayed for direction before a crucifix; when it seemed to him that the figure inclined towards him, and, in obedience to this sign, he resolved to give up the world and to follow the Saviour.[x] He did not, however, renounce his wealth, but keeping it in his own hands he devoted it to religious purposes.[y] He appears to have had at first four associates, and eventually the number of those admitted to the highest[z] grade was thirteen.[a] From Basel the headquarters of the party were removed in 1374-5 to a mountain within the Austrian-Swiss territory, where he built a house on a site which is said to have been miraculously indicated by a vision, and by the leading of a dog;[b] and thence Nicolas kept up, by means of correspondence and of secret intelligencers, a watchful superintendence over his widely-spread connection. "The great friend of God in the Hill-country," as he was styled, threw around himself an air of mystery; and when he went forth to work on persons who had been marked out as fit subjects for his influence, he was able, by means of his private information, to astonish and awe them by a knowledge of

Tauler, Predigten, i. 63, 108, ed. Kuntze, Berl. 1841-2 (a modernized ed.).

[u] Schmidt, 'Nicolaus,' xii.-xv.

[x] Ib. 3-4.

[y] Ib. 5.

[z] Schmidt, Gottesfr. 18; Nic. v. Basel, 28-30.

[a] Gottesfr. 18, and Append. 176.

[b] Nic. v. Basel, 33. Dr. Schmidt supposes this place to have been Herrgottswald or Hergiswald, on the slope of Mount Pilate. 34, 74.

their concerns which they readily believed to be supernatural.[c] In 1377, when the return of Gregory XI. from Avignon appeared to open prospects of reform, Nicolas and one of his brethren repaired to Rome, and sought an interview with the pope, whom they urged to heal the evils of the church. On Gregory's professing himself unequal to such a work, Nicolas threatened him with death within a year, and foretold the coming schism; and his predictions were, of course, fulfilled.[d] At length Nicolas, after many years of labour, was burnt as a beghard at Vienna, probably in the year 1393.[e]

It was from the Dominican brotherhood that most of the great teachers of mysticism came forth.[f] The first of them, Henry Eckart, became provincial of the order for Saxony in 1304, and lived at Cologne.[g] With Eckart, the great object of endeavour is represented to be the union and identification of the soul with God, whom he speaks of as the only being. By contemplation, he says, the divine part of the soul may become one with God, and son to Him; the soul is transformed into God even as the eucharistic bread and wine are changed into the body and blood of the Saviour.[h] The word which Eckart used to denote the desire of this union was *poverty*, by which was expressed the fact that man has nothing of his own;[i] in order to attain to the pure knowledge of

[c] Nic. v. Basel, 13, 30, 32.

[d] Gottesfr. 21-3, 178; Nic. v. Basel, 39-41. Gregory is reported to have said, "If you could give the emperor as good counsels as you have given me, it would be of great benefit to Christendom."

[e] Giesel. II. iii. 198; Schmidt's Tauler, 198-205—on the authority of John Nieder, prior of the Dominicans at Basel, about 1430, and author of a book entitled 'Formicarius.' The printed copies read 'Wiennæ in Pictavensi,' but no such place is known in the region of Poitiers; and the true reading is ascertained from a MS. to be *Pataviensi*. Ullmann, ii. 22-9; Schmidt, Nic. v. Basel, 50.

[f] Pfeiffer, 'Die Deutschen Mystiker,' Einleit. 9.

[g] Martensen, 'Meister Eckart,' Hamburg. 1832; Ritter, viii. 498-515; Bach, 'Meister Eckhart, der Vater der deutschen Speculation,' Wien, 1864, p. 51. His writings are in vol. ii. of Pfeiffer's 'Deutsche Mystiker.'

[h] Giesel. II. iii. 245-6; Neand. ix. 571; Martensen, 9; Bach, 53.

[i] So Tauler's 'Nachfolgung des

God, all joy and fear, all confidence and hope, must be laid aside; for all these are of the creature, and are hindrances to union.[k] Eckart's mysticism was largely indebted to the works of the pretended Dionysius the Areopagite, and had much in common with Neoplatonism.[l] His language often runs into manifest pantheism;[m] but, although in this respect he bears a likeness to the sectaries of the Free Spirit, he was in no way connected with them, but differed essentially from them in his ardent desire for the salvation of the soul, and in his freedom from the impurity which stained their teaching.[n] There was, however enough to draw on him the suspicion of heterodoxy; and, after a previous examination by the authorities of his order in 1324, the matter was taken up by the archbishop of Cologne, who in 1327 censured twenty-eight propositions extracted from his writings.[o] These Eckart retracted in so far as they might be contrary to the doctrine of the church; but a more special retractation was required, and against this demand he appealed to the pope.[p] By this step he appears to have secured himself from further trouble, until his death in 1329;[q] but in that same year he was condemned by John XXII., as having held twenty-eight erroneous propositions.[r] It would seem, however, that the Dominicans exerted themselves in favour of his memory; for although the pope, in the following year, by the bull '*In agro Dominico*,' renewed his censure of the propositions, it may be supposed that by omitting to connect the name of Eckart with them, he intended (in

armen Lebens Christi' is founded on the idea of poverty.

[k] Martens. 37.

[l] Giesel. II. iii. 245.

[m] See passages quoted by Neand. ix. 569; Ullmann, ii. 22-9; and Giesel. II. iii. 246.

[n] Ib. 245-8; Neand. ix. 572-9; Martens. 37; Bach, 57. Gieseler (p. 249) supposes that the sectaries of the Free Spirit took advantage of Eckart's fame to pass off in his name a book 'Of the Nine Rocks' different from that of Rulman Merswin which is mentioned below.

[o] Giesel. II. iii. 247; Martensen, 12; Bach, 56.

[p] Ib. 56.

[q] Ib. 57.

[r] Rayn. 1329. 70-2.

so far as retractation was possible for a pope) to withdraw the charge against him.[s]

Notwithstanding the suspicions which had been cast on Eckart's orthodoxy, his writings continued to be the chief study of the later mystics, among whom John Tauler was the most famous.[t] Tauler was born at Strasburg in 1294, and at the age of eighteen entered the Dominican order. He studied for some time at Paris, although it is not known whether it was to that university that he owed his degree of doctor in theology; and in the course of his studies he showed a preference for the mystical and spiritual writers—the pseudo-Dionysius, the school of St. Bernard, and, above all, St. Augustine—over the scholastic authors who were then of greatest authority.[u] On returning to his native city he fell under the influence of Eckart and other mystics, which was then powerful at Strasburg; yet, unlike Eckart, he was inclined rather to practical work than to speculation,[x] and he often denounces the mistaken contemplativeness and the passive quietism which he regarded as perversions of the true mysticism; for in this he held that love for man ought to go hand-in-hand with the aspiration after union with God.[y]

Strasburg was then agitated by the differences between the pope and the emperor Lewis, so that, while the bishop adhered to the pope, the citizens, by siding with the emperor, incurred the sentence of interdict.[z] In consequence of this, the clergy were divided: while some shut up their churches, others, in defiance of the interdict, deemed it their duty to continue their pastoral

[s] Giesel. II. iii. 249. Bach disagrees with this inference. 57.

[t] See C. Schmidt's 'Jo. Tauler von Strassburg,' Hamb. 1841, with the same writer's article *Tauler*, in Herzog's Encyclopædia, and the Life prefixed to a translation of some of Tauler's sermons by Miss Winkworth, Lond. 1857. Tauler styles Eckart "der berühmte Lehrer Eccardus." Predigten, i. 63.

[u] Schmidt, 2.

[x] Ib. 3-6.

[y] *E.g.*, Predigten, i. 75, 241-2.

[z] Schmidt, 8-14.

labours. In such circumstances it was natural that persons of all classes should be drawn together by the desire of finding some satisfaction for their spiritual needs, to which the church appeared to deny the means of support; and thus the association of the "friends of God" became greatly increased in numbers.[a] Among the clergy who remained at their posts was Tauler, although the brethren of his order in general left the town. The circumstances of the time gave him prominence; he became famous as a preacher, and in that character he extended his labours on the one side to Basel (where, as at Strasburg, the imperialist citizens had been laid under an interdict by the bishop), and on the other side to Cologne; the fame of his eloquence even made its way across the Alps into Italy.[b]

In 1346[c] he was visited by a layman, who had listened to several of his sermons and expressed a wish to confess to him. Tauler heard the confession, and administered the sacrament of the altar to the stranger, who afterwards visited him again, and requested him to preach on the manner of attaining the highest perfection which is possible in this life. Tauler complied, although reluctantly, and addressed to a crowded audience an earnest exhortation to renunciation of self and of self-will. Once more the layman, who had taken notes of the sermon, appeared, and told Tauler that he had come a distance of thirty miles, not so much to hear him as to give him advice; that he, the famous preacher, who had already reached his fiftieth year, was still but a man of books, a mere Pharisee. Tauler, although startled and shocked by such words, warmly thanked his monitor for having been the first to tell him of his faults, and entreated his further counsel. The stranger prescribed some ascetic

[a] Schmidt, 14-16; Milman, vi. 373.
[b] Schmidt, 16-17.
[c] See as to the date, Schmidt, 'Nic. v. Basel,' 72.

exercises ; he himself, he said, had gone through such things, but had now outgrown them, so as to need them no longer ; and he further charged Tauler to abstain for two years from preaching, from hearing confessions, and from study, shutting himself up in the seclusion of his cell. Submission to the dictates of those who were supposed to possess spiritual experience was, as we have seen, a characteristic of the "friends of God," and Tauler obeyed. The monitor was no other than Nicolas of Basel, who, in his watchful observation of all who might be supposed likely to sympathize with him, had marked Tauler during a visit which the preacher had lately made to Basel,[d] and had undertaken the journey to Strasburg for the purpose of gaining him.[e] Tauler struggled through the prescribed exercises, being upheld by the counsels of Nicolas, and even assisted by his money, while his former friends mocked at him for the change which had taken place ; but when, at the end of the two years, he attempted to resume his preaching, and his fame had drawn together a great audience, his utterance was choked by his feelings ; he burst into tears, and found himself unable to proceed. It was supposed that he had lost his senses, and his superiors forbade him the pulpit. Nicolas of Basel, on being consulted, told him that perhaps he had not yet overcome his love of self, and advised him to remain silent for some time longer ; after which, by the direction of Nicolas, Tauler asked and obtained leave to preach in Latin before the brethren of his order. In this he acquitted himself so as to raise general admiration, and the late prohibition was taken off. He resumed his public preaching, which was now marked

[d] Schmidt places this visit in 1338. Herzog, xv. 485.

[e] Nicolas is not named, but there is enough to show that he is meant. Tauler noted down the conversation at the time (Schmidt, 26-7). The truth of the story has been questioned, as by Quetif and Echard, who think it partly symbolical. i. 677.

by a warmth and a depth unknown in his earlier time: such was the effect of his first sermon that twelve persons were struck down as if dead.[f] He strenuously urged reformation, nor did he spare the faults of the clergy, so that with them he became unpopular, and he and his associates were stigmatized as beghards.[g] In addition to labouring as a preacher, Tauler wrote some German tracts, of which the most celebrated is one on 'The Imitation of the Saviour's Life of Poverty'; and he acted as the spiritual director of many persons—among whom Rulman Merswin, a wealthy retired merchant, and author of a book entitled 'The Nine Rocks,' is especially mentioned.[h]

The great pestilence of 1348 raged with such violence at Strasburg that 16,000 persons died in the city alone.[i] The interdict was still in force, and the clergy in general, professedly out of obedience to it, refrained from the exercise of their ministry. In these circumstances, Tauler and a few others, among whom was Ludolf of Saxony, prior of the Carthusian convent,[k] stepped forward, arguing that it was contrary to Scripture and to reason that, for the political offence of one man, multitudes of innocent persons should be excluded from the means of

[f] Schmidt, 36. [g] Ib. 41-3.

[h] See Schmidt, 177, seqq.; and Miss Winkworth, 144. Merswin was also under the direction of Nicolas of Basel (Giesel. II. iii. 253; Schmidt, 'Tauler,' 179, 202; Nic. v. Basel, 24). His book of 'The Nine Rocks' was written in 1352 (Schmidt, 47) and is printed with Suso's works. He complains (cc. 5-14) of degeneracy, luxury, and contempt of spiritual things, as prevailing among all classes of the clergy from the pope downwards—among monks and friars, beghards and laity. The nine rocks, each of which, as it rises higher, is steeper and harder to climb, are peopled by persons who have overcome some sins, but not all. The number on each successive rock is less than on that immediately below it; on the last of them, only three men appear, and these seem as if wasted by their toil, although inwardly shining like angels from the love that is in them.

[i] Schmidt, 45.

[k] For Ludolf, see Quetif-Echard, i. 568. He had left the Dominicans for the Carthusians, in order that he might give himself to contemplation. He is known as the author of a 'Life of Christ,' from which it has been supposed that Jeremy Taylor may have borrowed "the outline and first conception of his own book" on the subject. See Bp. Heber, in Eden's edition, i. cxxxii. Ludolf's book has lately been reprinted at Paris.

grace and from the benefit of the Redeemer's sufferings.[l] They tended the sick, aided them with spiritual counsel, administered the last consolations of religion, and buried the dead with the offices of the church. But by these and other things the bishop of Strasburg was offended, so that when Charles IV. visited the city, and reconciliation with the church was offered to the inhabitants, Tauler was required, as a suspected beghard, to give an account of his faith before the emperor.[m] The result is not recorded; but it was probably in consequence of this that he withdrew to Cologne, where he laboured zealously to correct the prevailing habits of luxury, and to counteract the teaching of the professors of the Free Spirit.[n] The time of his return to Strasburg is unknown; but he was there in 1361, when, feeling the approach of death, he invited Nicolas of Basel to visit him. In compliance with this request, Nicolas repaired to Strasburg, and during an illness of many weeks Tauler was sustained by the comfort of intercourse with the man whose influence had determined the course of his maturer spiritual life, and whom he now desired to draw up a narrative of their early intercourse, from notes which Tauler had made long before. Tauler died on the 16th of June 1361, in a garden-house of the convent in which his sister was a nun; and he has been blamed by a severe mystic for the weakness of indulging his human affections by allowing himself her society.[o]

Tauler was styled by his admirers the Illuminated (or Enlightened) Doctor. His sermons, which are the most important part of his remaining works, are characterized by deep earnestness and by an evangelical tone which,

[l] Schmidt, 51-3.

[m] Ib. 56.

[n] Ib. 59-60.

[o] See Schmidt, 62. In a fragment of a lost book by an unknown author, it is said that Tauler had to suffer in purgatory for six kinds of sins—among them, that he had "sought too much support for his nature from his sister" (Id. in Herz. xv. 487.) Dean Milman characterizes him as social, not eremitical, vi. 378.

as Luther mentions, was symbolized by his monument, on which he was represented as pointing to the Lamb of God.[p] He taught that outward austerities were to be regarded not for their own sake, but as a discipline for beginners, and would fall away of themselves from the believer in proportion as his faith became matured; that without a right heart, penance, confession, absolution, with all the intercessions of the blessed Virgin and the saints, are of no avail. While he would have all the laws of the church observed, he attaches no importance to the outward works, and even says that the believer must sometimes appear to break the laws—a principle which was, of course, liable to be perverted, as it was by the sectaries of the Free Spirit. And, while he regards the holy eucharist as the chief means of union between the believer and his Lord, he teaches that in this also the inward feeling must be regarded rather than the outward form.[q] Although fond of recondite meanings, he is free from all parade of learning; in one sermon, he announces his intention of giving up the practice of using Latin quotations, except in discourses addressed to learned hearers.[r] The writings of Tauler had much influence on the mind of Luther, who warmly expressed his obligations to them.[s] It has been said by Herder, that to read two of Tauler's sermons is to read them all;[t] yet, as has been well observed, even the monotony which

[p] See the Preface to the Sermons. The monument, erected in the church of his order (which was afterwards made over to the protestants, and was known as the "Temple neuf"), survived the destruction of that church in the siege of 1870. 'Times,' Oct. 8, 1870.

[q] Schmidt, 149-53.

[r] Predigten, i. 150.

[s] "Ich weiss zwar dass dieser Lehrer in denen Schulen derer *Theologorum* unbekandt, und deswegen vielleicht verächtlich ist, aber ich habe darinne [in seinen deutschen Reden] mehr von gründlicher und lauterer *Theologie* gefunden, als man in allen Schul-Lehrern zusammen, die auf allen *Universitäten* gelehret haben, gefunden hat, oder in ihren *Sententiis* finden kan." Bestreitung des päpstl. Ablasses. Werke, xvii. 52, ed. Leipz. 1732.

[t] Werke zur Relig. u. Theologie xiv. 181, ed. Stuttg. 1827-30.

unquestionably runs throughout them may have tended in practice to deepen the impression of his teaching.[u]

Another famous mystic, Henry von Berg, who is more generally known by the name of Suso,[x] was a Dominican of Constance, and died in 1365, in his seventieth year.[y] In an autobiography, which is probably in part imaginary, he tells us that from the age of eighteen to that of forty he disciplined himself by strict observances of devotion, by severe ascetic exercises, and even by tortures, such as that of wearing under his dress a wooden cross studded with thirty nails, of which the points were turned towards his flesh.[z] At length, when he had reduced himself by this treatment to such a degree that a continuance of it must have been fatal, he was told by an angel that he had studied long enough in the lower school, and was to be transferred to the higher, in which his sufferings would not be of his own infliction, but would come on him plentifully from men and devils.[a] The object of all he represents as being an entire abandonment and resignation of self to the Divine will, in imitation of the Saviour's example.[b] On expressing a wish to set to work, he is told that the less one does, the more hath he really done—that men ought not to act for themselves, but to cast themselves wholly on God's promises. There are stories not only of visions, but of miracles.[c] The book was drawn up by Suso for the instruction of a "spiritual daughter," whom he warns that she is soon to die; and he relates that, after her death, he had a vision of her as "passing gloriously into the pure Di-

[u] See Milman, vi. 378.

[x] This was formed from his mother's name, Seuss or Säuss, with an allusion to *süss* (sweet). It is said that the blessed Virgin changed his name to Amandus, but that out of humility he declined the use of this. Acta SS., Jan. 25; Suso's Werke, ed. Diepenbroeck, ed. 2, Ratisbon, 1837, pp. xvii.-xviii.; cf. Quetif-Echard, i. 653; Ullmann, ii. 187-203.

[y] Diepenbr. xix. Schmidt, in Herzog, art. *Suso*, makes him five years older.

[z] Cc. 12-18.

[a] Cc. 20-2.

[b] C. 21.

[c] Cc. 44-8.

vinity."[d] The principle of self-abandonment is again inculcated in Suso's book 'Of the Eternal Wisdom,' where the Saviour is introduced as conversing with His servant, and recounting the bodily and spiritual sufferings of His passion. Suso is without the manly strength of Tauler, and is distinguished chiefly by the poetical and figurative tone of his writings.[e]

The mystically speculative tendency of Eckart revived in the anonymous author of the 'German Theology,' which is supposed to be a work of this time,[f] and in John Ruysbroek, who was distinguished by the title of *Ecstatic Doctor*. Ruysbroek, who is characterized by John of Trittenheim[g] as "a man reputed to be devout, but of little learning," had been a secular priest at Brussels until the age of sixty, when he withdrew to the monastery of Grontal, of which he became prior. He professed that he never wrote a word except by inspiration of the Holy Spirit and in the especial presence of the Divine Trinity;[h] and it is related that, when he found the influence of divine grace strong on him, he used to retire to write in the depths of a wood—where his canons, uneasy at his long absence, once found him surrounded by a supernatural light, imperfectly conscious, but "inebriated by the glow of the divine sweetness."[i] Ruysbroek died in 1381, at the age of eighty-eight. His works were written in Flemish, but were translated into Latin. Ger-

[d] "Wie adelig sie in die blosse Gottheit vergangen ware." P. 172.

[e] Giesel. II. iii. 255; Schmidt, in Herzog, art. *Suso*.

[f] Luther, who first edited it, and gave it the name by which it is known, ascribed it to "a member of the Teutonic order (*ein deutscher Herr*), a priest and warden in the house of the Teutonic order at Frankfort." Others call him Eblendus or Eblandus; and some wrongly attribute the book to Tauler. But nothing is really known as to the writer. See Gieseler, II. iii. 256; Alzog, ii. 209-10. He belonged to the society of Friends of God. (Herzog, xv. 745.) Dean Milman observes that the book is remarkable not only for what it retains, but for what it omits as being no real part of Christian faith. vi. 380.

[g] De Scriptoribus Eccl. p. 332. Cf. Ullm. ii. 36, seqq.

[h] Giesel. II. iii. 257.

[i] Schröckh, xxxiv. 274-6.

son, who, as a nominalist, was alarmed by their mystic realism, denounced them as pantheistic,[k] and on this account became involved in a controversy with John of Schönhofen, a canon of Grontal, who, among other things, charged him with having too much relied on the Latin translation.[l]

Gerson himself endeavoured to unite mysticism with scholasticism, so as to exclude the dangers of unrestrained imagination and fanaticism;[m] and to him has been attributed by some writers the authorship of the most celebrated devotional book of the middle ages—the treatise 'Of the Imitation of Christ.' But this supposition appears rather to have been suggested by the patriotic desire of French writers to claim for one of their own countrymen a work so justly admired than to rest on any solid basis of facts. And the slightly different name of John Gers*e*n, which has been put forward by other writers on the ground of inscriptions in some manuscript copies of the book, would seem to be really nothing more than a mistake for that of the famous chancellor of Paris. The popular opinion, which ascribes the 'Imitation' to Thomas Hamerken of Kempten, a canon regular of Zwoll, who died in 1471, appears, therefore, to be the most probable.[n] The tone of the 'Imitation' is strongly mystical, yet no less practical—setting forth religious practice as the way to

[k] Opera, i. 59; Giesel. II. iii. 259; Schwab, 358. He styles Ruysbroek a beghard, but incorrectly, according to Mosheim, De Begh. et Beguin. 309.

[l] The tract is in Gerson's Works, i. 63-78, and is followed by Gerson's rejoinder. See D'Argentré, I. ii. 152; Mosh. de Begh. 311; Ullm. ii. 47-8; Schwab, 359, seqq. Ruysbroek, although some of his language gave countenance to the idea of his being a pantheist, was really not such, but expressed a wish to see pantheists burnt. Schwab, 361.

[m] Schröckh, xxiv. 290; C. Schmidt, in Herzog, v. 91; Ritter, vi. 637. Schwab fully discusses his mysticism, c. vii.

[n] For a view of the controversy as to the authorship, see Schröckh, xxxiv. 312; Giesel. II. iv. 347; C. Schmidt, in Herzog, art. *Thomas à Kempis;* Schwab, 782; Hallam, H. L., i. 167-9. Some writers suppose the last book of the 'Imitation' to be by a different hand from the preceding three.

insight into divine things. Thoroughly monastic in spirit, it has the characteristic excellences and defects of monastic piety; while it is full of wise guidance for the soul in the ways of humility, purity, and self-renunciation, the religion which it inculcates is too exclusively directed towards the perfecting of the individual in himself, too little solicitous for his relations with the brotherhood of mankind. Its conception of the way of life is too limited, and does not enough regard the endless variety of circumstances in which men are placed, with the task before them of working out their salvation under the conditions assigned to them by the divine providence. Yet the vast and unequalled popularity of the book has not been confined to those who would sympathize with its monastic peculiarities, but has extended to multitudes of persons remote in feeling and in belief from all that is specially distinctive of medieval religion.

The teaching of the mystics, by leading men from a reliance on outward observances to an inward spiritual life, prepared the way for the Reformation, and Luther speaks with warm admiration of Tauler and of the German Theology. But between the two systems there was the important difference, that whereas the mystics sought after immediate union with the Saviour through conformity to him in humility and spiritual poverty, the characteristic doctrine of Luther was that of free justification by faith, while his system insisted on the necessity of those sacramental means which the mystics regarded as comparatively unimportant.[o]

[o] Martensen, 113-15.

CHAPTER XI.

SUPPLEMENTARY.

I.—*The Hierarchy.*

(1.) In the earlier part of the time which we are now surveying, the pretensions of the papacy, although they could not in substance be carried higher than before (inasmuch as they already included supremacy both in spiritual and in temporal things), were more extravagantly developed in detail. For this questionable service the popes were indebted to the flattery of curialist writers, and of friars specially devoted to their interest, such as Augustine Trionfi and Alvar Pelayo,[a]—who maintained, for example, that the pope could not sin by corruption or simony in the bestowal of preferment, forasmuch as he is above law, so that actions which are sinful in others are not so in him.[b]

In their relations with secular powers the popes were often gainers. The claim advanced by John XXII. in the case of Lewis of Bavaria—that an elected emperor should not have authority to govern until after having been examined and approved by the pope—was something even beyond the pretensions of Boniface VIII.;[c]

[a] See p. 107; Gerson de Potestate Eccl., Opera, ii. 246. The charge which has sometimes been brought against the Roman church, of styling the pope "Dominus Deus noster," appears to have grown out of the fact that he is so styled in the early printed editions of a gloss on Extrav. Joh. XXII. tit. xiv. c. 4 (p. 153), by Zenzelinus, A.D. 1325. But it seems doubtful whether even in this single passage the word *Deum* was not inserted by a mistake of the early printers; and it has been left out in all editions since 1612, so that the Roman Church is nowise answerable for the phrase. See Gieseler, II. iii. 106; Letters by Dr. Maitland and others, in British Mag. xiii.-xiv.

[b] See extracts in Gieseler, II. iii. 101-5, 123-4. On the other side, the 'Aureum Speculum Papæ' (as to which see ib. 149) in Fascic. Rer. Exp. et Fug. ii. 80, seqq.

[c] Schmidt, iii. 525.

but in the contest with Lewis the popes had the advantage, and their candidate, Charles IV., succeeded peacefully on his rival's death. The right to bestow kingdoms had been already asserted as to Hungary on the extinction of the Arpad dynasty, although the Hungarians would not allow that the pope was entitled to do more than to confirm the national choice ;[d] and in other cases, princes who were desirous to secure themselves in the possession of a doubtful crown requested the papal sanction, as was done by the great Robert of Scotland shortly before his death.[e] A.D. 1290.

But on the whole the popes lost more than they gained. Their claims to domination, after having been carried beyond endurance by Boniface VIII., began immediately afterwards to recede by the withdrawal of the bulls which had offended Philip the Fair ;[f] and that line of investigation into the sources of the papal rights which was begun in the imperial interest by such writers as Marsilius of Padua and William of Ockham, was afterwards forced by the great schism on churchmen whose natural feeling would have been averse to it. Even such men were compelled, by the inextricable confusion which arose out of the pretensions of rival popes, to ask whether there might not be some means of arbitrating between them. In these circumstances the universities—especially that of Paris—gained an authority which was very dangerous to the papacy ;[g] and in various quarters new and startling opinions were propounded. By some, it was maintained that the pope was not essentially necessary to the church ;[h] others denied him the possession of the "two swords,"

[d] Mansi, xxv. 151, seqq. ; Schröckh, xxxiii. 31-3.

[e] Theiner, Monum. 240, 244 ; National MSS. of Scotland, ii. No 30 ; Schröckh, xxxiii. 34.

[f] See Hallam, M. A. ii. 31.

[g] Giesel. II. iii. 160.

[h] Gerson (?), De modis uniendi et reform. Ecclesiam, Opp. t. ii. 163 ; De Auferib. Papæ ; Theod. Vrie, in V. d. Hardt, i. 33. See Giesel. II. iii. 161 ; Schwab, c. xvii.

referring to the benefits which the church had derived from the intervention of Theodoric the Goth and of Otho I., and tracing the schism, with all the other evils of the time, to the secularity of the popes.[i] And whereas the popes had endeavoured to absorb the rights of the whole episcopate, the episcopate was now set up as an aristocracy, in opposition to the monarchy of the pope.[k] There was a tendency to limit the papal power; and the circumstances of the time appeared to force on the other members of the church the task of judging those who claimed to be its head.[l] The notions that popes could not be deposed except for heresy—that the occupant of the chief see was exempt from earthly judgment—were denied and refuted.[m] If, argues the writer of a treatise which has been commonly ascribed to Gerson, an hereditary king may be deposed—(for this he assumes as a thing beyond question)—much more may a pope, who is chosen by cardinals—one whose father and grandfather were perhaps unable to find beans to fill their bellies. When, he adds, the case of a pope is in question, it is not for him, but for cardinals, bishops, and secular princes to assemble a general council; and such a council is superior to the pope and may control him, while he has no power to dispense with its canons.[n] The church, according to Gerson and others of the same school, may compel a pope to resign.[o] These principles were, as we have seen, carried into effect at the council of Constance.

(2.) On the other hand, the power of the empire had never recovered itself since the time of Frederick II.

[i] Theod. Niem, iii. 7; Gerson, de summa Rom. Imp. Auctoritate, Opera, ii. 178; Giesel. II. iii. 162-3.

[k] See Gerson, de Potest. Eccles., Opera, ii. 12: Henr. de Hassia, Consilium Pacis, in Append. to Gerson, vol. ii.; Hefele, vii. 316.

[l] Mosh. ii. 658.

[m] Theod. Niem, de Reform. Eccles. i. 23, in V. d. Hardt, i.; ib. 594-7.

[n] De Modis uniendi et reform. Eccles. in Gerson, Opp. ii. 166-7, 171, 182. Gerson always maintained that councils are the chief authority in the church, *e.g.*, De Exam. Doctrinarum, l. i. c. 8.

[o] See p. 343.

Dante, at the beginning of the period, speaks of one of the two suns by which Rome had formerly been enlightened as having been extinguished by the other.[p] The endeavours of Henry VII. to restore the ancient rights of his crown were cut short by an untimely death; and all that he had achieved was forfeited by the faults or the misfortunes of his successors. The transfers of the empire from one family to another, while they added strength and importance to the electoral princes of Germany, weakened the imperial authority; the emperor or king of the Romans, who had paid dearly for his office and had no assurance as to the succession, was under the strongest temptation to regard his own immediate interest alone, and to sacrifice the permanent interests of his crown.[q] At Constance, indeed, Sigismund was able to exercise influence as advocate of the church; but the decline of the imperial authority from its former greatness was shown by the fact that he found it necessary to call in the aid of John XXIII. for the assembling of the council, as the European kingdoms had ceased to acknowledge the supremacy of the empire.[r]

In France the opposition between the papacy and the crown was removed by the settlement of the popes at Avignon, which rendered them subservient tools of the sovereign. But this subserviency, in addition to the degradation of the papacy, had the effect of exciting the jealousy of the English, which was shown in many forms of resistance, while the popes found themselves obliged to meet it by compromise, lest the nation should be provoked to throw off their authority.[s]

(3.) To this time belongs the completion of the Canon Law.[t] Clement V. ordered the determinations of the

[p] Purgat. xvi. 106, seqq.

[q] Kranz, 'Saxonia,' 285 Schmidt, iii. 506; Sism. vi. 7.

[r] Schröckh, xxxiii. 46-7.

[s] Giesel. II. iii. 106, 125.

[t] See Wasserschleben, in Herzog artt. *Kanonensammlungen* and *Kanonisches Rechtsbuch.*

council of Vienne,[u] with other decrees which he had issued, to be collected into five books, which from him derive the name of Clementines. Among these it is noted that under the head of Oaths he takes the opportunity of declaring the oath sworn to the holy see by Henry VII. to be a real oath of fealty;[x] and that under the head of the Liberty of the Church he withdraws the bull *Clericis Laicos*.[y] After having published these books in a consistory of cardinals, Clement sent them in 1313 to the university of Orleans, which he had founded;[z] but, although he lived a year and a half longer, he did not communicate them in the usual manner to the other universities, and it is said by a writer who lived two centuries later, that, from a feeling of their contrariety in many respects to Christian simplicity and to the freedom of religion, he gave orders on his death-bed that they should be abolished.[a] If it be true that Clement had such scruples, they were not shared by his successor, John XXII.; for this pope sent the Clementines to Paris and Bologna in 1317, that they might serve as a text for lectures.[b]

The Clementines were the last addition to the body of ecclesiastical law which was put forth with the fulness of papal sanction.[c] At an earlier time such decretals as did not appear in Gratian's compilation had been styled *Extravagants*. After the publication of Gregory IXth's five books, the same name was used to designate such more recent decretals as had not yet been included in any authorized collection;[d] and it has since become the

[u] See Hefele, vi. 474.

[x] L. ii. tit. 17. See above, p. 74.

[y] L. v. tit. 17. See vol. vi. p. 317; and above, p. 3.

[z] Walter, 236; Giesel. II. iii. 99.

[a] Aventinus, 601. He says, "Hæc a Willelmo Occomensi accepi."

[b] See John's letter, Corp. Juris Canon. III. ii. 1, ed. Taurin. 1620; Vita I. Joh. ap. Baluz. i. 120, ii. 137; W. Nang. contin. 73; Bern. Guid. 60; Mansi, xxv. 369.

[c] Hence the collection which ends with them has been called "Corpus Juris clausum." Wasserschl. in Herzog, vii. 329.

[d] Walter, 237.

general title of the decretals issued by John XXII. and his successors, as these were never collected or communicated to the universities by papal authority.[e] The selection of the documents which are classed under this head is attributed to Chapuis, who edited the Canon Law in 1500.[f]

The new legislation was in the same spirit with that which had gone before it. Although strong assaults were sometimes made on portions of the false decretals, no one ventured to attack them as a whole; and so long as these retained their authority, any attempts of councils to limit the power of the pope were likely to be nugatory.[g]

(4.) The popes of this time not only maintained their older claims as to money, patronage, and the like, but endeavoured to enlarge on them. Thus John XXII.[h] imposed the tax of annates or first-fruits—a payment for which there had been some shadow of precedent in the demands made by bishops (sometimes with papal sanction) from those who were presented to benefices by them; although in earlier times such exactions had been condemned by the church and its most eminent teachers, such as Chrysostom in the east and Gregory the Great in the west.[i] John in 1319 extended it to all benefices, both elective and non-elective, fixing the amount at half the income of the first year, and professing that the law was to be for three years only;[k] but it appears to have been renewed, and the exaction was yet further enforced by Boniface IX.[l] The popes also

[e] Walter, 237; Schröckh, xxviii. 10.

[f] Walter, 237; Giesel. II. iii. 101.

[g] Schröckh, xxviii. 6.

[h] Thomassin, III. ii. 58. 1-3. See Lenfant, Conc. de Const. ii. 137-8; Herzog, art. *Annaten;* Döllinger, Materialien,' ii. Vorr. 6-7.

[i] Planck, v. 591-6; Giesel. II. iii. 118. See the tract De Ruina Eccl. c. 7, in N. de Clemangis.

[k] See Extrav. Commun. III. tit. ii. cc. 10-11. Thomassin supposes that the exaction fell only on the lesser dignities, bishopricks and abbacies being exempt. l. c. 5.

[l] Platina, 275 (who says that it was

claimed the income of bishopricks, etc., during vacancy (*fructus medii temporis*); and, although Alexander V. and Martin V. professed to give up this claim, they still retained the first-fruits.[m] The "right of spoils,"[n] which had been denounced by popes when claimed by temporal sovereigns, was now asserted for the papacy, and with a view to this and other purposes their collectors and spies were sent into various countries.[o] Fees of all sorts were raised in amount, and new occasions for exacting them were invented.[p] A writer of the time speaks of the papal court as drawing gold even out of flint;[q] and an English chronicler describes the charges on appointments as so heavy that in many cases the payers never recovered from them.[r] The luxury of the court of Avignon required an increase of means, while the popes were unable to collect the revenues of their Italian states;[s] and when, in consequence of the schism, western Christendom was burdened with the cost of two papal establishments, the exactions became more exorbitant than ever.[t] All the old means of raising money were

submitted to by all but the English, who refused to admit it except as to bishopricks). See Rayn. 1399. 12, with Mansi's note; Giesel. II. iii. 141-2; and for French declarations against the new exactions, Lib. de l'Egl. Gall. ii. 564, seqq.

[m] Thomassin, III. ii. 58.

[n] *Jus exuviarum* or *spoliorum*. See vol. v. 209, 336-8, etc.

[o] Thomassin, III. ii. 57. 5; Planck, v. 607, 611-13; Giesel. II. iii. 122. Thomassin traces this to the necessities of Clement VII.

[p] Aureum Speculum Papæ, in Fascic. Rer. Exp. etc., ii. 71; Planck, v. 590; Giesel. II. iii. 144.

[q] De Ruina Ecclesiæ, c. 9. An indication of the rapacity practised by officials of all kinds may be found in a letter of Benedict XII., announcing his election to Edward III. As the bearers of such letters were often found troublesome and greedy, the pope had made his messengers swear that they would be content with *his* pay, and would neither ask nor receive anything elsewhere. Rymer, ii. 900.

[r] Will. de Dene, Hist. Roffensis, in Wharton, Ang. Sac. i. 376. It appears from the Annals of St. Alban's that abbot John de Maryns paid for his confirmation 1508*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* (equal to 22,580*l.* in our day) to Boniface VIII. and his cardinals, besides large gifts to the officials. (Gesta Abbatum, ii. 56; Riley, Introduction, iii. 46.) See also for the difficulties into which Abp. Greenfield, of York (A.D. 1304), was brought by the expenses of his appointment, Raine, i. 364.

[s] Giesel. II. iii. 106.

[t] Gerson (?) De modis un. et reform. Eccl., Opp. ii. 184-5.

strained to the uttermost; new devices were invented for the same purpose,[u] and each of the rival courts was glad to borrow the ideas of the other in this respect. Every pope at the beginning of his pontificate set forth a code of chancery-rules, in which, adopting the devices of his predecessors for extracting money from the benefices of the church, he usually added such further orders of the same tendency as his own ingenuity or that of his advisers could suggest.[x] The censures of the church were prostituted as means to compel the payment of money. While there was an affectation of checking pluralities in general,[y] an exception was made in favour of the cardinals, so that a cardinal might enjoy the monstrous number of four or five hundred benefices.[z]

Such things were not allowed to pass without remonstrance.[a] In England, where the patience of the nation was most severely tried by them,[b] there were frequent and indignant manifestations of discontent, and statutes were enacted with a view of checking the practices of the papal court. The laity cried out loudly, in parliament and elsewhere, charging the depopulation and impoverishment of the country on the Roman exactions, and

[u] See above, pp. 223-7. Crusades seem to have been sometimes proclaimed, with a license of commuting personal service for money, rather with a view of getting the money than the service. (See Cron. di Bologna, in Murat. xviii. 447.) Urban VI. in 1386, in order to help John of Gaunt's expedition "against the schismatics of Spain," authorized a Carmelite to make fifty honorary papal chaplains; and the appointment was eagerly sought and paid for by clergy, monks, and friars, as offering an exemption from duty to superiors. (Gesta Abbatum S. Albani, ii. 417.) Richard II. and Henry IV. complain of the results of this. (Rymer, vii. 810; viii. 113.) One of the chaplains, who had been a monk of St. Albans, is found soliciting readmission to the abbey forty years later. Joh. de Amundesham, i. 86-8; ii. Introd. 18-20.

[x] Planck, v. 587-8. The writer of 'De Ruina Ecclesiæ' complains that the new rules were usually snares which gave occasion for litigation. c. 11.

[y] See below, p. 463.

[z] De Ruina Eccl. 14; Planck, v. 584; Giesel. II. iii. 144.

[a] See a letter of Charles VI. of France, in Mart. Thes. i. 1614.

[b] Adam of Murimuth says that the new exactions of John XXII. were disregarded in Germany;—"Anglici vero, sicut boni asini, quicquid eis imponitur tolerantes, in his et aliis, quantumcunque gravibus, paruerunt." 28.

on the draining of the wealth of English benefices by foreigners.[c] It was complained that such persons were in many cases enemies of the English crown, that they betrayed the secrets of the realm; and on such grounds the foreign holders of English benefices were frequently deprived, and if they were found in the country (which they rarely honoured with their presence) were obliged to quit it.[d] Laws were passed to prevent the holding of English preferment by aliens.[e] Complaints were made by parliament that the money drawn from England under the name of annates and other papal dues was employed in the interest of the national enemies; and in 1404 an act was passed by which bishops were forbidden to submit to the increased rate of payments which the Roman court had begun to exact.[f] Papal collectors were required, on landing in England, to swear that they would do nothing to the prejudice of the crown or of the kingdom;[g] and sometimes, when returning with the spoil of

[c] Hemingb. ii. 401, 403, etc. Another grievance was that the heads of religious orders, as Cluniacs, Præmonstratensians, and Cistercians, levied money largely from the English houses of their orders. See Stat. of Carlisle, 35 Edw. I. (A.D. 1307).

[d] Thus Edward II., in 1309, writes to a cardinal who was related to Clement V. and had been nominated by him to the deanery of St. Paul's. The letter sets forth the cardinal's inability to fulfil the statutable duties, and expresses a hope that he will withdraw his pretensions; but it is significantly added that, if property bestowed on the church be abused, contrary to the intention of the givers, it may be resumed by them or their heirs. (Rymer, ii. 72.) Edward III., in 1341, seized a prebend at Lincoln because the holder, cardinal Talleyrand, adhered to Philip of Valois (ib. 1134). In 1379, when Aymer de la Roche, archdeacon of Canterbury, sided with the French, he was deprived for this and for non-residence, and Richard II. ordered that his revenues should be applied to the rebuilding of the cathedral. (Ib. vii. 217, 271, 302, 346, etc.) Urban VI. recommends John of Fordham as his successor, if the archbishop (Simon of Sudbury) should find him able "bene legere, bene construere, et bene cantare, ac congrue loqui Latinis verbis, et alias idoneum . . . vel etiam si bene non cantaret, dummodo in tuis manibus juret ad sancta Dei Evangelia, quod infra annum bene cantare addiscet." (Wilkins, ii. 148.) Cf. Wilkins, ii. 574; Baluz. Vitæ Pap. ii. 476, 708-9.

[e] *E.g.*, 3 Ric. II. c. 3 (1379); 1 Hen. V. c. 7; Collier, iii. 147.

[f] 6 Hen. IV. c. 1.

[g] Rymer, vii. 603, etc.; Collier, iii. 202. Thus, in 1372, Arnold Garnier, a papal receiver, was made to swear fidelity to the king, and that he would not send money or precious things to the pope or others out of the realm

England, they were compelled to disgorge it before embarking.[h] There were frequent orders against the introduction of papal documents injurious to the dignity of the crown, especially of such as assumed the disposal of patronage;[i] and the statutes of provisors and *præmunire* were enacted in order to check the Roman aggressions in this kind. The first act of provisors, passed in 1350-1, after setting forth the manner in which the popes had usurped patronage, and the ill results which had followed, decrees that elections to bishopricks and other elective dignities shall be free, agreeably to the grants of the founders; that no reservation, collation, or provision of the court of Rome to the contrary shall take effect, but that in such cases the king shall present, as his progenitors did before free election was granted; forasmuch as such election was granted on condition that it should be preceded by the royal licence and followed by the royal assent, and, if these conditions fail, the right of presentation reverts to the original state.[k] By the statute of *præmunire*, in 1353, it was enacted that any one who should carry to a foreign tribunal matter which was cognizable in the king's court, or who should try to impeach in any foreign court a judgment which had been

without license, nor receive any papal letters without showing them to the king and his council. Rym. iii. 933.

[h] Ib. ii. 1236-7; Planck, v. 672; Giesel. II. iii. 126-8; Lingard, iii. 258-62.

[i] See many such of Edward III.'s reign in Rymer, *e.g.*, ii. 726, 1236-7; iii. 380. See too Wilkins, iii. 107, etc. In 1380 it was enacted that any of the king's subjects who should become agents for foreigners, and so should send money out of the realm, should be liable to the same punishments as the foreigners themselves for a like offence. (Pauli, iv. 591.) Sometimes, however, kings made the false step of employing the pope's assumed powers of reservation and provision for their own purposes, although they thereby really aided the papal usurpation and weakened the crown. Thus it was when Edward II., after the death of Abp. Winchelsey, made use of the pope to exclude Thomas Cobham, who had been elected by the monks of Canterbury. See Wilkins, ii. 424, 427-8, 430-7.

[k] 25 Edw. III., Stat. of the Realm, i. 316. In the answer to the 'Articles of the Clergy,' 9 Edw. II. c. 14, it had been said, "Fiant [electiones episcoporum] liberæ, juxta formam statutorum et ordinationum."

pronounced by the king's court, should be cited to answer before the king or his representatives, and in case of non-appearance should be outlawed, should forfeit his property, and be committed to prison.[1] The provisions of these two acts were repeatedly enforced by later legislation; and the headship of religious houses was placed on the same footing as other dignities with regard to the king's right of presentation.[m] The popes affected to set such laws at nought, and to maintain their claims to patronage; Boniface IX. went so far as to order that the antipapal acts should be erased from the English statute-book,[n] and there were continual attempts to evade the force of the prohibitions. But the parliament, the clergy, and the whole nation, stood firm in their union against the papal encroachments; and at last the utmost that the popes could do, by way of saving appearances, was to accept the English king's nomination of the persons in whose behalf the pretended rights of the papacy were to be exercised.[o] The resistance of the English to the papal pretension to confer the temporalities of sees has already been mentioned.[p] But in the weaker kingdom of Scotland this pretension seems to have been un-

[1] 27 Edw. III. st. i. c. 1.

[m] 38 Edw. III. stat. 2; 3 Ric. II. c. 3; 12 Ric. II. c. 15; 13 Ric. II. c. 2; 16 Ric. II. c. 5; 4 Hen. V. c. 4. Edward de Bromfield, agent at Rome for the abbey of St. Edmund at Bury, got himself appointed by Urban VI. to the abbacy on its falling vacant, in 1379; but on coming to England he was imprisoned, by virtue of the statute of provisors, and the pope was unable to carry through his nomination, although he got a pension out of the abbey revenues for Bromfield, and eventually promoted him to the see of Llandaff. Walsingh. i. 414-29; ii. 68, 180; Godwin, 608; Monast. Angl. iii. 110; Lingard, iii. 343; Pauli, iv. 591.

[n] Walsingh. ii. 200; Rayn. 1391. 15. The annalist traces Richard II.'s calamities to his having assented to the laws by which the papal assumptions were limited. Ib. 14.

[o] Rymer, vii. 664, 672, 698, 798-9; viii. 233, 244, etc.; Walsingh. ii. 228; Collier, iii. 203, 301; Lingard, iii. 345-9; Hallam, ii. 38; Pauli, iv. 592-3. John Galeazzo, of Milan, exercised ecclesiastical patronage freely, while Urban IV., in consideration of receiving the papal dues, confirmed his appointments; and it is said that this system worked better than the usual practice, by which the pope was guided in the disposal of patronage by the cardinals, who were corrupt. Chron. Placent. in Murat. xvi. 547; Annal. Mediol. ib. 802.

[p] Page 260.

opposed. Thus John XXII. in 1323 presented John of Lindsay, a canon of Glasgow, to the bishoprick of that see, professing to give him the temporalities as well as the spiritual charge; and he nominated an Italian to the prebend which had been formerly held by the new bishop. But Lindsay, on returning from the papal court to Scotland, was required to admit a nominee of the king to this prebend; and he submitted, both he and the nominee protesting that the admission should not interfere with the papal rights. Yet while in this lesser matter the crown prevailed, it is remarkable that no objection was raised against the pope's claim to bestow the temporalities of the bishoprick.[q]

In other countries also sovereigns sometimes imitated the English example of resistance to the papacy. Thus Philip of Valois seized the revenues of ecclesiastical absentees, although at the entreaty of his queen he afterwards restored so much of them as belonged to cardinals.[r] A.D. 1347. Alfonso XI. of Castille endeavoured to withstand the papal claim of provisions;[s] and Sigismund (afterwards emperor), provoked by Boniface IX.'s acknowledgment of his rival, Ladislaus, as king of Hungary, forbade all exercise of patronage by the popes in that kingdom.[t]

(5.) The exaggerated pretensions which the clergy had set up as to rights of jurisdiction, and of exemption from secular authority, tended to react to their own disadvantage. In Germany, where the ecclesiastical class feeling of the prelates was modified by their position as great secular lords, it was established that in temporal matters the appeal should be to the emperor alone; and this was declared, not only by Lewis of Bavaria, but by Charles IV. in his golden bull.[u]

[q] Theiner, 226-7; Jos. Robertson, Pref. to 'Concilia Scotiæ,' 74-6.

[r] Baluz. Vitæ Pap. Aven. ii. 710; Rayn. 1346. 39; 1347 24; Dach. Spicil. iii. 723.

[s] Rayn. 1330. 44; 1344. 54; 1348. 14; Giesei. II. iii. 130.

[t] Ib. 150.

[u] Ib. 169.

In France, where the liberties of the national church had been affirmed and secured by the pragmatic sanction and by the "establishments" of St. Lewis, and where the popes were controlled in some degree by the fact of their residence at Avignon, the crown was able to hold its ground against the ambition of the papacy.[x] The sovereigns were in general disposed to favour the hierarchy as far as possible, in order to secure the influence of the bishops; but the nobles were always at strife with the clergy, and on both sides there were continual complaints of aggression and encroachment.[y] Thus, at a session of the parliament of Paris, held under Philip of Valois in 1329, Peter of Cugnières, a knight and one of the king's counsellors, after discoursing on the text, "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's," brought forward sixty-six articles as to which he asserted that the clergy had encroached on the rights of the laity.[z] These articles related to such things only as could show no warrant of law or privilege; for example, there was no complaint as to the exemption of the clergy from secular judgment, but it was complained that the tonsure was so bestowed as to confer this exemption on unfit persons—on boys and on married men, on some who were illiterate, and on others who were disqualified by character.[a] At a second session of the same body, Peter Roger, archbishop elect of Sens (afterwards pope Clement VI.), stood forward as the champion of the clergy, and replied to the articles in order,[b] declaring that, although there are two swords—the spiritual and the temporal—both might be in the hands of one and the same person. Thus, he said, it was in ancient Israel; thus it was in the case of Melchizedek, and in Him who is a priest after

[x] Schröckh, xxxiii. 50; see Libertéz de l'Eglise Gall. ii. 147, seqq.

[y] Giesel. II. iii. 173. Goldast, ii. 1362-6; Bulæus, iv. 221, seqq.; Mansi, xxv. 884; Giesel. II. iii. 174.

[a] Art. 23; Planck, v. 557.

[b] Goldast, ii. 1365.

the order of Melchizedek; and so, too, it was in St. Peter, as appeared from the punishment of Ananias. Our Lord would have both swords in the possession of the church; He did not charge the apostle to cast away his sword, but to sheathe it; by which was meant that the church, although having all jurisdiction, should refrain from the exercise of it in cases of blood.[c] The king, hampered by his fear of the danger which threatened him from England, was unable to carry out with firmness the policy which his wishes suggested. At a later session it was declared in his name, and by the mouth of Peter of Cugnières himself, that Philip was resolved to maintain the rights of the church unimpaired.[d] The king was content with the promise of the bishops that they would redress the grievances which were alleged; but when the bishop of Autun, Peter Bertrandi (who had answered Cugnières's articles at great length), insisted on the grievances of the clergy, and asked for a clearer declaration in their favour, he was told that the clergy had a certain time allowed them for reform, and that, if they neglected this opportunity, the king would apply such remedies as should please God and the people.[e]

The parliament of Paris strongly opposed the hierarchical claims, not only restraining the bounds of the ecclesiastical judgments, but asserting a sort of oversight of them, and assuming to itself the right of judging in some kinds of cases which had hitherto been regarded as belonging to ecclesiastical cognizance;[f] and the clergy continued to complain that laymen inflicted grievances on them, especially by interfering with their supposed rights of jurisdiction.[g]

[c] Goldast, ii. 1329-30, 1370.

[d] Ib. 1382; Giesel. II. iii. 77.

[e] Goldast, ii. 1383. The addition (p. 1383) that the king, after having waited in vain, enacted a severe law in restraint of the clergy, and in assertion of the national freedom, is untrue. Giesel. II. iii. 178.

[f] Ib. 179-81.

[g] *E.g.*, a council "apud S. Tiberium," in the diocese of Agde, A.D. 1389.

In England there were frequent collisions as to the rival claims of the ecclesiastical and the secular courts. When the clergy complained to Edward II., in 1309, that clerks arrested on suspicion of crime were not immediately made over to their ordinaries, "as of right ought to be done," but were kept in the secular prison, the king replied that such clerks should be given up to their ecclesiastical superiors on demand, but with the condition that they should be brought before the king's judges for trial "as heretofore hath been customary."[h] So, in answering the petition known as *Articuli cleri*, Edward says that, when a matter should come before both the spiritual and the temporal courts—as in the case of violently laying hands on a clerk—the king's court shall treat it "as to that court itself shall seem expedient, the ecclesiastical judgment notwithstanding."[i] Even that weak prince found it necessary to remonstrate again and again with the popes on account of encroachments in this and in other respects;[k] and, under his successors, such remonstrances were both frequent and forcible.

In 1344, Edward III., in consideration of a large subsidy from the clergy, granted that no archbishop or bishop should be impeached before the king's justices for any crime, unless by special order from the crown[l]—a concession which, while relaxing the exercise of the royal authority for the time, implies an assertion of its right. In the end of the century, Richard II. condemned archbishop Arundel to perpetual banishment and to forfeiture of his property,[m] and Henry IV., although desirous to keep well with the clergy on account of the defect in his title to the crown, proceeded without hesitation

[h] Wilkins, ii. 318.

[i] 9 Edw. II. Stat. i. c. 6. See too the complaint as to the tendency of spiritual courts to draw to themselves business out of the civil courts. Stat. of the Realm, i. 209.

[k] Rymer, ii. 391, 393-4, 398, 401, 449, 460, 468-9, 493, 499, 526, etc.

[l] 18 Edw. III. Stat. iii. c. 1.

[m] Eulog. Hist. iii. 376

against such of the order as opposed him. He put to death, by secular judgment, some Franciscans and other priests who had plotted in behalf of a pretender to the name of the dethroned Richard.[n] Merks, bishop of Carlisle, was deprived of his see, and had difficulty in escaping with life.[o] The king brought Scrope, archbishop of York, to trial for high treason, and when the chief justice, Sir William Gascoigne, refused to act as judge, saying that the king himself had no right to condemn a bishop to death, a less scrupulous person, Sir William Fulthorpe, was found for the work, and the archbishop, having been found guilty, was beheaded.[p] Archbishop Arundel, who had been restored to Canterbury on the change of dynasty, had contented himself with urging that his brother primate should be reserved for the pope's judgment;[q] and although Innocent VI. anathematized those who had been concerned in the archbishop's death, the sentence was ineffectual, so that Gregory XII. found it expedient to release them on condition of their expressing sorrow for their offence.[r] A.D. 1405.

In 1354, archbishop Islip complained in parliament that the secular judges frequently exceeded their authority by trying and condemning to death "the Lord's anointed"—clergymen, and monks in holy orders. To this the king himself and others replied that the privileges

[n] Eulog. Hist. contin. iii. 389-94; Walsingh. ii. 249-50; Capgrave, 279; Pauli, v. 50.

[o] Walsingh. ii. 245-7; Pauli, v. 50.

[p] Clem. Maydestane de Martyrio R. Scrope, in Wharton, Angl. Sac. ii. 370; Eulog. Hist. iii. 405, seqq; Collier, iii. 273; Pauli, v. 38; Fulthorpe was probably son of a late judge, "but in no way himself connected with the law." (Foss, iv. 165-6.) Scrope was regarded as a martyr, and many miracles are recorded of him after death. Herm. Corner, in Eccard, ii. 1228.

[q] Eulog. Hist. contin. 407; Milm. v. 524.

[r] Raynald. 1405. 21-2; Eulog. Hist. contin. 409; Walsingh. ii. 270, 273; Ling. iii. 441; Pauli, v. 51. It was believed that, from the hour of his judgment against Scrope, the king was struck with leprosy. (Eulog. Hist. cont. 407-8.) Arundel seems to have been afraid to publish Innocent's anathema. Engl. Chronicle, ed. Davies (Camd. Soc. 1856), p. 23.

claimed by the clergy were an encouragement to crime; that when criminal clerks were made over to their bishops, their prison life, instead of being a punishment, became a time of relaxation and good living, with all the temptations which arise out of idleness; and that the sight of such things incited others to crime. The primate seems to have found these statements irresistible, and gives orders that the treatment of clerical delinquents in prison shall be more severe, especially as to diet, which, even on Sundays, is never to be more luxurious than bread, vegetables, and small beer.[s] But the clergy still found that their claims were not respected. The convocation of Canterbury, in 1399, while it admitted that the privilege of the clergy ought not to avail them in cases of treason, complained that for offences of other sorts they were sometimes hanged like laymen, and petitioned that the king would order them, if convicted in secular courts, to be made over to the custody of the bishops, according to their rights.[t]

In other countries also the assumed immunities of the clergy were controlled by the secular power. Thus in France, when Guichard, bishop of Troyes, was charged with having poisoned or enchanted the king of Navarre's mother, he was long imprisoned in the Louvre, without any regard to the privileges of his order.[u] Even as to the monastic bodies, the French kings firmly asserted their rights of jurisdiction. Thus in 1350, king John, having received complaints of cruelties exercised on delinquent monks by their superiors, ordered that redress should be made; and when the Dominicans and Franciscans objected to this, as an invasion of the pope's authority, they were

A.D. 1308.

[s] Wilkins, iii. 13-14.

[t] Ib. 14, 244, art. 55.

[u] "Nullius privilegii fretus vel fultus juvamine." Vita I. Clem. V. ap. Baluz. V. P. A. i. 14.

told that they must either submit or leave the kingdom.[x] Again, in 1412 a royal commission was appointed to inquire into the affairs of the black monks of Languedoc; and when the archbishops of Narbonne and Toulouse, with a council, charged the commissioners to desist under pain of excommunication, the king's council refused to hear the representatives of the two archbishops, because they had assembled their council without the royal license.[y]

(6.) The papal judicature was so extended as in great measure to supersede all other tribunals of the church. The Roman curia now entertained all sorts of cases in the first instance, often where one only of contending parties wished to resort to it, and in disregard of the protests of the other party; and it frequently happened that cases, while pending, were transferred to the papal judgment from the episcopal courts in which they had been commenced.[z] By this the authority and estimation of the bishops was much diminished; and other things, such as the enormous extension of the system of dispensations and exemptions, tended to the same effect. By arrogating to themselves the functions of the bishops, the popes reduced these to what a writer of the time describes as the condition of mere painted images;[a] and many of

[x] Bardin, in Hist. de Langued. IV. Preuves, 29.

[y] Ib. 32. See for manner in which Lewis I. of Hungary settled the relations of church and state as to jurisdiction, Mailáth, ii. 96-7. St. Antoninus complains that at Florence, in 1345, under the influence of the multitude, a law was made, "in clericos iniqua, per quam omnibus eorum privilegiis derogabatur." (p. 352.) In Switzerland all resort to foreign tribunals, whether secular or spiritual, was forbidden to the clergy, A.D. 1370; and in those parts of Italy which were under Ghibelline rulers the ecclesiastical courts were almost suppressed. Giesel. II. iii. 175.

[z] Planck, v. 651-2; Giesel. II. iii. 181. There were many remonstrances from England against such interference with the course of judgment; *e. g.*, Rymer, ii. 968.

[a] De modis un. et ref. Eccl., in Gerson, ii. 174. Cardinal Allemand said at the council of Basel—"Quid hodie erant episcopi nisi umbræ quædam? quid plus illis restabat quam baculus et mitra?" etc. Æn. Sylv. de Conc. Basil. i. 27.

them, finding themselves without the honour and the influence which had formerly belonged to their order, were tempted to neglect of duty and to selfish enjoyment, while they endeavoured to indemnify themselves for their degradation by behaving tyrannically to their clergy.[b]

In France the independence of the bishops appeared to have been secured by the pragmatic sanction of St. Lewis; but it was again sacrificed by the concordat of Constance, and the authority which they had seemed likely to acquire, by means of the councils in which they sat in judgment on popes, was frustrated by the policy of the popes, who contrived to entangle them in differences with their sovereigns.[c]

(7.) The popes, too, had in their hands the power of reconciling the bishops to much loss of dignity by means of the system of commendams.[d] The practice of "commending" vacant preferments—such as the headship of a monastery—instead of filling them up with proper incumbents, was as old as the eighth or ninth century,[e] but had then been forcibly exercised by secular princes in favour of laymen or others, and had been reprobated by the ecclesiastical authorities.[f] At a later time, however, it came to be largely used by popes, who found in it a means of attaching to their interest persons who might otherwise have been inclined to insubordination. At first, vacant preferments, if there were some hindrance to filling them up immediately, were commended to the care of some competent person, and the abuse of the system was guarded against by limitations of the time for which such commendations might be granted.[g] But afterwards such restrictions were set aside, so that the commendation might be for the whole lifetime of the receiver; nor were

[b] Planck, v. 631-4; Giesel. II. iii. 182-3. [c] Schröckh, xxxiii. 57-8. [d] Planck, v. 629. [e] Ep. vol. iii. p. 222; iv. p. 165; Quart. Rev. cx. 68. [f] Planck, v. 617 [g] Ib. 618-19; Herzog, art. *Commende*. Thus Gregory X. in 1274, limited them to six months. VI. Decret. I. vi. 15.

the popes bound by any limits as to the number of the preferments which might thus be accumulated on a single person. If an archbishop complained of the cost of his pall, or a bishop of the amount of his first-fruits, they might be indemnified at the expense of the church by receiving the commendation of wealthy sees or abbacies. In the case of some of the more important prelates, this system was carried to a great excess. Thus Baldwin of Trèves held at different times the sees of Spires and Worms *in commendam* with his archbishoprick, and for nine years (during a part of which he was also administrator of Worms) even the archbishoprick of Mentz, the seat of the German primacy, was commended to him.[h] The cardinals held much preferment in this way, and in some cases even women received the commendation of benefices.[i]

Clement V., who had used this system largely, was touched with compunction in a dangerous illness, and on his recovery put forth a bull revoking and annulling all such grants;[k] but it would seem, from the complaints of the younger Durandus[l] and of another bishop, at the time of the council of Vienne, that little practical amendment followed.[m] John XXII. endeavoured, by his bull *Execrabilis* (A.D. 1318), to check the practice of commendation and other abuses of pluralities;[n] but later popes again had recourse to it, A.D. 1307.

[h] Gesta Bald. in Baluz. Miscell. i. 321-2; Potthast, ii. 428; Planck, v. 630.

[i] Giesel. II. iii. 148.

[k] Raynald. 1307. 28; Thomassin, vi. 107

[l] See above, p. 63.

[m] Planck, v. 624; Giesel. II. iii. 106. See Thomassin, l. II. iii. 20.

[n] Extrav. tit. iii. No one, except cardinals and royal persons, was to have more than one benefice with cure of souls in addition to one without cure; "Cum," says the Lanercost chronicler, "ante illud tempus omnis rector seu persona ecclesiæ tot ecclesias posset admittere et retinere quot diversi patroni sibi vellent conferre." (235.) The younger Durandus, some years before the date of this bull, tells a story of a chancellor of Paris who refused to give up any of his pluralities, although his bishop entreated him, when on his death-bed, to do so. But as the bishop was saying a *De Profundis* for him near his grave, the chan-

and it furnished the means of evading various laws of the church. Thus a benefice with cure of souls might be bestowed *in commendam* on a person who would have been incapable of holding it as incumbent—a boy, for example, or one who had not been ordained to the priesthood.[o] Or by the union of benefices the laws against pluralities might be defeated—the holder being presented to one as the "principal benefice," and the others being "commended" to him with it. Or a cure of souls was united with a sinecure, and, when the sinecure was bestowed on a person unqualified for a charge of souls, the cure followed it by virtue of the union.[p]

In consequence of such practices, chiefly, the inequality between different grades of the clergy now became especially glaring. Theodoric of Niem tells us that, while some of them were greater than secular princes, others were in a condition more abject than that of the common people.[q] And Nicolas of Clemanges renews the old complaint of Agobard,[r] that members of the priesthood are employed in low offices under secular masters—as cooks, butlers, stewards, as waiters at table or as ladies' footmen, "not to say worse."[s]

(8.) There was a general disposition to put some restraint on the increase of ecclesiastical wealth. In England the statutes of mortmain were directed to this purpose, as we have seen in an earlier period.[t] In Germany there were various local enactments—as that clergymen

cellor appeared, in miserable plight, and declared that he had been damned on account of his pluralities, so that prayer for him was unavailing. (De Modo celeb. Concil. Gen. p. ii. tit. 21, p. 109.) The reforms of John XXII. were not altogether disinterested; for the preferments which should become vacant by the operation of his bull were to be reserved to his own disposal; and against this Edward II. remonstrated. Rymer, ii. 354. See the bull of Urban V. against pluralities, A.D. 1365, in Wilk. iii. 62.

[o] Planck, v. 620-2.

[p] Ib. 627.

[q] Nemus Unionis, l. iii. p. 223; Giesel. II. iii, 183.

[r] See vol. iii. p. 195.

[s] "Nolo turpiora dicere." De Præsulibus Simoniacis, p. 165.

[t] Vol. vi. p. 479; 15 Ric. II. c. 5, etc.

should not acquire real property, or should hold it only for a limited time; and that they should not be employed to draw up wills, as it was supposed that they might unduly influence the minds of the testators.[u] At Paderborn it was decreed in 1379 that any citizen who at a funeral should offer more than the price of one mass should be fined—an order which seems to imply not only a wish to limit the receipts of the clergy, but a doubt of the efficacy of such services for the benefit of departed souls.[x]

But the attacks on the wealth of the clergy were not limited to such measures as these. Marsilius of Padua and William of Ockham, whose rigour of principle was exasperated by their feeling that, as imperialists, they had the great force of the clergy against them, proposed to take away all endowments; and the principle of such endowments was afterwards denounced by Wyclif and Hus. The wealth of the English hierarchy, contrasting strongly with Wyclif's ideal, became a mark for frequent attacks. When Henry IV., in 1404, was urgently in want of money, the house of commons represented to him that the clergy held a third part of the English soil, and yet lived in idleness while the laity shed their blood for their country. On this, archbishop Arundel threw himself at the king's feet, and reminded him that the clergy had given a tenth for the national service oftener than the laity had given a fifteenth that they contributed the services of their retainers to the royal forces, and that, instead of being idle, they also contributed their prayers. By this speech the attack was defeated; and the king assured the clergy that he intended to leave the church in as good a condition as he had found it, or better.[y] Two years later, a scheme of church-reform was drawn up, setting forth on one hand the amount of land and revenues held by the clergy, and on the other hand

[u] Giesel. II. iii. 170-2.
[x] Ib. 172.
[y] Walsingh. ii. 265-73. See Hallam, ii. 49.

the number of earls, knights, esquires, and hospitals that might be maintained out of these resources, with a proposal for reducing the clergy to such a number as might be necessary for the performance of their functions. But again the king took part with the clergy, and the attack was unsuccessful.[z]

(9.) The nobles had in earlier times endeavoured to get exclusive possession of the preferment in some chapters, and such attempts were continually carried further.[a] Thus, at Strasburg, no one was admissible to a canonry unless he could show sixteen quarterings of nobility ; and, although Gregory IX. had reprobated this system,[b] other popes allowed it, and may have found their account in thus securing the support of the nobles who benefited by it.[c] The claim of high birth, indeed, was commonly admitted, even by reforming churchmen, as a ground for preferment ;[d] and an English satirist, while complaining that persons of low origin are advanced to ecclesiastical dignities which lift them above the secular nobles, adds that these ought rather to secure such preferments for their own kindred or for gentlemen.[e] The canonries being regarded merely as sources of income, were very commonly held by persons who declined to proceed beyond the minor orders of the ministry, and who were utterly unlearned.[f] In order to guard against such evils, Clement V. decreed that no one below the order of sub-

[z] Walsingh. ii. 282-3 ; Lingard, iii. 473. See the opening of Shakespeare's 'Henry V.'

[a] Giesel. II. iii. 185. See vol. v. 382.

[b] See vol. vi. 411.

[c] Schröckh, xxxiii. 184.

[d] Thus, cardinal Zabarella proposes "ut nulli nisi graduati vel nobiles magna nobilitate ad ecclesias cathedrales admittantur." (V. d. Hardt, i. 524.) So another cardinal would have regard "secundum quod videbitur expedire," to nobility in appointments to bishopricks and other dignities. (Ib. 557.) And Martin V., in his plan of reform (see p. 399), while laying down that future cardinals shall in general be men of high personal qualifications, adds, "Præter admodum paucos, qui de stirpe regia vel ducali vel magni principis oriundi existant, in quibus competens litteratura sufficiat." Ib. 1021.

[e] The Ploughman's Creed, vv. 1483, seqq.

[f] Marsilius, Defensor Pacis, ii 24.

deacon should have a voice in a chapter, and that those who were promoted to canonries should enter into the "holy" orders within a year, under certain penalties.[g] And a council at Lucerne, in 1351, ordered that no one ignorant of grammar should be appointed to such preferments.[h] The reforming committee of the council of Constance described the canons who owed their position to their birth as being rather like soldiers than ecclesiastics, and ordered that academic doctors should be mixed with them in certain proportions;[i] and it did away with another abuse by ordering that no one under eighteen years of age should be capable of such preferment.[k]

(10.) Throughout this time there are continual outcries as to the faults of the clergy, partly continued from former ages, and partly provoked by the development of new evils. In all grades there are complaints of rapacity, luxury, and neglect of duty, while it is said that many of the clergy devote themselves to secular affairs, and become altogether laic in their habits.[l] The cardinals are taxed with extravagant pride, which regards not only bishops (whom they commonly styled *episcopelli*), but primates and patriarchs, with contempt; their life and that of their households is described as unedifying, and they are accused of utterly neglecting the monasteries and other preferments which they hold in plurality—sometimes even to the number of 400 or 500.[m] The bishops are charged

[g] Clementin. I. tit. vi. c. 2. See too Conc. Panormit. A.D. 1388, in Mansi, xxvi. 751.

[h] Ib. 257.

[i] V. d. Hardt, i. 639, 695-8.

[k] Ib. 698.

[l] *E.g.*, Theod. Vrie, ib. 60, seqq.; Theobald., Publica Conquestio, ib. p. xix.; Piers Ploughman's Vision, 165, seqq., 7131, seqq., 8037, seqq., 14360, seqq.; De Ruina Eccl. 2-3 (V. d. Hardt, I. iii.); Henr. de Hassia, Consilium Pacis, c. 17, in Gerson, ii. 837-9; Jac. de Paradiso, De Septem Statibus Ecclesiæ, in Fascic. Rer. Exp. et Fug. ii. 105. There is an amusing description of clerical dandyism in Abp. Stratford's Constitutions, A.D. 1342 (Wilkins, ii. 703); see too Thoresby, abp. of York, ib. iii. 71.

[m] De Ruina Eccl. 13-17. Henry of Hesse speaks of cases in which a single person held 200 or 300 benefices. Cons. Pacis, c. 17 (Gerson, t. ii.).

with want of learning and of other qualifications for their office, with non-residence, secularity, simony; it is said that for the sake of money they bestow orders on a multitude of men who are utterly illiterate, lax in their habits, and unfit for the sacred ministry; and if the text "Freely ye have received, freely give," be quoted to them, their reply is that they had not received freely.[n] It is said that those of Germany devolved their work on titular bishops, who paid for their appointments and "gnawed" the clergy and people by their exactions. Similar complaints are made of the archdeacons; and the canons are described as worthy of their bishops—as sunk in voluptuousness and vice.[o] There are, as before, decrees of councils against the fighting and hunting propensities of the clergy,[p] against indecencies in the celebration of the Divine offices;[q] prohibitions of secular occupations[r] and diversions;[s] with unsavoury evidence as to the results of enforcing celibacy,[t]

[n] De Ruina Eccl. 20-8; Nic. de Clemang. de Præsul. Simoniacis, p. 165.

[o] Th. Niem, de Necessitate Reform., in V. d. Hardt, i. 290. See above, p. 342; and as to archdeacons, Abp. Stratford's Constitutions, A.D. 1341, cc. 1-2; A.D. 1342, cc. 3, 7, 8 (Wilkins, ii.).

[p] Thus it is related that John Schadland, a Dominican, on being appointed by Gregory XI. to the see of Hildesheim, without consulting the chapter (A.D. 1362), asked where was the library which his predecessors had used. The officials took him into an armoury, where they showed him all sorts of arms, and told him that these were the books which had been used by former bishops, and which were still necessary for the defence of the church's property. After two years, the bishop was able to obtain a translation from this uncongenial sphere to Augsburg. (Chron. Hildesh. in Leibnitz, ii. 799; Quét.-Echard, i. 672.) A later bishop of Hildesheim, Gerhard, in a battle against the dukes of Brunswick, who had for allies the archbishop of Magdeburg and the bishop of Halberstadt, got the victory over their superior force by vowing a gilt roof to St. Mary's church—"Eligeret ergo D. Virgo utro mallet, stramineone an aureo, tecto ornari,"—and he applied the ransom of the dukes to the fulfilment of his vow. Leibn. ii. 800.

[q] *E.g.*, Clementin. l. III. tit. iv. c. 1.

[r] Thus a council at Bologna, A.D. 1317, enacts that the clergy shall not sell wine or other illicit articles; that they shall not keep or haunt taverns; nor shall they be "bastaxii, mimi, histriones vel lenones, carbonerii seu fornerii, cursarii seu piratæ, nisi forsan contra infideles, vel sagiones curiæ sæcularis non existant, vel se guerris voluntarie immisceant, nisi pro defensione sua vel ecclesiæ" (cc. 4, 7). Cf. Clementin. III. tit. i. c. 1; Conc. Avenion. A.D. 1337, c. 38.

[s] *E.g.*, Conc. Tarracon. A.D. 1332, c. 8 (Mansi, xxv.).

[t] See Theiner, ii, 591, seqq.; Giesel.

and continued re-enactments of the canons which had been found so ineffectual for good. Some of the more enlightened divines, such as Zabarella, began to suggest the expediency of removing the restrictions on marriage;[u] but even Gerson was strongly against this, and the old laws, with the evils which resulted from them, continued.[x]

II. iii. 188-91. The bishops usually, for an annual payment, licensed the keeping of concubines, "quæ vulgata jam appellatione *vaccæ annuales* dicuntur." (N. de Clemang. de Præsul. Simoniacis, 162; cf. De Ruina Eccl. c. 22.) "Denique laici usque adeo persuasum habent nullos cœlibes esse, ut in plerisque parochiis non aliter velint presbyterum tolerare nisi concubinam habeat, quo vel sic suis sit consultum uxoribus, quæ ne sic quidem usquequaque sint extra periculum." (De Præsul. Sim. 165.) A council at Padua, in 1339, decreed that no clerk should take his son about with him, nor employ him as an assistant in religious functions, "ne ipsius incontinentiæ vitium ipso filio attestante omnibus revelaret." (c. 4.) Theodoric of Niem says that in Ireland and Norway (two countries so remote from each other and so unlike that we can hardly suppose this connexion of them to be correct), the bishops were accustomed to take their concubines with them on their rounds of visitation, in order that these women might fare sumptuously at the cost of the clergy who were visited, might get gifts from them, see their *amasiæ*, and guard the bishop against the chance of being ensnared by the superior beauty of the ornaments of the parsonage. Theodoric adds that any priest who did not keep a *focaria* was bound to pay procurations to the bishop, as being a "prævaricator paternarum traditionum"; that the wives of priests took precedence of the wives of knights; and that the same sort of laxity was also common in Germany, Spain, and Portugal. (De Schism. iv. 35.) The sons of bishops in Norway were regarded as among "the first and most respected men of the kingdom." (Münter, ii. 126.) In Chaucer, the miller's wife of Trumpington is an important personage in her way, because she is a parson's daughter. (The Reve's Tale, 3940, seqq. See Lea on Sacerdotal Celibacy, 349, Philadelphia, 1867.) At the council of Constance, Theobald, a doctor of divinity, says, "Versum est in proverbium quod prælati tot nutriunt meretrices quot familiares." (V. d. Hardt, i. 909.) John of Varennes speaks of ecclesiastics "quorum vita non est hominum etiam laicorum, sed brutorum; quorum nonnulli in ecclesiis suis coram populo suo palam sæpius dixerunt, et alibi publice, et in taberna quoque, quod pro homine vivente concubinas suas non permitterent abire; sed si satis de una non haberent, duas aut tres reciperent, aut omnes parochianas suas, a prima usque ad ultimam, haberent." Ap. Gerson. i. 918.

[u] Schröckh, xxxiii. 85.

[x] Dialogus Sophiæ et Naturæ super cœlibatu sive castitate Ecclesiasticorum (A.D. 1413) Opp. ii. 617, seqq. At the council of Constance, it was proposed that, whereas some hold that the ministrations of notorious concubinaries may be attended, unless denounced by the bishop, and others consider notoriety to be a sufficient objection, the former opinion should be held as safer than the other, and that notice should be required in order to justify the withdrawal from the communion of such priests. V. d. Hardt, i. 636; Schwab, 957.

Notwithstanding the impulse given to learning by the universities, the great mass of the clergy was still grossly ignorant,[y] and this is a frequent subject of complaint.[z] Cardinal d'Ailly suggested at the council of Constance that, in order to remedy in some degree the ignorance which was common among the priesthood, some plain instructions as to faith and morals, the sacraments, and the mode of confession, should be drawn up both in Latin and in the vernacular languages.[a]

In all varieties of shapes a desire for reform was expressed—in the treatises of such theologians as Gerson, d'Ailly, and Nicolas of Clemanges; in the writings of those Franciscans, such as William of Ockham, who were driven into the imperial interest by the contrast between their ideas of apostolical simplicity and the corruptions of the court of Avignon; in the solemn verse of Dante, and in the indignant letters of Petrarch; in popular poems, stories, and satires, such as the 'Songe du Vergier,' in France, the free tales of Boccaccio,[b] the

[y] "Non tantum a studiis aut schola, sed ab aratro etiam et servilibus artibus, ad parochias regendas, cæteraque beneficia, passim proficiscebantur. Qui haud plus Latinæ linguæ quam Arabicæ intelligerent, imo, qui et nihil legere, et, quod referre pudor, alpha vix nossent a betha discernere." De Corrupto Eccl. Statu, 7 (cf. 24) in V. d. Hardt, I. iii.; Giesel. II. iii. 186-7.

[z] Louis de Beaumont, a Frenchman, whose appointment to the see of Durham has been already mentioned (p. 260), was unable at his consecration, with all the aids of tutoring and prompting, to read or to pronounce the harder words of the Latin formulary.—"Latinum non intelligens, sed cum difficultate pronuncians. Unde cum in consecratione sua profiteri debuit, quamvis per multos dies ante instructorem habuisset, legere nescivit; et cum auriculantibus aliis cum difficultate ad illud verbum *Metropoliticæ* pervenisset, et diu anhelans pronunciare non posset, dixit in Gallico *Seit pur dite*. Stupebant omnes circumstantes, dolentes talem in episcopum consecrandum. Et cum similiter celebraret ordines, nec illud verbum *in ænigmate* proferre posset, dixit circumstantibus, *Par Seynt Lowys il ne fut pas curteis qui ceste parole ici escrit*." Rob. de Graystanes, in Angl. Sac. i. 761.

[a] De Reform. Eccles. ap. Gerson, ii. 914. At the council of Basel, an auditor of the papal palace said that many monks were ordained to the priesthood "non propter prædicationis officium, sed devotionem et sacrificii multiplicationem; ideo secundum S. Thomam non ita rigide debent in scientia examinari sicut sacerdotes promovendi ad curam animarum." Petr. Zatacensis, in Monum. Conc. Basel. i. 296.

[b] *E.g.*, the second novel of the first decade of the Decameron.

downright invectives of Piers the Ploughman, and the living pictures of Chaucer; in the critical spirit which grew up within the universities; in the teaching of Wyclif, Hus, and their followers; in the utterances of men and women whose sanctity was believed to be accompanied by the gift of prophecy.[c] The cry for a general council, which in former times had been raised only in the way of appeal from the papacy by its opponents, was now taken up by the truest members of the church, not only with a view to ending the schism which had long distracted western Christendom, but in order to that reformation of which the necessity was felt by all but those whose interest was bound up with the corruptions of the existing system.[d] Yet even among the many who sincerely wished for reform, there were some who believed that it would come better from the pope than from a council; and the hopes which had been fixed on the council of Constance met with scanty fulfilment in its decrees, and with still less in the execution of them.[e]

II. *Monasticism.*

(1.) Although during this time a feeling was often expressed that the number of persons professing the monastic life was already too great, and although restrictions had been placed on the indefinite multiplication of orders,[f] some new communities were now formed, such as the Jesuates,[g] the congregation of the Blessed Virgin of Mount Olivet,[h] the Alexians or Cellites,[i] the order of St. Bridget of Sweden,[k] the brotherhood of Canons-

[c] Döllinger on the Prophetic Spirit in the Christian Era, transl. by Plummer, p. 69.

[d] See Giesel. II. iii. 165.

[e] Schröckh, xxxiii. 69.

[f] See vol. vi. 421.

[g] See the life of the founder, John Columbino, in Acta SS. Jul. 31.

[h] Schröckh, xxxiii. 158. The rule is in Holsten. v. 1, seqq. See Gobellinus (Pius II.) Comment. 483.

[i] Mosh. ii. 680-9.

[k] See above, p. 194. Holsten. iii. 100.

regular of the Common Life (founded at Deventer by Gerard Groot, which was distinguished by the care which it bestowed on the education of students intended for the priesthood[l]), and no less than four orders which took their name from St. Jerome.[m] But no one of these societies was so remarkable either for its constitution or for the extent of its success as to require a more particular detail.

(2.) The older orders, which possessed endowments, and had already shown themselves affected by the temptations of wealth, continued to decline more and more from the rigour of their original profession. Thus the Benedictines gave themselves up to enjoyment—resting on their historical fame, and careless to add to the long list of popes and bishops and learned men who had already adorned their brotherhood.[n] They contributed nothing to the intellectual movements of the time; the few writers whom the society now produced, instead of attempting to distinguish themselves in scholastic philosophy, were content to employ their labour on subjects of morality or practical religion.[o] Even in the mother-monastery of the order, the great and venerable abbey of Monte Cassino, Boccaccio is said to have found the library without a door, herbage growing through the windows, the books thickly covered with dust, and the volumes cruelly mutilated by the monks, who, for the sake of some trifling gain, erased the writing from the leaves, and turned them into little books of devotion,[p] or pared away the ample margins and made them into charms[q] for sale to women.[r] And when Urban V., on

[l] Rayn. 1384. 6; Schröckh, xxxiii. 169-75; Giesel. II. iii. 224, seqq.; iv. 303, seqq.; Ullmann, ii. 59, seqq. The founder, of whom there is a life by Thomas of Kempten, was born in 1340, and died in 1384.

[m] Schröckh, xxxiii. 163; Holsten. tt. iii., vi.

[n] Schröckh, xxxiii. 90-1.

[o] Giesel. II. iii. 193.

[p] "Psalteriolos."

[q] "Brevia." See Ducange, i. 771, No. 11.

[r] Benven. Imol. (a pupil of Boc-

a vacancy in the headship, attempted to introduce a better system into the house, he found himself obliged to borrow a fit instrument either from the Camaldolites, or from the reformed brotherhood of Mount Olivet.[s] Attempts to revive the Benedictine rule were made by Clement V.,[t] and by Benedict XII., who had intended to carry his reforms into other monastic orders;[u] but Clement VI., in the first year of his pontificate, absolved them from the penalties which had been imposed by his predecessor.[x]

In other monastic societies a similar degeneracy was noted. Thus, at the council of Pisa, bishop Hallam, of Salisbury, complained of the bad state of discipline into which the English Cistercians had fallen; and the abbot of Cîteaux, unable to deny the fact, alleged the schism of the church as the cause of it.[y] At the same council, the prior of Canterbury, while speaking well of the Cluniacs of England, described those of some French monasteries which he had visited as ignorant, as neglectful of discipline and of the monastic habit, as having no proper vestments even for use in the services of the church, and as being altogether more like mere cultivators of the soil than monks;[z] and from many quarters there is a concurrence of evidence as to a general decay of discipline and learning, with an increased love of

caccio) in Murat. Antiq. Ital. i. 1296. "Nunc ergo," is his reflection, "O vir studiose, frange tibi caput pro faciendo libros."

[s] See Baluz. V. P. A. 1039.

[t] Clementin. III. x. 1.

[u] See p. 127; Mansi, xxv. 205; Baluz. Vitæ Pap. Aven. i. 205-6, 218; Wilkins, ii. 525-621, 626, 656.

[x] Mansi, xxv. 1155; Baluz. Miscell. iv. 27; Vitæ Pap. Aven. i. 285.

[y] Martene, Coll. Ampl. vii. 1117.

[z] Ib. 1118. This prior was Chillenden, whose name is memorable in connexion with the fabric of his cathedral. "Et credatis," says the writer who reports him, "quod ipse est mirabilis persona in litteratura et moribus, et magnæ experientiæ vir, et multum zelat rempublicam, et est æque bene reddituatus sicut unus magnus episcopus." Burchard of Strasburg says of a later prior, Sellyng (A.D. 1487), "Qui ex privilegio mitra et aliis pontificalibus insigniis utitur, ascenduntque fructus prioratus sui ad ducatos 7000 incirca ut dicitur." Diarium ed. Gennarelli, 89.

selfish and sensual enjoyments.[a] In some cases the monastic rule which forbade individual property was openly violated;[b] the common life of the refectory and of the dormitory fell into disuse; the monks had their separate dwellings, and any abbot who attempted to bring them back to a better observance of their rule was met by violent opposition.[c] So generally did laxity of morals prevail among the monastic communities, that, according to the writer of the tract "On the corrupt State of the Church," any monk who led a correct life became the laughing-stock of the rest.[d] The same writer describes nunneries as abodes of the grossest profligacy;[e] he adds that, on account of the degeneracy of the monkish societies, the promise, "All these things shall be added unto you," is no longer fulfilled to them;[f] and we meet

[a] Thus John of Trittenheim says in his chronicle of Hirschau, A.D. 1354, "Erat enim tempus illud nebulosum et ignorantiæ tenebris plenum; quando periit non solum in hoc monasterio Hirsaugiensi, sed in omnibus quoque monasteriis nostri ordinis pæne in tota Germania, observantia regularis; et monachi, carnis voluptatibus dediti, studium litterarum, quod majores nostros quondam fecit gloriosos, penitus abjicientes," etc. (Opera, p. 227; cf. 230.) At Spanheim, under an abbot elected in 1374, the monks began to sell the precious library, as well as relics, etc. (Ib. 333; cf. Conc. Provinc. Magdeb. A.D. 1370, etc.) Æneas Sylvius (Pius II.) says that the Scottish convent at Vienna, by giving in to luxury, became impoverished to such a degree that only eight monks could be maintained, instead of sixty. The property was so burdened that at length the bell was pledged to a Jew, whose permission the monks were obliged to buy for every stroke that was sounded on it. Hist. Frid. in Kollar, ii. 36.

[b] Trithem. 237; letter of John Belhoiste, a Carthusian, to the abbot of St. Laurence, at Liége, in Martene, Coll. Ampl. i. 1556. There were discussions about property at the council of Constance. See V. d. Hardt, iii. 107, seqq.; Hefele, vii. 367.

[c] Trithem. p. 337.

[d] De Corrupto Eccl. Statu, c. 39; cf. 32.

[e] "Ut idem sit puellam velare quod et publice ad scortandum exponere" (c. 36). Theodoric of Vrie says that nuns were sometimes driven by the tyranny of bishops to prostitute themselves for the means of living. (V. d. Hardt, i. 75.) As to the habits of nuns a century earlier, a decree of Clement V. at the council of Vienne may be quoted:—"Moniales ipsæ (quarum nonnullas dolentes audivimus in subscriptis excedere) pannis sericis, variorum fœderaturis, sandalitiis, comatis et cornutis crinibus, scaccatis et virgatis caputiolis non utantur; non choreas, non festa sæcularium prosequantur, non die noctuve per plateas incedant, aut voluptuosam alias vitam ducant," etc. Clementin. III. x. 2. See Rulman Merswin, 'Of the Nine Rocks,' p. 381.

[f] C. 32.

with strong dissuasives against that liberality in gifts and bequests on which the monks of earlier days had securely relied.[g] In England, both William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester in the end of the fourteenth century, and William of Wayneflete, who held the same see in the middle of the fifteenth, allege the prevailing degeneracy of the monks as their motive for bestowing their wealth on the foundation of colleges rather than of convents.[h]

(3.) The system of commendation was very mischievous in its effects on monastic discipline. The popes, by assuming the power to bestow abbacies *in commendam* on their cardinals, deprived many monasteries of a resident head.[i] In such cases the revenues were diverted from their proper objects; the number of monks was reduced to a very few, who, instead of being bound to the observance of their rule, received a small stipend, and were allowed to spend it wherever they pleased; and the poor were deprived of their accustomed alms.[k] In some cases it is complained that a monastery was burdened with an abbot who was disqualified by his previous training—a secular priest, or a member of some other order;[l] and charges of simony are as rife with regard to monastic appointments as to the other promotions of the church.[m]

(4.) The exemption of monasteries from episcopal control was continually a matter of complaint, especially on the part of bishops, who represented it as destructive of ecclesiastical discipline.[n] The subject was discussed

[g] *E.g.*, Piers Ploughman's Vision, 10255, seqq.

[h] Lowth, Life of Wykeham, 91; Chandler, Life of Waynflete, 182. In the beginning of the 16th century, Fox, bishop of Winchester, was dissuaded by Oldham, of Exeter, from founding a monastery, but on a somewhat different ground—"plura jamdudum monachos possidere, quam ut diu retenturos judicaret." He therefore applied his money to the foundation of C.C.C., Oxford. Godwin de Præsul. 235.

[i] Giesel. II. iii. 192.

[k] De modis uniendi, etc., Eccl., Gerson, Opera, ii. 174; Gesta Abbat. S Albani, 396.

[l] Ib. 397; Theod. Niem, De necessitate Reform. etc., in V. d. Hardt, i. 287.

[m] Ib.; Theod. Vrie, ib. 60.

[n] Giesel. II. iii. 202-3.

at the council of Vienne, where it was argued (somewhat unfairly as to the question of monasteries) that the crimes which were then imputed to the templars had arisen out of their exemption from episcopal authority.[o] To this an abbot of the diocese of Senlis replied, that exemptions were necessary for the protection of monks against the tyranny of the bishops; and he commended his cause to the pope by dwelling on the closeness of the connexion between the exempt monasteries and the apostolic see. Clement was not disposed to embroil himself with the monastic orders; and the proposal for the abolition of exemptions, which had been made by Giles Colonna, archbishop of Bourges, was defeated.[p] At the council of Constance a very small measure of reform was conceded by Martin V., in abolishing such exemptions as had been granted since the beginning of the schism.[q]

(5.) The mendicant orders did not escape the accusations which were directed against the professors of the monastic life in general. We meet with invectives against them as luxurious[r] and assuming, as indulging in a splendour of buildings inconsistent with the spirit of their rules;[s] and the collisions between their privileges and

[o] Rayn. 1312. 24, quoting a memoir by a bishop. The annalist defends exemptions. Vol. iv. p. 580.

[p] Rayn. t. iv. 567, seqq.; Hefele, vi. 463.

[q] V. d. Hardt, i. 1029. See Richard of Ulverstone against exemptions, Art. 6, in V. d. Hardt, i. xxvii.

[r] At a somewhat later time, A.D. 1475, we are told of a cook who, "inter ollas superbiens, et in humili ministerio vanæ gloriæ auram captans," made too luxurious preparations for a general chapter of the Franciscans, and persisted in this, notwithstanding sharp rebukes; whereupon St. James of the Mark of Ancona cursed him, and the cook "paulo post e sodalitio recedens, quod vates prædixit, misere periit." Wadding, xiv. 127.

[s] See, *e. g.*, Clementin. V. ix. i., coll. 322-4; Wright, Political Songs, 255-6, 267, 304, seqq.; P. Ploughman's Vision, 84, 115, etc.; Æn. Sylv. in Kollar, ii. 10; Testamentum fratris Lope de Salinis, A.D. 1458, in Wadding, xiii. 86-115. The author of the tract 'De Ruina Ecclesiæ' calls them wolves in sheep's clothing, and is very severe on them (c. 22). St. Antoninus says that the relaxation in the discipline of the mendicants was commonly supposed to date from the Black Death, by which they lost many of their most exemplary members, and were thrown into disorder which the authorities were afterwards unable to remedy. iii. 357.

the rights of the parochial clergy were incessant. Council after council, and other authorities in various countries, endeavoured, but seemingly with very imperfect success, to limit the friars in their claims to act as preachers and confessors everywhere, and to bury the dead without restriction in their cemeteries, and thus to deprive the secular clergy of respect, authority, and income.[t] Yet the mendicants continued throughout this time to enjoy more of influence and of reputation than any of the other orders. The great brotherhoods of St. Dominic and St. Francis were stimulated by their rivalry; but yet a division of objects and of labour was in a manner established between them. The Dominicans especially studied scientific theology; their Albert and their Thomas were regarded as next in authority to the ancient doctors of the church. They were preachers and controversialists, were much employed as confessors and confidants of princes, and had the inquisition almost entirely in their hands. The Franciscans, although they too had their theologians, who were unsurpassed by any in subtlety, were on the whole more given to popular teaching and ministrations; and they sought by all means—even by unscrupulous impostures—to gain an influence over the great mass of the people.[u]

The universities of Paris and of Oxford were much disquieted by the mendicants. At Paris, in 1321, John of Poilly, a doctor of the Sorbonne, was required to re-

[t] Raynald. 1304. 21; 1384. 5: Clementin. III. vii. 2; Extrav. III. vi. 2; V. vii. 1; viii. 3; Conc. Prag. A.D. 1346, in Mansi, xxv. 87, 102; Conc. Prag. A.D. 1355, c. 36; Conc. Biterr. A.D. 1352, c. 6; Conc. Saltzburg. A.D. 1386. 8; Conc. Vaurense, A.D. 1368, cc. 63-5; Langham, A.D. 1368, in Wilkins, iii. 64; Rebdorf, in Freher, i. 418; P. Ploughman's Vision, 6678, seqq.; De modis uniendi Ecclesiam, etc., in Gerson, ii. 175. In 1258, a friar was made to retract for having taught at Oxford that the tithes of parishes were due to the mendicants, rather than to the rectors. Munim. Oxon (Chron. and Mem.) i. 209.

[u] Schröckh, xxxiii. 94-6; Giesel. II. iii. 204 5. In the Ploughman's Creed, the four orders of friars are cleverly made to denounce each other's special faults. Wright, Pol. Songs, 309, seqq.

tract certain opinions which he had uttered against the claim of the friars to act as confessors. He held that confession to a friar did not dispense with the necessity of again confessing the same sins to the parish priest; that so long as the canon of the fourth council of Lateran should be in force, the pope could not excuse from the duty of yearly confession to the parish priest; nay, that even God himself could not do so, inasmuch as it would involve a contradiction. Against these opinions a treatise was written by Peter Paludanus, a Dominican, and John of Poilly, after pope John himself had condescended to argue with him, submitted to retract in the presence of the cardinals.[x]

In 1409, John of Gorel, a Franciscan, had gone so far as to deny that curates had, by virtue of their office, authority to preach, confess, administer extreme unction, to bury, and to receive tithes—maintaining that the work of preaching and of hearing confession belonged more especially to the friars. He was compelled by the Sorbonne to subscribe certain propositions of a directly contrary tenor, and to acknowledge that the duties in question belonged essentially to curates, and to the friars only by accident.[y]

Attempts were repeatedly made to check the pretensions of the mendicants. Thus the continuator of William of Nangis relates that in the pontificate of Clement VI. the cardinals and other prelates urged that the mendicant orders should be abolished, or that, at least, the friars should be restrained from invading the rights of the parochial clergy; but that

A.D. 1351.

[x] Extrav. V. iii. 2; Mart. Thes. i. 1368; D'Argentré, i. 301; Eymeric, 126, 250; Chron. Anon. in Bouquet, xxi. 153; Monach. Sandion. iv. 298; Raynald. 1321. 20, seqq.; Mansi, xxv. 576 7. Eugenius IV. denounced a revival of John of Poilly's opinions. Rayn. 1447. 11.

[y] D'Argentré, I. ii. 178. Cf. Gerson contra Bullam Mendicantium, Opp. ii. 436.

the pope defeated the attempt by asking them whether, if the labours of the mendicants should be withdrawn, they themselves would be able to make up for the loss of them.[z] The failure of Fitzralph, bishop of Armagh, in his suit against the mendicants, a few years later, has already been noticed.[a] The bull of the Franciscan pope, Alexander V., in 1409, which appears to have been solicited by his order in consequence of the condemnation of Gorel,[b] the opposition of the university of Paris, and the revocation of the bull by John XXIII.—have also come before us in the course of the history.[c]

The divisions which arose among the Franciscans out of the extreme ideas of apostolical poverty maintained by those who arrogated to themselves the name of *spirituals* have already fallen under our notice.[d] In consequence of the condemnation which John XXII. had passed on such ideas, the spirituals declared him to be the mystical antichrist, the forerunner of the greater antichrist; that all later popes, as they had not repudiated his opinions, were heretics, and that those who adhered to them could not be saved.[e] On the other hand, Gerard, the master who was appointed on the deprivation of Michael of Cesena, attempted to procure an abrogation of the founder's precept that the Franciscans should not receive gifts of money; but to this John sternly refused to consent.[f] In consequence of these dissensions, many members forsook the order, and joined the parties which were known as fraticelli, beghards, and the like. Many of them ran into errors which were considered to be heretical, and suffered death at the stake.[g]

[z] W. Nang. cont. 112. See above, p. 167.

[a] P. 262.

[b] Schwab, 459.

[c] P. 248.

[d] Vol. vi. 430; vol. vii. 91-2.

[e] Antonin. iii. 306. He says that the party was long numerous in the mark of Ancona and in the neighbouring regions, but that they were at length driven to Greece. (See Gieseler, II. iii. 208.) Some of them who went into Sicily turned Mussulmans. Wadd. 1318. 8; Hefele, vi. 509.

[f] A.D. 1331. Wadd. 1331. 10-11.

[g] *E.g.*, Baluz. Vita I. Innoc. VI.

But besides these more violent differences, the order came to be divided into various classes—one of which was styled *zoccolanti*, from wearing wooden shoes like the peasantry.[h] At length was established the great division into *conventuals*—those who lived together in their societies—and *observants*, who professed especial regard for the integrity of the Franciscan rule.[i] This latter section, although it had undergone some persecution at an earlier date, was acknowledged by the council of Constance;[k] but we find in later times many manifestations of jealousy and enmity between the two parties.[l]

The Franciscans, partly perhaps by way of compensation for their departure from the founder's rule, carried their reverence for him into greater and greater extravagances. Among other things, it was said that St. Francis once a year went down from heaven to purgatory, and released all who had died in the habit of his brotherhood.[m] And it was in this time that the notorious 'Book of Conformities' was produced, and was approved by the authorities of the order.[n]

The Dominicans, too, while they departed from the mendicant ideal, so that some of their writers maintained their right to hold property,[o] were excited by the rivalry of the Franciscans to set up for their founder pretensions which are clearly blasphemous. Thus in the Life of St. Catharine of Siena, written by her confessor, Raymond of Capua, who was afterwards general of the order, the

Vita I. Ben. XII. p. 205; Vita IV. Urb. V.; Rebdorf, in Freher, i. 441. See Gieseler, II. iii. 208; and p. 93, above.

[h] Schröckh, xxxiii. 128.

[i] See Wadding, 1368. 10; 1384. 1, seqq.; 1387. 1, seqq.; 1390. 1, seqq., etc.

[k] V. d. Hardt, iv. 515; Giesel. II. i. 213-14.

[l] See Wadding, *passim*.

[m] Herm. Corner, in Eccard. ii. 1101. Wadding says of this story, "Neque illa adeo incredibilis aut nova debet reputari, ut hæretica aut erronea dicenda sit" (1378. 28; cf. Giesel. II. iii. 305.) It was condemned by the council of Basel in 1443. Harzh. v. 865 Giesel. II. iv. 299.

[n] See vol. vi. p. 118.

[o] See Gieseler, II. iii. 204.

almighty Father is represented as producing from his head the coëternal Son, and from his breast St. Dominic, declaring that his adopted son Dominic stood on an equality with the only-begotten Son, and carrying out a parallel between the eternal Word and the founder of the order of preaching friars.[p]

III. *Rites and Usages.*

(1.) In matters which concerned the worship of the church, the same tendencies which had appeared throughout many former ages were still continued, and it was in vain that the more enlightened teachers protested against the further developments of popular superstition and of exaggerated ceremonial.[q]

(2.) The festival of Corpus Christi was established by Clement V.,[r] and further privileges were connected with the celebration by Urban VI. and Boniface IX.[s] The doctrine embodied in this festival was supposed to be confirmed by fresh miracles, although some of these were not unquestioned, or were even admitted to be impostures.[t]

The number of masses was multiplied, partly as a means of securing fees for the clergy. Alvar Pelayo says that St. Francis had especially wished to preserve his order from this temptation, by prescribing that no one should celebrate more than one mass daily, forasmuch as a single mass "filled heaven and earth";[u] but that the

[p] "Ego, dulcissima filia, istos duos filios genui, unum naturaliter generando, alterum amabiliter et dulciter adoptando:" and then follows the parallel. Acta SS., Apr. 30, p. 913.

[q] See, *e.g.*, d'Ailly, De Reformatione, in Gerson, ii. 911.

[r] See vol. vi. p. 445.

[s] Rayn. 1389. 4.

[t] See as to the miracle of Wilsnack, above, p. 312. Duke Albert of Austria informed Benedict XII. that in the Austrian town of Neirmiburch (?) a wafer stained with blood was found, and that a priest confessed to having put the blood on it (the wafer being unconsecrated), in order to throw suspicion on the Jews of profaning the sacrament. Rayn. 1338. 19.

[u] De Pl. Eccl. ii. 52, in Giesel. 279.

minorites, in disregard of their founder's wishes, eagerly caught at the opportunity of gain.[x]

The withdrawal of the eucharistic cup from the laity had become general, although a special exception was sometimes made by popes in favour of royal personages; as was the case with the kings of France—who, however, availed themselves of this privilege only at their coronation and on their death-bed.[y] In England both the king and the queen at their coronation received the sacrament in both kinds; and it is recorded that Henry V. did so when dying.[z] The story of the emperor Henry VII.'s death, whether true or false as to the alleged poisoning, implies that the emperors were then accustomed to communicate in the eucharistic cup.[a]

In Bohemia, the older practice remained to a late period. But the collisions between Bohemians and Germans in the university of Prague tended to discountenance it,[b] and when (as we have seen) the usage was revived by Jacobellus of Misa, the question was brought before the council of Constance by the bishop of Leitomysl. Gerson was strongly opposed to the administration of the chalice.[c] A committee drew up conclusions on the question, allowing that according to the Saviour's institution the chalice ought to be administered, but maintaining that the church had both authority and reason for departing from the original method; and in

[x] See as to Paderborn, above, p. 465.

[y] Schröckh, xxxiii. 328.

[z] Palmer, Supplem. to Origines Liturgicæ, p. 83, from the Liber Regalis, which is of Richard II.'s time (ib. 56); Maskell, Monum. Ritual. Angl. iii. pp. liv., 45. Dr. Pauli quotes Elmham and the Gesta Henrici as stating that Henry V. received "Dominici corporis et sanguinis sacramentæ," but questions whether this is to be literally taken (v. 174). Considering what we know of other cases, the doubt seems to be needless, and Walsingham, who says only "vivifici corporis," is not to be understood as contradictory, but merely as less definite.

[a] See vol. vii. p. 75.

[b] Schröckh, xxxiii. 324, seqq.

[c] Opera, i. 457, seqq. "Si ad proprietatem locutionis attendamus, non proprie sanguis in calice bibitur, sed sola vini species, cum sub specie vini eundem modum sanguis Christi habeat existendi quem habeat omnimode sub specie panis." Col. 462.

accordance with this report, the council condemned Jacobellus, and forbade the practice.[d]

(3.) The doctrine of indulgences, as it had been stated by Thomas of Aquino, was for the first time sanctioned by papal authority in the bull by which Clement VI. proclaimed the jubilee of 1350,[e] and from that time might be regarded as generally established in the church. The use of these privileges, which the popes dispensed at will, was rapidly developed. Small indulgences were to be gained every day, and by the performance of very trivial acts;[f] and the greater indulgences, which had originally been granted for the holy war against the Saracens, were now bestowed on more ordinary considerations. The institution of the jubilee had contributed greatly to advance the popularity of indulgences; and this effect became still greater when Boniface IX. professed to extend the benefits of the jubilee to those who, instead of going to Rome in person, should visit certain churches in their own neighbourhood, and should pay into the papal treasury the sum which a Roman pilgrimage would have cost them.[g] The abuse was carried yet further by allowing the privileges of a jubilee-year at other times,[h] and by sending into all countries "stationers" or "quæstuaries" to offer the benefit of

[d] Sess. General. XIII. (June 15, 1415), V d. Hardt, iii. 586, seqq., 646; iv. 332-4; Schröckh, xxxiii. 358-9; Hefele, vii. 13. Hus, who was then in prison, was greatly distressed by this, and wrote in favour of Jacobellus, ib. 336.

[e] Extrav. Comm. De Pœnit. et Remiss. c. 2; Giesel. II. iii. 282-3. See above, p. 170.

[f] Giesel. II. iii. 284. Gregory X. having ordered that the head should be bowed at the name of Jesus in the mass, some councils granted ten days' indulgence for so doing (Conc. Aven. A.D. 1326, c. 4; Conc. Biterr. A.D. 1352, c. 1). So the council of Apt, in 1365 (c. 2), gave an indulgence of twenty days for bending the knees at certain words in the mass. In the Register of R. de Kellawe, bishop of Durham, (Chron. and Mem.) are many indulgences of forty days for praying for certain persons—in some instances for their welfare during life as well as for their souls after death.

[g] See pp. 228-9.

[h] "Hoc anno (1392) per illustrissimum principem Steffanum ducem Bavariæ annus jubilæus a sede apostolica fuit impetratus et in civitate Monaco peractus." Chron. Elwacense, in Pertz, XVI.

indulgences at every man's door; and from these practices a general corruption of ideas as to morality naturally resulted.[i] Gerson endeavoured to expose the mistakes of the system; he declared that the Saviour alone was entitled to grant some of the privileges which were usually proclaimed by His ministers on earth;[k] but the popular belief was commonly proof against enlightenment on a matter in which the papal doctrine was so well adapted to the desires of coarse and superstitious minds.[l]

(4.) While the church was lavish of its graces, it was no less prodigal of its censures; and from the excessive employment of these arose a general disregard of them.[m] Froissart mentions an incident which is evidence at once of the contempt into which such sentences had fallen through abuse, and of the independent spirit of the English—that when the Flemings had been laid under an interdict of the most terrible kind for siding with Edward III. in 1340, the English king told them that they need not be uneasy, "for as soon as he should again cross the sea, he would bring them priests of his own country, who would chant masses to them, whether the pope willed it or not; for he was well privileged to do so."[n] The monastic orders, although usually leagued

[i] Schröckh, xxxiii. 465-6; Giesel. II. iii. 284-6.

[k] Opera, ii. 514.

[l] It is said, however, that Boniface IX., by his promiscuous offers of indulgences, tempted many persons to suppose that gain was his only object, and to question his power by saying that God alone could do away with guilt, and that indulgences were only the remission of temporal punishment—"Dicere non timebant, 'Anima nostra nauseat super hoc cibo levissimo'" (Num. xxi. 5). Gobel. Pers. 320.

[m] De Ruina Eccl. 8. See above, p. 72, note [e]. A council in 1326 ordered "ut locus non interdicatur pro pecuniario debito sine sedis apostolicæ licentia" (Conc. Marciac. c. 54); but we are told that in 1343 a Jew of Memmingen, being unable to get payment from his debtors, begged the bishop to interdict the place; and that the bishop, being deeply in his debt, consented to do so. Joh. Vitodur. in Eccard, i. 1899.

[n] C. 106, t. i. 290. Edward II. had promised the clergy that he would not issue letters interfering with their power of excommunication, "nisi in casu in quo possit inveniri lædi per excommunicationem regiam libertatem." 9 Edw. II. stat. i. c. 1.

with the papacy, did much to nullify the force of interdicts, by leaving doors or windows open while the services of the church were performed in their chapels, so that the people standing without might have the benefit of their privileged offices. Clement V., in order to prevent this evasion, charged the members of religious societies to conform to the practice of the principal church in every place.[o]

In former times, popes had sometimes chosen the Thursday before Easter as a day for pronouncing curses against persons who had specially opposed or offended them.[p] Towards the end of the thirteenth century it became usual to repeat on that day such sentences as had been uttered against particular offenders; and hence in the following century grew a custom of denouncing on Maundy Thursday a general anathema against all enemies of the church.[q]

(5.) The multiplication of saints and of festivals continued, although not without protests against the evil consequences of the excess to which it had been carried. Archbishop Islip of Canterbury, in 1362, complained of the bad effects which resulted from the observance of too many holy-days, and put forth a list of festivals, which, although reduced from the number before observed, amount to about fifty in addition to the Sundays of the year.[r] And the archbishop describes the manner

[o] Rayn. 1310. 45.

[p] As in the case of Paschal II. and the emperor Henry V., A.D. 1102, and of Gregory IX. and Frederick II., A.D. 1227. So the envoys of Henry II. of England, in 1171, feared that Alexander III. would excommunicate their master on Maundy Thursday, on account of the murder of Becket. S. Thom. Cant. ed. Giles, vi. 200.

[q] Schröckh, xxxi. 528; Giesel. II. iii. 297-8; iv. 376.

[r] Spelman, Concilia, ii. 609. He had before given the document at p. 500, as issued by abp. Mepham, in 1332; and so it appears in Wilkins, ii. 560. The name of Simon is common to the two archbishops; but the mention of another Simon (Sudbury) as bishop of London, and the date "nostræ consecrationis anno XIII." (which Wilkins would amend by reading "quinto"), show that Islip was the author. In 1346, a council at Prague prescribed about the same number of holy-days (Mansi, xxvi. 91), but where

of keeping these days as marked by coarse debauchery and misrule. Cardinal d'Ailly, at a later time, complains that the festivals were turned into occasions of dissipation, whereas the working-days were not sufficient for a labouring man to earn his bread; and he suggests that, except on Sundays, it should be allowed to work after having attended the religious service of the day.[s] In like manner Nicolas of Clemanges speaks of the number of festivals as excessive, and denounces the idleness, drunkenness, and other vices to which they were commonly perverted.[t] He also criticizes severely the services which had been drawn up for some of the newer festivals, and complains that the worship of God was neglected for that of the saints—that the reading of legends had superseded that of Scripture in the offices of the church.[u] Cardinal Zabarella, Henry of Hesse, and other divines of the age, bear evidence to the manner in which festivals were abused, and urge that the number of them should be reduced.[x] On the other hand, however, Gerson proposed that a festival should be instituted in honour of St. Joseph, the husband of the Saviour's mother; and thus to him is due the origin of a celebration which has in later times been raised into greater importance by the overflow of the reverence directed to the blessed Virgin.[y]

as the only saint unknown to Scripture in the English list is Thomas of Canterbury (whose translation is commemorated as well as his martyrdom), the Bohemian list has many such. The Conception of the B. V. is in the English list, but not in the other. The Prague canon allows work to be done after mass on some days. For other lists of festivals, see Conc. Tarracon. A.D. 1329, c. 12; Conc. Benev. A.D. 1378, c. 63; Abp. Arundel, A.D. 1400, in Wilkins, iii. 52; Conc. Herbipol. A.D. 1407, c. 22; A.D. 1411, c. 4 (Harzheim, v.); Concilia Scotiæ, 74.

[s] De Reform. in Conc. Const., ap. Gerson, ii. 911.

[t] "De novis celebritatibus non instituendis." Opp. i. 143-7.

[u] Ib. 156-9.

[x] Zabar. in V. d. Hardt, i. 514; Henr. de Hassia, quoted by Gerson, Opp. i. 40. See the proposals for reform at Constance, V. d. Hardt, i. 733.

[y] See Gerson, iii. 842, seqq.; iv. 729, 731, seqq., and his 'Josephina' (a poem of about 3000 hexameters), iv.

To the festivals in honour of St. Mary were added those of the Visitation and the Presentation—the former commemorating her visit to her cousin Elizabeth;[z] the latter, a supposed presentation or dedication by her parents at the age of three months, from which time it was imagined that she was brought up in the Temple until her espousal to Joseph at the age of eleven.[a] Thus the number of festivals consecrated to the blessed Virgin was extended to seven.

The festival of her Conception made way continually. In England it was established in 1328 by archbishop Mepham, who wrongly referred the origin of it to his predecessor St. Anselm;[b] in France, the observance of it was decreed by the French "nation" in the university of Paris in 1380.[c] The doctrine of the immaculate conception became almost universal, except in the Dominican order. The Franciscans had at first been divided as to this doctrine, some of them (as Alvar Pelayo) denying it;[d] but the opposition of the Dominicans decided the course of the rival order, who became enthusiastic advocates of the Immaculate Conception.[e] At Paris,

743; Lenfant, Conc. de Pise, II. ii. 31. St. Joseph's day (March 19) was made a festival of obligation by Gregory XV. in 1621, and was confirmed by Urban VIII. in 1642. (Alban Butler, March 19.) It was made a festival of nine lessons by the general chapter of the Franciscans in 1399 (Wadd. 1399. 7), and a cardinal-legate, in 1414, sanctioned the keeping of it in the provinces of Reims, Sens, and Rouen, on the ground that it had been introduced elsewhere. Baluz. Miscell. iii. 111. See Acta SS., Mart. 19, p. 7; C. Schmidt, in Herzog, v. 97.

[z] Walsingh. ii. 207; Bonifac. IX. (referring to Urban VI. as having intended the like), in Rayn. 1389. 3; Andr. Ratisbon. in Pez, IV. iii. 595; Acta SS., Jul. 2, p. 264; Joh. Hagen, in Mart. Coll. Ampl. i. 1579.

[a] Niceph. Callisti, ii. 3, p. 134, ed. Paris, 1630. The Presentation was introduced by Gregory XI. in 1372. Schröckh, xxxiii. 396.

[b] Wilkins, ii. 552; Giesel. II. iii. 273. For the groundlessness of this, see vol. v. p. 417.

[c] Giesel. II. iii. 273. Thierry, abbot of New Corbey, enjoined the observance of the festival on all who were subject to him, A.D. 1357, alleging as a special reason that miracles had lately shed lustre on it. Martene, Coll. Ampl. i. 1471.

[d] De Planctu Eccl. ii. 52, ap. Giesel. II. iii. 274.

[e] It is told of the Franciscan St. Bernardine of Siena: "Testatur B. Joannes Capistranus, quoties de B.

the university was swayed in behalf of this doctrine by the authority of the great Franciscan, Duns Scotus;[f] and when John of Monçon (or de Montesono), a Spanish Dominican, disputed against it at Paris, in 1387, he was condemned as heretical by the university, as well as by the bishop of Paris.[g] On appealing to Clement VII., he found himself opposed at Avignon by a deputation from the university, headed by Peter d'Ailly;[h] and, finding that his cause was going against him, he pretended to submit, but secretly withdrew to his native kingdom of Aragon, where he joined the obedience of the rival pope, and wrote in support of his claims.[i] His excommunication by Clement followed;[k] but while the Franciscans maintain that this was on account of his doctrine, the Dominicans contend that it was wholly caused by his defection from the party of Clement.[l] The university took up the matter strongly; it was decreed that no one should be admitted to a degree except on condition of swearing to the late decision, which, although directed only against the absolute denial of the doctrine, was soon interpreted as positively favourable to it.[m] The academics compelled William of Valence, a Dominican, who was bishop of Evreux and confessor to the king, to give up the defence of John of Monçon, and to subscribe their formula; and the king resolved to have no more

Virgine prædicabat, faciem ejus tanquam Seraphin solari fulgore irradiari et igniri solitam." Wadd. 1380. 8.

[f] Schröckh, xxxiii. 362.

[g] Gerson, i. 644; Juv. des Urs. 62; Mansi, in Raynald. t. vii. 501; Monach. Sandionys. l. viii. c. 8; Bul. iv. 618; D'Argentré, I. ii. 61, seqq.; Nat. Alex. xv. 234, seqq.; Giesel. II. iii. 274-5.

[h] Mon. Sandion. l. ix. c. 2. D'Ailly's speeches and tract against John of Monçon are in Gerson, i. 698, seqq., and in D'Argentré. I. ii. 66, seqq. The deputies were sworn to confine themselves to their proper business, and not to look after benefices. Mon. Sandion. t. i. 514.

[i] Ib. 516; Raynald. 1389. 15, 17; 1391. 24-6.

[k] D'Argentré, I. ii. 131, 147.

[l] Quét. and Echard, i. 693. Juvenal des Ursins says that he was sentenced to return to Paris and to retract publicly, and that he promised to do so, but absconded by night. 66. See Baluz. VV. Pap. Aven. i. 1375, 521-2.

[m] See Giesel. II. iii. 276.

Dominican confessors.[n] The Dominicans were shut out of the university for fourteen years;[o] they were persecuted by the bishops and by the secular authorities;[p] and, in consequence of having taken the unpopular side, they were unable even to walk the streets without being molested, while verses in ridicule of them were publicly placarded.[q] Miracles were alleged in behalf of the immaculate conception: as that a Dominican of Cracow was struck dead while preaching against it;[r] and that as Scotus was on his way to maintain the honour of the blessed Virgin in the schools, an image of her, which he passed, was accustomed every day to bend its head in token of favour.[s] St. Bridget brought to the same cause the support of her revelations; but on this point her authority was confronted by that of the other great prophetess of the age, St. Catharine of Siena, who held that the cleansing of the Virgin's nature did not take place until the soul was infused into the body.[t] A.D. 1387-1401.

IV. *Arts and Learning.*

(1.) The fourteenth century saw the perfection of Gothic architecture and the beginning of its decline, although as yet this decline had not advanced far. But in the meantime the other arts were springing into a new life. Italian painting advanced at one step from the elementary rudeness of Cimabue to the schools of

[n] D'Argentré, I. ii. 132; Mon. Sandion. t. i. 582; Bul. iv. 633.

[o] D'Argentré, I. ii. 147-8; Mon. Sandion. t. i. 578; Bul. v. 82.

[p] Walsingh. ii. 187.

[q] Mon. Sandion. t. i. 74, 490; Juv. des Urs. 63.

[r] Ptol. de Lignamine, in Eccard, i. 1301.

[s] Vita Joh. Duns Scoti, Opp. i. 11, ed. Lugd. 1639.

[t] See extracts from both in Giesel. II. iii. 272-3. Catharine's view agrees with that of the Dominican St. Vincent Ferrer, Serm. de Sanctis. pp. 20-1 Gerson was strongly in favour of the immaculate conception. *E.g.*, Opera, ii. 35; iii. 1317, seqq. He considers the doctrine to be one which had been revealed to the church in later days. iii. 1330.

Giotto, Orcagna, and the masters whose combined labours embellished the Campo Santo of Pisa;[u] and while the productions of Italy were carried into other lands, to excite the devotion of believers and to serve as examples for imitation,[x] a native style of art, admirable for religious feeling and for sober richness of colour, began to appear in the Netherlands, under the leadership of the brothers Van Eyck. In sculpture, too, attempts were now successfully made to shake off the stiffness of Gothic art; perhaps the best known example of the newer style is to be found in the bronze gates of the Baptistery at Florence, which were begun by Andrew of Pisa in 1330, and completed by Ghiberti in the following century.[y]

(2.) The number of universities was greatly increased during the fourteenth century. Among those then founded were Orleans,[z] Erfurt, Prague, Vienna, Heidelberg,[a] Cracow, Pisa,[b] Perugia,[c] Florence,[d] Pavia,[e] and Ferrara.[f] In some of these there were at first the faculties of arts, medicine, and law, to which theology was afterwards added;[g] and in some of the older universities, as at Bologna,[h] a like addition was now made to the original foundation. The university of Rome was dormant throughout the time of the Avignon papacy; and, al-

[u] Cimabue was born in 1240, and died in 1302; Giotto was born in 1276, and died in 1336. It now appears that it is a mistake to connect the names of Giotto and Orcagna with the paintings of the Campo Santo. Crowe-Cavalcaselle, i. 341, 452.

[x] The Gesta Abbatum S. Albani record that abbot Thomas (1349) "dedit tabulam in Lombardia pictoratam, super majus altare situatam, 45*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.* pro eadem et ejus cariagio a Londoniis et aliis ejus pertinentibus primitus persolutis." (iii. 381.) The portrait of Richard II. in Westminster Abbey is supposed to be by an Italian who visited England.

[y] G. Villani, x. 176; Tiraboschi, v. 570-1. Ghiberti was born in 1381. His labours on the Baptistery gates began about 1401, and the work of the eastern gates was incomplete at his death in 1456. Vasari, iii. 132; Walks in Florence by Susan and Joanna Horner, i. 29-33.

[z] Bul. iv. 101.

[a] Andr. Ratisb. in Pez, IV. iii. 576.

[b] Tirab. v. 62.

[c] Ib. 76.

[d] M. Villani, i. 8; vii. 90; ix. 58, etc.

[e] Pet. Azorius, in Murat. xvi. 406.

[f] Chron. Est., A.D. 1391, ib. xv. 524.

[g] Andr. Ratisb. l. c.

[h] A.D. 1362. Tirab. v. 50.

though revived for a time by Innocent VII., it again fell into decay, until Eugenius IV. restored it in 1431.[i]

In consequence of the erection of universities in Germany and other northern countries, the resort of students to Paris was much diminished, so that few foreigners were now to be found among them. But the great French university continued to maintain its reputation as a school,[k] and was led by the circumstances of the schism to exercise such an influence in the affairs of the church as was altogether without example. Oxford had greatly advanced in importance, and there William of Wykeham introduced a new architectural character into collegiate buildings, and furnished an example of a society more clerical and monastic than the colleges which had before existed.[l]

(3.) The decree by which Clement V., at the instance of Raymund Lully, prescribed the teaching of Oriental languages in certain places, has already been mentioned.[m] But in whatever degree it may have been carried out,[n] the schools which it contemplated, as they were intended only for missionary purposes, did not promote the interpretation of Scripture. The fourteenth century, however, could boast Nicolas de Lyra, the first man who for many hundreds of years had endeavoured to bring Hebrew learning to bear on this. It has been supposed that Nicolas (whose surname was drawn from

[i] Th. Niem, ii. 39; Gregorov. vi. 665-7.

[k] Gerson mentions a saying of John of Gaunt:—"'Dux de Lancastre dicebat antiquo domino Burgundiæ, 'Habemus in Anglia viros subtiliores in imaginationibus, sed Parisienses veram habent solidam et securam theologiam.' Nota," adds Gerson, "quod cavendum est ne mala theologia et curiosa hanc universitatem invadat, sicut in Anglia et in Praga." Sermo coram Rege, Opera, ii. 149.

[l] Pauli, iv. 687.

[m] Vol. vi. p. 377.

[n] At Oxford it took effect for a short time (Ant. Wood. ed. Gutch, i. 394, 401). But altogether it seems to have fallen into disuse, and a reforming committee at the council of Constance proposed that it should be observed as to the institution of an oriental school in the place of the pope's residence. V. d. Hardt, I. x. 603.

his native place, a village in Normandy) was a Jew by descent; but for this there seems to be no foundation except the fact of his acquaintance with Hebrew. He became a Franciscan in 1291, taught theology for many years at Paris, was provincial of his order in Burgundy, and died in 1340.[o] His Postills extend over the whole Bible, and were greatly prized. He held that in Holy Scripture there are four senses—the literal, the allegorical, the moral, and the anagogical;[p] that the literal sense is presupposed in the others, and must be the foundation of them; that from it alone proofs should be drawn, and that any mystical interpretation which is inconsistent with the letter is unbecoming and worthless; and he strongly blames those expositors who had smothered the literal sense under their figurative interpretations.[q] These principles were called in question, about a century later, by Paul, bishop of Burgos, a convert from Judaism and a member of the Dominican order, who blamed Nicolas for preferring his own interpretations and those of the Jewish writers to the authority of the fathers and of the great Dominican St. Thomas;[r] but Nicolas did not lack defenders, and his commentaries continued to be highly esteemed.

(4.) The study of Greek was now revived, and became common in the west, where it was promoted by learned Greeks, such as Barlaam, Leontius Pilatus (who taught both Petrarch and Boccaccio at Florence),[s] and at a

[o] Schröckh, xxxiv. 125. Trithemius supposes him an Englishman (De Script. Eccl. p. 309). John of Winterthur styles him "solemnis doctor, plenus dierum." Eccard, i. 1920.

[p] *Littera* gesta docet; quid credas, *allegoria*; *Moralis*, quid agas; quo tendas, *anagogia*."

[q] See extracts from his Prologue in Giesel. II. iii. 270-1.

[r] Schröckh, xxxiv. 132-5.

[s] Tirab. v. 92-3, 394, seqq.; 401-5; De Sade, i. 406; Gibbon, vi. 245-8. Hallam, Hist. Litt. i. 13. Petrarch mentions both Barlaam (under whom he studied at Avignon) and L. Pilatus as his teachers. Senil. xi. p. 981; Variar. 21. See Hody, De Græcis illustribus, etc., Lond. 1742; Tirab. v 398-9.

later time Manuel Chrysoloras, the master of Leonard of Arezzo.[t] The first professorship of Greek in the west was established at Florence about 1360, through the influence of Boccaccio, and Pilatus was appointed to the chair, which in 1396 was held by Chrysoloras.[u] The study of the classical Latin authors was also pursued with a new spirit, and great exertions were made for the recovery of writings which had long been unheeded. In the writing of Latin, attempts were made by Petrarch and others, instead of following the traditional style of the middle ages, to imitate the refinement of the classics; and this study was afterwards carried further by Poggio Bracciolini.[x] Albertin Mussato wrote Latin tragedies on the ancient model—one of them having Eccelino da Romano for its principal character.[y]

(5.) The scholastic philosophy is considered to have entered on a new stage with Durandus of St. Pourçain, bishop of Meaux, and William of Ockham, the famous English Franciscan, whose political treatises have been already mentioned.[z] Durandus (who, from his readiness in solving all questions, was styled the Most Resolute Doctor[a]) was a Dominican, and as such was originally a zealous adherent of Thomas Aquinas, but afterwards strongly opposed his authority, especially with regard to the manner in which Divine grace operates; for while Aquinas holds that this is through the sacraments, Durandus maintains that it is by the immediate action of God.[b]

[t] Leon. Aretin. in Murat. xix. 919; Sozom. Pistoriens. ib. xvi. 1168; Gibbon, vi. 248-9; Hallam, Midd. Ages, ii. 323; Æn. Sylv. p. 535; Poggius in Funere Leon. Aret. ap. Baluz. Miscell. iv. 9-10. See Nicol. Florent. Elogium in Mart. Coll. Ampl. iii. 730-1. There is much information as to the cultivation of Greek in the epistles of Ambrose Traversari of Camaldoli, printed in the same volume. For him see Hallam, Hist. Litt. i. 141; Reumont, III. i. 303. Chrysoloras died at Constance during the sittings of the council, April 15, 1415, and is buried in the Dominican church. Lenf. i. 176. See Tirab. vi. 127-31.

[u] Ib. v. 402, 405.

[x] Hallam, Hist. Litt. i. 110, 115. Gregorov. vi. 659-61.

[y] This is in Muratori, t. x.

[z] Pp. 102-4. See Hauréau, c. xxviii.

[a] Schröckh, xxxiv. 190.

[b] Giesel. II. iii. 232-3.

These teachers were noted for their want of reverence for authority ;[c] and they revived the philosophical opinion of nominalism, which had been dormant from the time of its unsuccessful originator, Roscellin.[d] Ockham rejected the idea which St. Anselm and others had cherished, of finding a philosophical basis for the doctrines of the church, which he regarded as matters of pure revelation ; and this revelation he supposed to be still exerted in behalf of doctrines which had not been known to the primitive church.[e] Thus, in discussing the question of the eucharist, he states three opinions, of which one is "that the substance of bread and wine remains, and that in the same place, under the same appearance, is the body of Christ ;"[f] and he says that this theory "would be very reasonable, unless there were a determination of the church to the contrary, because it salves and escapes all the difficulties which follow from the separation of the accidents from the subject." Yet he prefers the current opinion, that "the substance of bread and wine ceases to be, while the accidents only remain, and under them the body of Christ beginneth to be;" and he adds, "This is made certain to the church by some revelation, as I suppose, and therefore it hath so determined."[g] The philosophy of Ockham was condemned and prohibited at Paris in 1339 ; but this sentence increased its fame, and before the end of the century the nominalism which had at first been so strongly denounced had come to be generally accepted.[h]

(6.) The unbelieving philosophy which from the be-

[c] Giesel. II. iii. 232.

[d] Ib. 235. For Roscellin, see vol. v. p. 98.

[e] Giesel. II. iii. 236.

[f] So John of Paris taught. See vol. vi. p. 440.

[g] See the extracts in Gieseler, II. iii. 236. In like manner card. d'Ailly says —"Multo probabilius esse, et minus superfluorum miraculorum poni, si in altari verus panis verumque vinum, non autem sola accidentia esse adstruerentur, nisi Ecclesia determinasset contrarium." Ib.

[h] Mosh. ii. 643 ; Giesel. II. iii. 238. Wyclif always speaks respectfully of William of Ockham. Shirley, Introd. to Fascic. Zizan. 53.

ginning of the thirteenth century had existed in secret, began to appear more openly. Petrarch mentions some votaries of this kind of philosophy whom he had met with at Venice, and describes them as regarding all learning except their own, whether sacred or profane, with contempt.[i]

(7.) The science of casuistry now came into favour as a branch of theological study. The cases of John Petit and of John of Falkenberg, which involved the defence of tyrannicide,[k] afforded much exercise for the subtleties of the casuists; and in the case of Petit it is said that the doctrine of "probability" occurs for the first time—a doctrine which, as it was afterwards developed by the Jesuits, supplied Pascal with matter for some of his most effective assaults on that order.[l] The complaints which had been made in former times as to the unprofitable nature of the studies which were most popular, and of the pursuit of learning for low and unworthy ends, are renewed by Gerson and others in this age.[m] The great work of rendering the Holy Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, with which Wyclif's name is associated, engaged the labours of many others in the different western countries; so that there were translations, more or less complete, into French, Italian, German, and Flemish.[n] These translations were, indeed, all in so far defective that they were made from the Latin Vulgate; but they tended to prepare for the more satisfactory works which were to result from that revived study of the original languages which had already begun. It is remarkable that

[i] Senil. v. 3, p. 877; Giesel. II. iii. 241.

[k] See pp. 400-3.

[l] Schröckh, xxxiv. 31; Giesel. II. iii. 263.

[m] Gerson 'Contra vanam Curiositatem'; 'Contra Curiositatem Studentium' (t. 1). Against astrology, Ib. 189, seqq.; Nic. Clemang. de Studio Theologiæ, in D'Achery, i. 473, seqq.; Giesel. II. iii. 241. Andrew, bishop of Megara (for whom see Book IX. c. ii.), in 1434 speaks of universities as "quasi perditæ et annullatæ," and as needing reform by a council (V. d. Hardt, vi. 200). He adds that young men will not now study in universities, but betake themselves to the Roman *curia*, as more profitable. Ib. 206.

[n] Schröckh, xxxii. 311-12.

Gerson, in censuring "vain curiosity," recommends that vernacular translations of the Bible should be forbidden, at least with the exception of the moral and historical portions.[o]

(8.) The same age which produced these attempts to bring the meaning of the sacred writings within the reach of the less educated classes, was also distinguished by the rise of a brilliant vernacular literature in various countries, especially in Italy and in England. To this day, Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Chaucer hold their place among those great authors whose writings need no antiquarian considerations to recommend them to our study, but live by their own enduring vigour and interest. In the fourteenth century, also, John Villani produced the first important historical work which was composed in the modern language of Italy; and Wyclif, by the treatises which he addressed to the unlearned classes of his countrymen, earned a title to be regarded as the earliest master of English prose.

[o] Opp. i. 105; cf. 459; Schwab, 317-18.

END OF VOL. VII.

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